THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1775.

THE SECOND EDITION.



LONDON:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1777.



PREFACE.

IT was not without regret that we found the diſſentions between this country and its colonies at length ripened into a civil war. The perſon to whoſe lot it falls to deſcribe the tranſactions of domeſtic hoſtility, and the ſteps which lead to it, has a painful, and generally unthankful office. People can ſcarcely judge with temper of ſuch an hiſtory in a century after the events. It is a perilous ſituation when we are to be tried by preſent paſſions. Intereſted as we are in this conteſt in common with all Engliſhmen, and affected as we muſt be in common with all men of humanity, we have never been tempted to depart from the ſteady courſe of impartiality, which we have always obſerved, and in which the public has hitherto ſupported us. It indeed little becomes us to be dogmatical and decided in our opinions in this matter,

matter, when the public, even on this ſide of the water, is ſo much divided; and when the firſt names of the country have differed ſo greatly in their ſentiments. It is no longer our taſk to deſcribe devaſtation in Poland, or ſlaughter on the Danube. The evil is at home.

We are as truly ſenſible of the importance as of the delicacy of the ſubject. The ſenſe of that importance, which is ſomething more than was generally apprehended even when the tranſactions in parliament were paſſing, has obliged us to a much greater length than uſual. We have given every thing as fully as we were enabled to do from any materials we could obtain. However we may have failed in the attempt, neither application nor labour were wanting on our ſide, nor expence conſidered on that of the publiſher, in endeavouring to render the work worthy of the acceptance of the public.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1775.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of affairs in the colonies in the year 1764. General effect of the late laws. Impeachment of Mr. Oliver. Assembly of Massachuset's Bay dissolved. General Gage arrives at Boston. Great consternation on receiving the Boston port bill New assembly meet at Boston, and are adjourned to Salem. Provincial and town meetings. Assembly of Virginia dissolved. Philadelphia. New-York. Address from gentlemen, &c. of Boston to the new governor. Address from the council rejected. Transactions of the house of representatives at Salem. The assembly dissolved. Address from the town of Salem. General temper and disposition of the people throughout the continent. Solemn league and covenant. Proclamation against it. Measures relative to the holding of a general congress. Resolutions passed in different places. Address from the justices of Plymouth county. Uneasiness excited by the arrival of troops. False alarm. Proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, &c. Hostile appearances. New judges incapable of acting. New counsellors compelled to renounce their offices. Fortification on Boston Neck. Provincial magazines seized. The people in a violent ferment. Company of cadets disband themselves, and return the standard. Sundry resolutions passed by the delegates of the county

of Suffolk. Remonſtrance. Anſwer. Writs for holding a general aſſembly countermanded by proclamation. The repreſentatives meet notwithſtanding at Salem; vote themſelves into a provincial congreſs, and adjourn to the town of Concord. Remonſtrance from the provincial congreſs; governor's anſwer. State of affairs at Boſton. Further proceedings of the provincial congreſs. Proclamation.

IT happens moſt unfortunately this year, that our own public affairs not only take the lead among thoſe of Europe, but have in a great degree abſorbed all other matter of political ſpeculation. A ceſſation ſeems to take place in the animoſities and deſigns of other ſtates. The great diſturbers of mankind appear to forget their rapacity and ambition, whilſt they contemplate the new and unthought-of ſpectacle we exhibit to the world, and perhaps eagerly predict the advantages which they may derive from its fatal conſequences.

It need ſcarcely be mentioned, that the unhappy conteſt in which we are involved with our colonies, is the event which has thus excited the attention of mankind. Thoſe colonies, which were ſo long our ſtrength and our glory, whoſe rapid growth and aſtoniſhing increaſe mocked the calculations of politicians, and outſtripped the ſpeculations of philoſophers; thoſe colonies, which equally excited the apprehenſions of our enemies, and the envy of our friends, ſtill attract the eyes of the world, to them and to us, as to a common center; but preſent a very different appearance of things to obſervation. Happy will it be, if this general attention is productive of no other ſentiment, than the admiration which ariſes from novelty, or the generous ſympathy which feels for the miſeries of mankind.

The penal laws, which we ſaw paſſed, in the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt parliament, relative to the colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and which were intended to operate both as a chaſtiſement for paſt, and a preventative of future miſdemeanors in that province, were unfortunately productive of effects very different from thoſe which the ſanguine promoters of thoſe bills had hoped, and which adminiſtration had held out to the nation. Other purpoſes were expected from them beſides puniſhment and prevention. It was expected, that the ſhutting up of the port of Boſton would have been naturally a gratification to the neighbouring towns, from the great benefits which would accrue to them, by the ſplitting and removing of its commerce; and that this would prove a fruitful ſource of jealouſy and diſunion within the province. It was alſo thought, that the particular puniſhment of that province would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that from the ſelfiſhneſs and malignity incident to mankind, as well as from their common jealouſies, they would quietly reſign it to its fate, and enjoy with pleaſure any benefits they could derive from its misfortunes. Thus it was hoped, that beſides their direct operation, theſe bills would eventually prove a means of diſſolving that band of union, which ſeemed of late too much to prevail amongſt the colonies.

The act called the Military Bill, which accompanied these laws, and which was formed to support and encourage the soldiery in beating down all possible resistance to the other acts, it was imagined, would compleat the design, and bring the colonies to a perfect submission. In confidence of the perfection of this plan of terrors, punishments and regulations, and of the large force by sea and land (as it was then thought) which was sent to strengthen the hands of government, administration reposed in the most perfect security; and ended the session in the most triumphant manner, and with the mutual congratulations of all concerned in those acts, which may be well remembered, and which we have described in our last volume.

The event, in all these cases, was however, very different. The neighbouring towns disdained every idea of profiting in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boston. The people of the province, instead of being shaken by the coercive means which were used for their subjugation, joined the more firmly together to brave the storm; and seeing that their ancient constitution was destroyed, and that it was determined to deprive them of those rights, which they had ever been taught to revere as sacred, and to deem more valuable than life itself, they determined at all events to preserve them, or to perish in the common ruin. In he same manner, the other colonies, instead of abandoning, clung the closer to their devoted sister as the danger increased; and their affection and sympathy seemed to rise in proportion to her misfortunes and sufferings.

In a word, these bills, (as had been too truly foretold by their oppofers at home) instead of answering the purposes for which they were intended, spread a general alarm from one end to the other of the continent, and became the cement of a strict and close union between all the old colonies. They said it was now visible, that charters, grants, and established usages, were no longer a protection or defence; that all rights, immunities, and civil securities, must vanish at the breath of an act of parliament. They were all sensible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or lesser degree, of those unpardonable sins which had drawn down fire upon Boston; they believed, that vengeance, tho' delayed, was not remitted; and that all the mercy, the most favoured or the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured.

It may be remembered in the last session, that the minister had announced in the House of Commons, the appointment of General Gage to the government of the province of Massachusett's Bay, and to the command in chief of the army in North-America. As this gentleman had borne several commands with reputation in that part of the world; had lived many years there, and had sufficient opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the people, and was besides well approved of by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects which would have resulted from his administration; and it is little to be doubted, if his appointment had been at a happier time, and his government free from the necessity of enforcing measures which were generally odious to the people, but

theſe expectations would have been anſwered.

The jealouſy and ill blood between the governors and governed in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, which we have formerly taken notice of, had ever ſince continued. The Houſe of Repreſentatives had preſented a petition and remonſtrance to the Governor, early in the ſpring, for the removal of Peter Oliver, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Superior Court of Judicature, from his office; this requeſt not being complied with, they exhibited articles of impeachment againſt him, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, in their own name and that of the province, which they carried up to the Council-board, and gave the governor notice to attend as judge upon the trial. The charge againſt the Chief Juſtice was, the betraying of his truſt, and of the chartered rights of the province, by accepting a ſalary from the crown, in conſideration of his official ſervices, inſtead of the cuſtomary grant from the Houſe of Repreſentatives. The reſolution for carrying up this impeachment was carried by a majority of 92 to 8; from whence ſome judgment may be formed of the general temper of the province, and their unanimity, even in this ſtrong and extraordinary meaſure.

The Governor refuſed to receive the articles, and totally diſclaimed all authority in himſelf and the Council to act as a judicatory, for the trial of any crimes or miſdemeanors whatever. The Houſe of Repreſentatives, far from giving up the matter, only changed their mode of attack; and the Governor finding that they would perſiſt in a proſecution under ſome form or other, and that every new attempt would only ſerve to involve things in ſtill greater difficulty, or at leaſt to increaſe the animoſity, thought it neceſſary, at the concluſion of the month of March, to diſſolve the Aſſembly.

Such was the ſtate of things in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, when Gen. Gage arrived in his government. The hopes that might have been formed upon a change of adminiſtration, and the joy that generally attends the coming of a new Governor, were, however, nipped in the bud, by the arrival juſt before of a ſhip from London, which brought a copy of the Boſton Port Bill; and a Town-Meeting was ſitting to conſider of it, at the very time he arrived in the harbour. As this fatal news was totally unexpected, the conſternation which it cauſed among all orders of people was inexpreſſible. The firſt meaſure was the holding of the Town-Meeting we have mentioned, at which reſolutions were paſſed, and ordered to be immediately tranſmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to ſtop all imports and exports to and from Great-Britain and Ireland, and every part of the Weſt-Indies, until the act was repealed, as the only means (they ſaid) that were left for the ſalvation of North-America and her liberties. They beſides expatiated on the impolicy, injuſtice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, and appealed from it to God and the world.

May 13th, 1774

In the mean time, copies of the act were multiplied with incredible expedition, and diſpatched to every part of the continent with equal celerity.

celerity. These had the effect which the poets aſcribe to the Fury's torch; they ſet the countries in a flame through which they paſſed. At Boſton and New-York, the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning-paper with a black border, which they cried about the ſtreets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertiſement, and the obnoxious law burned with great ſolemnity.

There was, however, a very ſurpriſing mixture of ſobriety with this fury; and a degree of moderation was blended with the exceſs into which the people were hurried.

This extraordinary combuſtion in the minds of all ranks of the people did not prevent the Governor's being received with the uſual honours at Boſton. The new Aſſembly of the province met of courſe a few days after, the Council, for the laſt time, being choſen according to their charter. The Governor at their meeting laid nothing more before them than the common buſineſs of the province; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the firſt of June, in purſuance of the late act of parliament. The Aſſembly, to evade this meaſure, were hurrying through the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſupplies with the greateſt expedition, that they might then adjourn themſelves to ſuch time as they thought proper; but the Governor having obtained ſome intelligence of their intention, adjourned them unexpectedly to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had preſented a petition to the Governor, for appointing a day of general prayer and faſting, which he did not think proper to comply with.

In the mean time, Provincial or Town-meetings were held in every part of the continent; in which, tho' ſome were much more temperate than others, they all concurred in expreſſing the greateſt diſapprobation of the meaſures which were purſued againſt Boſton, an abhorrence of the new act, and a condemnation of the principles on which it was founded, with a reſolution to oppoſe its effects in every manner, and to ſupport their diſtreſſed brethren, who were to be the immediate victims.

The Houſe of Burgeſſes, of the province of Virginia, appointed the 1ſt of June, the day on which the Boſton Port Bill took place, to be ſet apart for faſting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the Divine interpoſition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened deſtruction to their civil rights, with the evils of a civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppoſe every injury to the American rights. This example was either followed, or a ſimilar reſolution adopted, almoſt every where, and the 1ſt of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This meaſure, however, procured the immediate diſſolution of the Aſſembly of Virginia; but before their ſeparation, an aſſociation was entered into and ſigned by 89 of the members, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, to compel ſubmiſſion to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all Britiſh America, and threatened

ruin to the rights of all, unleſs the united wiſdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correſpondence, to communicate with the ſeveral committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congreſs, and to deliberate on thoſe general meaſures, which the united intereſts of America might, from time to time, render neceſſary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the intereſts of their fellow-ſubjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boſton. Their letter was temperate, but firm. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice upon that ſad occaſion; wiſhed firſt to have the ſenſe of the province in general; obſerved, that all lenient applications for obtaining redreſs ſhould be tried before recourſe was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the ſenſe of a General Congreſs, before the deſperate meaſure of putting an entire ſtop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right, at any rate, to reſerve that meaſure as the laſt reſource, when all other means had failed. They obſerved, that if the making of reſtitution to the Eaſt-India Company for their teas, would put an end to the unhappy controverſy, and leave the people of Boſton upon their ancient footing of conſtitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they ſhould act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeaſible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in conſideration.

A Town-meeting was alſo held at New-York, and a committee of correſpondence appointed; but they were as yet, in general, very temperate in their conduct; and Government had a much ſtronger intereſt in that colony than in any other. The caſe was far different at Annapolis in Maryland, where the people of that city, though under a proprietary government, exceeded the other colonies in the violence of their reſolutions; one of which was to prevent the carrying on of any ſuits in the courts of the province, for the debts which were owing from them in Great-Britain. This reſolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the Provincial meeting which was held ſoon after; nor was it any where carried into practice.

In general, as might have been expected in ſuch great commercial countries, the propoſal for ſhutting up the ports (former reſolutions of this kind having been much abuſed for the private gain of individuals) was received with great ſerioufneſs, heſitation, and coldneſs; and conſidered as the laſt deſperate reſort, when all other means of redreſs ſhould fail. In other reſpects, upon the arrival of the news from Boſton, moderation was little thought of any where, and the behaviour of the people was nearly ſimilar in all places. At the numberleſs public meetings which were held upon that occaſion, throughout the continent, they paſſed every reſolution,

and

and adopted every meaſure they could for the preſent think of, to ſhew their utmoſt deteſtation of the Boſton Port Bill, and to expreſs their determination of oppoſing its effects in every poſſible manner.

In this ſtate of general diſſatisfaction, complaint, and oppoſition, General Gage had the temporary ſatisfaction of receiving an addreſs of congratulation, ſigned by 127 gentlemen, merchants and inhabitants of Boſton, who were either the beſt addicted to government, the moſt moderate, or to whom the preſent meaſures ſeemed the leaſt obnoxious. Beſides the compliments cuſtomary upon theſe occaſions, a declaration of the ſtrong hopes which they had founded upon the General's public and private character, and a diſavowal, as to themſelves, of all lawleſs violences, they lamented, that a diſcretionary power was not lodged in his hands, to reſtore trade to its former courſe, immediately, upon the terms of the late law being fully complied with; and ſhewed, that as the act ſtood at preſent, notwithſtanding the moſt immediate compliance, ſo much time would be loſt, before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, and produce the wiſhed-for effect, as would involve them in unſpeakable miſery, and they feared in total ruin.

A few days after, an addreſs from the Council was preſented to the Governor, which contained ſome very ſevere reflections on his two immediate predeceſſors, to whoſe machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progreſs of the diſunion between Great-Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Engliſhmen, without diminution or abridgment; and theſe, as it was the indiſpenſable duty of that board, ſo it ſhould be their conſtant endeavour to maintain, to the utmoſt of their power, in perfect conſiſtence, however, with the trueſt loyalty to the crown, the juſt prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to ſupport.

This redreſs was rejected by the Governor, who would not ſuffer the chairman of the committee to proceed any further, when he had read the part which reflected on his predeceſſors. He afterwards returned an anſwer to the Council in writing, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an addreſs which contained indecent reflections on his predeceſſors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. That he conſidered the addreſs as an inſult upon his Majeſty, and the Lords of the Privy Council, and an affront to himſelf.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives, upon their meeting at Salem, paſſed a reſolution, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the ſeveral colonies, and ſpecified the purpoſes which rendered ſuch meeting neceſſary. By another, they appointed five gentlemen, of thoſe who had been the moſt remarkable in oppoſition, as a committee to repreſent that province. And by a third, they voted the ſum of 500l. to the ſaid committee, to enable them to diſcharge the important truſt to which they were appointed.

As neither this appointment, nor diſpoſal of the public money, could be at all agreeable to the Governor, he accordingly refuſed his concurrence to the latter; upon which the aſſembly paſſed a reſolution, to recommend to the ſeveral towns and diſtricts within the province, to raiſe the ſaid 500l. by equitable proportions, according to the laſt provincial tax. A recommendation, which, at preſent, had all the force of a law.

The Aſſembly foreſeeing that their diſſolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public teſtimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to preſcribe rules for their conduct, which they knew would be more punctually complied with, than the poſitive injunctions of laws. They accordingly paſſed a declaratory reſolution, expreſſive of their ſenſe of the ſtate of public affairs, and of the deſigns of government, in which they advanced, that they, with the other American colonies, had long been ſtruggling under the heavy hand of power; and that their dutiful petitions for the redreſs of intolerable grievances had not only been diſregarded; but that the deſign totally to alter the free conſtitution and civil government in Britiſh America, to eſtabliſh arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to ſlavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined. They then recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the conſumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt-Indies and Great-Britain, until the public grievances of America ſhould be radically and totally redreſſed. And the more fully to carry this eſſential purpoſe into effect, it was ſtrongly recommended, that they ſhould give every poſſible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

Though the committee, that was appointed to conduct this buſineſs, endeavoured to carry it on with the greateſt privacy, the Governor, notwithſtanding, obtained ſome intelligence of it, and on the very day upon which they made their report, he ſent his Secretary to pronounce their immediate diſſolution. The Secretary, upon his arrival, finding the door locked, ſent the Houſe-meſſenger to acquaint the Speaker, that he had a meſſage from the Governor, and deſired admittance to deliver it. The Speaker, in ſome time, returned for anſwer, that he had acquainted the Houſe with the meſſage which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the doors faſt. Upon this refuſal of admittance, the Secretary cauſed proclamation to be made, upon the ſtairs, of the diſſolution of the General Aſſembly. Such was the iſſue of the final conteſt between the Governor of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and the laſt Aſſembly which was holden in that province, upon the principles of its charter. June 17th.

The day after the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, a moſt pathetic, but at the ſame time firm and manly addreſs, was preſented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the Governor. We cannot forget, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, in the place of Boſton; and that the General Aſſembly, the Courts of Juſtice, the Cuſtom-Houſe, and, ſo far as it could

could be done by power, the trade of that port were removed thither; ſo that they were already in poſſeſſion of a principal ſhare of thoſe ſpoils, which it was ſuppoſed would have effectually influenced the conduct of the people, and thereby have bred ſuch incurable envy, jealouſy and animoſity, between the gainers and ſufferers, that the refractory capital finding herſelf abandoned, and being left alone to ruminate upon her forlorn ſituation, would ſoon be reclaimed, and brought to as full a ſenſe of her duty, as of her puniſhment.

Whether this opinion was founded upon a thorough knowledge of human nature in general, or took its riſe from particular inſtances, which were extended in ſpeculation to the whole, may perhaps, in a certain degree, be determined from the following generous ſentiments of the inhabitants of Salem. They ſay, "We are deeply afflicted with a ſenſe of our public calamities; but the miſeries that are now rapidly haſtening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiſeration; and we hope your excellency will uſe your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already ſorely diſtreſſed people."——"By ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbours."

This whole addreſs is remarkable for the propriety with which it is conducted, and the juſtneſs of its ſentiments. They treat the governor with the higheſt reſpect, and hope much from his general character, as well as from his conduct in a former government; they expreſs the ſtrongeſt attachment to the mother country, the deepeſt concern for the preſent unhappy troubles, and the moſt fervent wiſhes for a ſpeedy and happy reconciliation, to obtain which, they are willing to ſacrifice every thing, compatible with the ſafety and dignity of Britiſh ſubjects.

The general had formed conſiderable hopes upon the conduct of the merchants; who he expected would have entered into the ſpirit of the late law, and by removing their commerce along with the cuſtom-houſe to Salem, have thereby the ſooner induced the capital to the compliances which were wiſhed by government. In theſe expectations he was diſappointed. It is probable, that the merchants thought it fit and neceſſary to keep fair with government, and in general diſapproved of all violences; but it ſeems evident, that they did not enter heartily into the new meaſures. It ſeems alſo probable, that he believed the friends of the ſyſtem of government now adopted, to be ſtronger and more numerous than they really were. An experiment was however made, which ſet this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boſton, and attempted to paſs reſolutions for the payment of the tea, and for diſſolving

diſſolving the committee of correſpondence; but they found themſelves loſt in a prodigious majority; and had no other reſource, than the drawing up of a proteſt againſt the proceedings of that aſſembly.

In the mean time, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, as well as of that for quartering the troops in America, all of which were in agitation in England, at the time that the laſt ſhips ſailed from thence, were received in Boſton, and immediately circulated throughout the continent. The knowledge of theſe bills, filled up whatever was wanting before, of violence and indignation in moſt of the colonies. Even thoſe who were moderate, or ſeemed wavering, now became ſanguine. The idea of ſhutting up the ports, became common language, and to be conſidered as a matter of neceſſity. Nothing was to be heard of, but meetings and reſolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their diſtreſſed brethren in Boſton, were every where recommended, and ſoon reduced into practice. Numberleſs letters were written from towns, diſtricts, and provinces, to the people of Boſton, in which, beſides every expreſſion of ſympathy and tenderneſs, they were highly flattered for their paſt conduct, and ſtrongly exhorted to a perſeverance in that virtue, which brought on their ſufferings.

The people of America at this time, with reſpect to political opinions, might in general be divided into two great claſſes. Of theſe, one, was for ruſhing headlong into the greateſt extremities; they would put an immediate ſtop to trade, without waiting till other meaſures were tried, or receiving the general ſenſe of the colonies upon a ſubject of ſuch alarming importance; and though they were eager for the holding of a congreſs, they would leave it nothing to do, but to proſecute the violences which they had begun. The other, if leſs numerous, was not leſs reſpectable, and though more moderate, were perhaps equally firm. Theſe were averſe to any violent meaſures being adopted until all other means were ineffectually tried; they wiſhed further applications to be made to Great-Britain; and the grievances they complained of, with the rights which they claimed, to be clearly ſtated, and properly preſented. This, they ſaid, could only be done effectually by a general congreſs, as in any other manner it might be liable to the objection of being only the act of a few men, or of a particular colony. We, however, acknowledge a third party, which were the friends to the adminiſtration in England, or more properly, thoſe who did not totally diſapprove of its meaſures; but their ſtill ſmall voice was ſo low, that except in a very few particular places, it could ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed.

The more violent, who had not patience to wait for the reſult of a congreſs, entered into other meaſures. An agreement was framed by the committee of correſpondence at Boſton, which they entitled a ſolemn league and covenant, wherein the ſubſcribers bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the preſence of God, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with

with Great-Britain, from the laſt day of the enſuing month of Auguſt, until the Boſton Port-Bill, and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Maſſachuſett's-Bay fully reſtored to its chartered rights. They alſo bound themſelves in the ſame manner, not to conſume, or to purchaſe from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the ſpecified time, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of ſuch goods. They renounced in the ſame manner, all future intercourſe and connection with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe to that covenant, or to bind themſelves by ſome ſimilar agreement, with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names publiſhed to the world.

The covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boſton, was circulated with the uſual activity, and the people, not only in the New England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the greateſt eagerneſs. It ſeems, however, that ſimilar agreements had been entered into about the ſame time, in various parts of the continent, and without any previous concert with each other, any more than with thoſe at Boſton.

General Gage was much alarmed at this proceeding; to which its name, as well as its tendency, might poſſibly contribute. He accordingly publiſhed a ſtrong proclamation againſt it, in which it was ſtiled an unlawful, hoſtile, and traiterous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, deſtructive of the lawful authority of the Britiſh parliament, and of the peace, good order, and ſafety of the community. All perſons were warned againſt incurring the pains and penalties due to ſuch aggravated and dangerous offences, and all magiſtrates charged to apprehend and ſecure for trial, ſuch as ſhould have any ſhare in the publiſhing, ſubſcribing, aiding, or abetting the foregoing, or any ſimilar covenant.

June 29th.

This proclamation had no other effect than to exerciſe the pens and the judgment of thoſe who were verſed in legal knowledge, by endeavouring to ſhew, that the aſſociation did not come within any of the treaſon-laws, and that the charges made by the governor, were conſequently erroneous, unjuſt, and highly injurious. They ſaid he had aſſumed a power, which the conſtitution denied even to the ſovereign, the power of making thoſe things to be treaſon, which were not conſidered as ſuch by the laws; that the people had a right to aſſemble to conſider of their common grievances, and to form aſſociations for their general conduct towards the remedy of thoſe grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Meaſures were now every where taken for the holding of a general congreſs; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its ſituation, as well as its ſecurity, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of September, the time for meeting. Where an aſſembly happened to be ſitting, as in the caſe of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, they appointed deputies to repreſent the province in the congreſs. But as this happened to be the caſe in very few inſtances,

ſtances, the general method was, for the people to elect their uſual number of repreſentatives, and theſe, at a general meeting, choſe deputies from among themſelves; the number of which, in general, bore ſome proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the leaſt, and ſeven the greateſt number, that repreſented any colony. But whatever the number of repreſentatives were, each colony had no more than a ſingle vote.

At theſe county or provincial meetings, a number of reſolutions were conſtantly paſſed, among which a declaration that the Boſton Port-Act was oppreſſive, unjuſt, unconſtitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of America, was always among the foremoſt. At Philadelphia, a petition ſigned by near 900 freeholders was preſented to Mr. Penn, the Governor, intreating him to call a general aſſembly as ſoon as poſſible. This requeſt being refuſed, the province proceeded to the election of deputies, who ſoon after met at Philadelphia. As the reſolutions paſſed at this meeting, carry more the marks of cool and temperate deliberation, as well as of affection to the mother country, than thoſe of many others, and are at the ſame time equally firm in the determination of ſupporting what they thought their rights, we ſhall be the more particular in our notice of them.

July 15th.

They ſet out with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and allegiance to the ſovereign, which could be well deviſed; and declare their abhorrence of every idea, of an unconſtitutional independence on the parent ſtate; upon which account, they ſay, that they view the late differences between Great-Britain and the coloniſts, with the deepeſt diſtreſs and anxiety of mind, as fruitleſs to her, grievous to them, and deſtructive of the beſt intereſts of both. They then, after expreſſing the moſt ardent wiſhes for a reſtoration of the former harmony, declare that the coloniſts are entitled to the ſame rights and liberties within the colonies, that the ſubjects born in England are within that realm.

They reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms the late bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay, and declare that they conſider their brethren at Boſton, as ſuffering in the common cauſe of all the colonies. They alſo declare, the abſolute neceſſity of a congreſs, to conſult together, and to form a general plan of conduct to be obſerved by all the colonies, for the purpoſes of procuring relief for their ſuffering brethren, obtaining redreſs of their general grievances, preventing future diſſentions, firmly eſtabliſhing their rights, and the reſtoration of harmony between Great-Britain and her colonies upon a conſtitutional foundation.

They acknowledge, that a ſuſpenſion of the commerce of that large trading province with Great-Britain, would greatly diſtreſs multitudes of their induſtrious inhabitants; but declare that they are ready to offer that ſacrifice, and a much greater, for the preſervation of their liberties; that, however, in regard to the people of Great-Britain, as well as of their own country, and in hopes that their juſt remonſtrances might at length have effect, it was their earneſt deſire, that the congreſs ſhould firſt try

try the gentle mode of ſtating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redreſs. They conclude with warning dealers not to raiſe the price of their merchandize beyond the uſual rates, on account of any reſolutions that might be taken with reſpect to importation; and by a declaration, that, that province would break off all dealing and commercial intercourſe whatſoever, with any town, city, or colony on the continent, or with any individuals, in them, who ſhould refuſe, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution ſuch general plan as ſhould be agreed upon in the congreſs.

Auguſt 1ſt. At a meeting of the delegates of the ſeveral counties of Virginia at Williamſburgh, which laſted for ſix days, beſides profeſſions of allegiance and loyalty, of regard and affection for their fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, equally ſtrongly expreſſed with thoſe which we have mentioned, and ſeveral reſolutions in common with the other colonies, they paſſed others which were peculiar, and conſidering the ſtate and circumſtances of that province, with its immediate dependence on the mother country for the diſpoſal of its only ſtaple commodity, muſt be conſidered very deſerving of attention, becauſe ſtrongly indicating the true ſpirit of that people.

Among theſe, they reſolved not to purchaſe any more ſlaves from Africa, the Weſt-Indies, or any other place; that their non-importation agreement ſhould take place on the firſt of the following November; and that if the American grievances were not redreſſed by the 10th of Auguſt 1775, they would export, after that time, no tobacco, nor any other goods whatever, to Great-Britain; and to render this laſt reſolution the more effectual, they ſtrongly recommended the cultivation of ſuch articles of huſbandry, inſtead of tobacco, as might form a proper baſis for manufactures of all ſorts; and particularly to improve the breed of their ſheep, to multiply them, and to kill as few of them as poſſible. They alſo reſolved to declare thoſe enemies to their country, who ſhould break through the non-importation reſolution. The people of Maryland, the other great tobacco colony, were not behindhand with thoſe of Virginia in their determinations; and the two Carolinas, whoſe exiſtence ſeemed to depend upon their exportation, were by no means among the leaſt violent.

Thus the Boſton Port-Bill and its companions, had even exceeded the prognoſtications of their moſt violent opponents. They had raiſed a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cauſe. A ſimilar language was every where held; or if there was any difference in the language, the meaſures that were adopted were every where directed to the ſame object. They all agreed in the main points, of holding a congreſs, of not ſubmitting to the payment of any internal taxes, that were not, as uſual, impoſed by their own aſſemblies, and of ſuſpending all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and thoſe of Maſſachuſett's-Bay in particular, were fully redreſſed.

The people, as is always the caſe, were, from circumſtances or temper,

temper, more or leſs violent in different places; but the reſolution as to the great object of debate, the point of taxation, was every where the ſame, and the moſt moderate, even at New York, ſeemed determined to endure any evils, rather than ſubmit to that. At Newport, in Rhode Iſland, the flame burned higher than in ſome other places; an inflammatory paper was there publiſhed, with a motto in capitals "Join or Die;" in this piece the ſtate of Boſton was repreſented as a ſiege, and as a direct and hoſtile invaſion of all the colonies; "the generals of deſpotiſm," it ſays, "are now drawing the lines of circumvallation around our bulwarks of liberty, and nothing but unity, reſolution, and perſeverance can ſave ourſelves and our poſterity from what is worſe than death,—Slavery."

What rendered this ſtate of affairs the more dangerous, was, that it did not ariſe from the diſcontent of a turbulent or oppreſſed nobility, where, by bringing over a few of the leaders, the reſt muſt follow of courſe, or perſiſt only to their ruin; nor did it depend upon the reſolution or perſeverance of a body of merchants and dealers, where every man habitually ſtudious of his immediate intereſt, would tremble at the thought of thoſe conſequences, which might eſſentially affect it; and where a few lucrative jobs or contracts, properly applied, would ſplit them into numberleſs factions; on the contrary, in this inſtance, the great force of the oppoſition to government, conſiſted in the land-holders throughout America. The Britiſh lands in that vaſt continent, are generally portioned out in numberleſs ſmall freeholds, and afford that mediocrity of condition to the poſſeſſors, which is ſufficient to raiſe ſtrong bodies and vigorous minds; but ſeldom that ſuperabundance, which proves ſo fatal to both in old and refined countries. The American freeholders at preſent, are nearly, in point of condition, what the Engliſh Yeomen were of old, when they rendered us formidable to all Europe, and our name celebrated throughout the world. The former, from many obvious circumſtances, are more enthuſiaſtical lovers of liberty, than even our Yeomen were. Such a body was too numerous to be bribed, and too bold to be deſpiſed without great danger.

In this untoward ſtate of public affairs, General Gage had the conſolation to receive a congratulatory addreſs from the Juſtices of the Peace of Plymouth county, aſſembled at their general ſeſſions, in which, beſides the cuſtomary compliments, they expreſſed great concern at ſeeing that the inhabitants of ſome towns, influenced by certain perſons, calling themſelves committees of correſpondence, and encouraged by ſome, whoſe buſineſs it was as preachers of the Goſpel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league, calculated to increaſe the diſpleaſure of the ſovereign, to exaſperate the parent country, and to interrupt the harmony of ſociety. A proteſt was alſo paſſed by ſeveral gentlemen of the county of Worceſter, againſt all riotous diſorders, and ſeditious practices. Theſe efforts had however no other effect, than probably to lead the governor as well as adminiſtration into an erroneous opinion, as to the ſtrength and number

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of the friends of government in that province.

Though liberal contributions were raiſed in the different colonies for the relief of the ſuffering inhabitants of Boſton; yet it may be eaſily conceived, that in a town, containing above 20,000 inhabitants, who had always ſubſiſted by commerce, and the ſeveral trades and kinds of buſineſs ſubſervient to it, and where the maintenance of numberleſs families depended merely upon locality, that the cutting off of that grand ſource of their employment and ſubſiſtence, muſt, notwithſtanding any temporary reliefs, occaſion great and numerous diſtreſſes. Even the rich were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property conſiſted in wharfs, warehouſes, ſheds, and all thoſe numerous erections, which are deſtined to the purpoſes of commerce in a great trading port, and were no longer of any value.

They, however, bore their misfortunes with a wonderful conſtancy, and met with a general ſympathy and tenderneſs, which much confirmed their reſolution. Their neighbours, the merchants and inhabitants of the town and port of Marblehead, who were among thoſe that were to profit the moſt by their ruin, inſtead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their calamity, ſent them a generous offer of the uſe of their ſtores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of tranſacting all the buſineſs they ſhould do at their port, without putting them to the ſmalleſt expence; but they at the ſame time exhorted them to perſevere in that patience and reſolution, which had ever been their characteriſtic.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a ſmall detachment of the artillery, and ſome cannon, were landed at Boſton, and encamped on the common, which lies within the Peninſula on which the town ſtands. Theſe troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of ſeveral regiments from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and at length from Quebec. It may be eaſily conceived, that the arrival and ſtation of theſe troops, was far from being agreeable to the inhabitants; nor was the jealouſy in any degree leſs, in the minds of their neighbours of the ſurrounding counties. This diſſatisfaction was further increaſed by the placing of a guard at Boſton Neck; (which is the narrow Iſthmus that joins the Peninſula to the continent), a meaſure of which the frequent deſertion of the ſoldiers, was either the cauſe, or the pretext.

In this ſtate, a trifling circumſtance gave the people of Boſton a full earneſt of the ſupport they might expect from the country in caſe of extremity, and an opportunity of knowing the general temper of the people. A report had been ſpread, perhaps induſtriouſly, that a regiment poſted at the neck, had cut off all communication with the country, in order to ſtarve the town into a compliance with any meaſures that might be propoſed to them. Upon this vague report, a large body of the inhabitants of the county of Worceſter immediately aſſembled, and diſpatched two meſſengers expreſs to Boſton, to diſcover the truth of the

the intelligence. Theſe envoys informed the town, that if the report had been true, there were ſeveral thouſand armed men, ready to have marched to their aſſiſtance; and told them further, that they were commiſſioned to acquaint them, that even though they might be diſpoſed to a ſurrender of their liberties, the people of the country would not think themſelves at all included in their act. That by the late acts of the Britiſh parliament, and the bills which were pending therein, when the laſt intelligence was received, their charter was utterly vacated; and that the compact between Great-Britain and the colony being thus diſſolved, they were at full liberty to combine together in what manner and form they thought beſt for mutual ſecurity.

Not long after, the governor iſ-
Auguſt 4th. ſued a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing and puniſhing of vice, prophaneneſs, and immorality. This proclamation, which was avowedly in imitation of that iſſued by his majeſty upon his acceſſion, ſeems, like moſt acts of government about this time, to have been wrong placed, and ill-timed. The people of that province had always been ſcoffed at, and reproached by their enemies, as well as by thoſe of looſer manners, for a phariſaical attention to outward forms, and to the appearances of religious piety and virtue. It is ſcarcely worth an obſervation, that neither proclamations or laws can reach farther than external appearances. But in this proclamation "Hypocriſy" being inſerted among the immoralities, againſt which the people were warned, it ſeemed as if an act of ſtate were turned into a libel on the people; and this inſult exaſperated greatly the rage of minds already ſufficiently diſcontented.

Along with the new laws, which did not arrive till the beginning of Auguſt, Governor Gage received a liſt of 36 new counſellors, who in conformity to the new regulations of them, were appointed by the crown, contrary to the method preſcribed by the charter, of their being choſen by the repreſentatives in each aſſembly. Of theſe gentlemen, about 24 accepted the office, which was a ſufficient number to carry on the buſineſs of government, until a freſh nomination ſhould arrive for filling up the vacancies.

Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that criſis, which was to put an end to all eſtabliſhed government in the province. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the ſemblance of reſiſtance and war; in Berkſhire, and Worceſter counties in particular, nothing was to be ſeen or heard of, but the purchaſing and providing of arms, the procuring of ammunition, the caſting of balls, and all thoſe other preparations, which teſtify the moſt immediate danger, and determined reſiſtance. All thoſe, who accepted of offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, were every where declared to be enemies to their country, and threatened with all the conſequences due to ſuch a character. The people of Connecticut,

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looking upon the fate of their neighbouring colony to be only a prelude to their own, even exceeded them in violence.

The new judges were rendered every where incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the province, unanimously refuſed to be ſworn, or to act in any manner, under the new judges, and the new laws. The acting otherwiſe was deemed ſo heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it neceſſary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for iſſuing the warrants by which the juries were ſummoned to attend, and not only to declare, that let the conſequences be what they may, they would not act ſo again; but that, they had not conſidered what they were doing, and that if their countrymen ſhould forgive them, they could never forgive themſelves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and ſome other places, the people aſſembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-houſe and avenues in ſuch a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the ſheriff's commanding them to make way for the court; they anſwered, that they knew no court, nor other eſtabliſhment, independent of the ancient laws and uſages of their country, and to none other would they ſubmit, or give way upon any terms.

The new counſellors were ſtill more unfortunate than the judges. Their houſes were ſurrounded by great bodies of the people, who ſoon diſcovered by their countenance and temper, that they had no other alternative than to ſubmit to a renunciation of their offices, or to ſuffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the former condition; ſome had the fortune to be in Boſton, and thereby evaded the danger, while others, with great riſque, were purſued and hunted in their eſcape thither, with threats of deſtruction to their houſes and eſtates.

The old conſtitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one being rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law and government in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and the people were reduced to that ſtate of anarchy, in which mankind are ſuppoſed to have exiſted in the earlieſt ages. The degree of order, however, which by the general concurrence of the people, was preſerved in this ſtate of anarchy, will for ever excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, and continue among the ſtrongeſt proofs of the efficacy of long eſtabliſhed habits, and of a conſtant ſubmiſſion to laws. Excepting the general oppoſition to the new government, and the exceſſes ariſing from it, in the outrages offered to particular perſons who were upon that account obnoxious to the people, no other very conſiderable marks appeared of the ceſſation of law or of government.

In the mean time, General Gage thought it neceſſary for the ſafety of the troops, as well as to ſecure the important poſt and town of Boſton, to fortify the neck of land, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This meaſure, however neceſſary, could not but increaſe the jealouſy,

ſuſpicion, and ill blood, which were already ſo prevalent; but was ſoon ſucceeded by another, that ſtill excited a greater alarm. The ſeaſon of the year was now arrived for the annual muſter of the militia; and the general, having probably ſome ſuſpicion of their conduct when aſſembled, or, as they pretended, being urged thereunto by thoſe ſecret adviſers and talebearers, to whoſe inſidious arts, and falſe information, for a long time paſt, as well as the preſent, the Americans attributed all their own calamities, and the troubles that had ariſen between both countries; however it was, he ſeized upon the ammunition and ſtores, which were lodged in the provincial arſenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boſton. He alſo, at the ſame time, ſeized upon the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charles-Town, and ſome other places, being partly private property, and partly provincial.

This excited the moſt violent and univerſal ferment that had yet been known. The people aſſembled to the amount of ſeveral thouſands, and it was with the greateſt difficulty, that ſome of the more moderate and leading gentlemen of the country, were able to reſtrain them from marching directly to Boſton, there to demand a delivery of the powder and ſtores, and in caſe of refuſal to attack the troops. A falſe report having been intentionally ſpread about the ſame time, and extended to Connecticut, in order, probably, to try the temper of that province, that the ſhips and troops had attacked the town of Boſton, and were then firing upon it, when the pretended bearers of the news had come away, ſeveral thouſands of thoſe people immediately aſſembled in arms, and marched, with great expedition, a conſiderable diſtance, to the relief, as they ſuppoſed, of their ſuffering neighbours, before they were convinced of the miſtake.

About this time, the governor's company of cadets, conſiſting wholly of gentlemen of Boſton, and of ſuch, in general, as had always been well affected to government, diſbanded themſelves, and returned to the general the ſtandard, with which, according to cuſtom, he had preſented them upon his arrival. This ſlight to the governor, and apparent diſreliſh to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away Mr. Hancock's commiſſion, who was the colonel of that corps. A Colonel Murray of the militia, having accepted a ſeat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment reſigned their commiſſions in one day; ſo general was the ſpirit which was now gone forth.

The late meaſure of ſeizing the powder, as well as the fortifications which were erecting on Boſton-neck, occaſioned the holding of an aſſembly of delegates, from all the towns of the county of Suffolk, of which Boſton is the county town and capital. In this aſſembly a great number of reſolutions were paſſed, ſome of which militated more ſtrongly with the authority of the new legiſlature, than any that had yet appeared. They are, however, introduced by a declaration of allegiance; but they alſo declare it to be their duty, by all lawful means to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties; that the late acts are groſs infractions of

thoſe

thoſe rights; and that no obedience is due from that province, to either, or any part of thoſe acts; but that they ought to be rejected as the wicked attempts of an abandoned adminiſtration to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government. They engaged that the county ſhould ſupport and bear harmleſs all ſheriffs, jurors, and other perſons who ſhould ſuffer proſecution for not acting under the preſent unconſtitutional judges, or carrying into execution any orders of their courts; and reſolved, that thoſe who had accepted ſeats at the council-board, had violated the duty they owed to their country, and that if they did not vacate them within a ſhort limited time, they ſhould be conſidered as obſtinate and incorrigible enemies to their country.

They alſo paſt reſolutions againſt the fortifications at Boſton-neck; the Quebec bill; for the ſuſpenſion of commerce; for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; for the holding of a provincial congreſs; and to pay all due reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the meaſures which ſhould be recommended by the Continental Congreſs. They recommended to the people to perfect themſelves in the art of war, and for that purpoſe, that the militia ſhould appear under arms once every week. That, as it had been reported, that ſeveral gentlemen who had rendered themſelves conſpicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were to be apprehended; in caſe ſo audacious a meaſure ſhould be carried into execution, they recommend, that all the officers of ſo tyrannical a government, ſhould be ſeized, and kept in ſafe cuſtody, until the former were reſtored to their friends and families.

Then followed a recommendation, which in the preſent ſtate of things amounted to a peremptory command, to the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as uſual to the treaſurer; but to detain it in their hands, until the civil government of the province was placed on a conſtitutional foundation; or until it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered by the Provincial Congreſs. They, however, declare, that notwithſtanding the many inſults and oppreſſions which they moſt ſenſibly feel and reſent, they are determined to act merely on the defenſive, ſo long as ſuch conduct may be vindicated by reaſon, and the principles of ſelf-preſervation. They conclude by exhorting the people to reſtrain their reſentments, to avoid all riots and diſorderly proceedings, as being deſtructive of all good government; and by a ſteady, manly, uniform, and perſevering oppoſition, to convince their enemies, that, in a conteſt ſo important, in a cauſe ſo ſolemn, *their conduct ſhould be ſuch as to merit the approbation of the wiſe, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age, and of every country.*

They then appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, with a remonſtrance againſt the fortifying of Boſton-neck; in which they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themſelves oppreſſed by ſome late Acts of the Britiſh parliament, and are reſolved, by *divine aſſiſtance*, never to ſubmit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majeſty's troops. Sept. 9th.

troops. They impute the preſent extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people, beſides the new fortification, to the ſeizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the inſults and abuſe offered to paſſengers by the ſoldiers, in which, they ſay, they have been encouraged by ſome of the officers; and conclude, by declaring, that nothing leſs than a removal or redreſs of thoſe grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that ſituation of peace and tranquillity, which every free ſubject ought to enjoy. In this addreſs they totally diſclaimed every wiſh and idea of independency, and attributed all the preſent troubles, to miſinformation at home, and the ſiniſter deſigns of particular perſons.

To this addreſs General Gage anſwered, that he had no intention to prevent the free egreſs and regreſs of any perſon to and from the town of Boſton; that he would ſuffer none under his command to injure the perſon or property of any of his majeſty's ſubjects; but that it was his duty to preſerve the peace, and to prevent ſurprize; and that no uſe would be made of the cannon, unleſs their hoſtile proceedings ſhould render it neceſſary.

Before public affairs had arrived at their preſent alarming ſtate, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had iſſued writs for the holding of a general aſſembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October; but the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the reſignation of ſo great a number of the new mandamus counſellors, as deprived the ſmall remainder of all efficacy, made him think it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the aſſembly to a fitter ſeaſon. The legality of the proclamation was however called in queſtion, and the elections every where took place without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem, purſuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any ſubſtitute for him attending, to adminiſter the oaths, and open a ſeſſion, they voted themſelves into a Provincial Congreſs, to be joined by ſuch others as had been, or ſhould be elected for that purpoſe; after which Mr. Hancock, ſo obnoxious to the Governor's party, was choſen chairman, and they adjourned to the town of Concord, about 20 miles from Boſton.

Among their earlieſt proceedings, they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonſtrance, in which they apologized for their preſent meeting, by repreſenting, that the diſtreſſed and miſerable ſtate of the colony, had rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary to collect the wiſdom of the province by their delegates in that Congreſs; thereby to concert ſome adequate remedy to prevent impending ruin, and to provide for the public ſafety. They then expreſs the grievous apprehenſions of the people from the meaſures now purſuing. They aſſert, that even the rigour of the Boſton port bill is exceeded, by the manner in which it is carried into execution. They complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to licence murders; of the number of troops in the

Oct. 11th.

the capital, which were daily increaſing by new acceſſions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and hoſtile preparations in Boſton-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boſton, but of the province in general. They conclude by adjuring the general, as he regards his majeſty's honour and intereſt, the dignity and happineſs of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to deſiſt immediately from the conſtruction of the fortreſs at the entrance into Boſton, and to reſtore that paſs to its natural ſtate.

The general was involved in ſome difficulty in giving them an anſwer, as he could not acknowledge the legality of their aſſembling. The neceſſity of the times however prevailed. He expreſſed great indignation that an idea ſhould be formed, that the lives, liberties, or property of any people, except avowed enemies, ſhould be in danger from Engliſh troops. Britain, he ſaid, could never harbour the black deſign of wantonly deſtroying or enſlaving any people; and notwithſtanding the enmity ſhewn to the troops, by withholding from them almoſt every neceſſary for their preſervation, they had not yet diſcovered the reſentment which might juſtly be expected to ariſe from ſuch hoſtile treatment. He reminded the Congreſs, that while they complain of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they are themſelves, by their preſent aſſembling, ſubverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own conſtitution; he therefore warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to deſiſt from ſuch illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings.

By this time Boſton was become the place of refuge to all thoſe friends of the new government, who thought it neceſſary to perſevere in avowing their ſentiments. The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, with all their officers, had alſo thought it neceſſary, towards the concluſion of the preceding month, to abandon their head quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a cuſtom-houſe, to a place which an act of parliament had proſcribed from all trade. Thus the new acts of parliament on one hand, and the reſiſtance of the people on the other, equally joined to annihilate all appearance of government, legiſlation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations.

Upon the approach of winter, the general had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly, perhaps, for ſafety, and partly to prevent the diſorders and miſchiefs, which in the preſent ſtate and temper of both, muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of their being quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the diſlike to their being provided for in any manner, that the ſelect-men and the committees obliged the workmen to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown. The general had as little ſucceſs in endeavouring to procure carpenters from New York, ſo that it was with the greateſt difficulty he could get thoſe temporary lodgments erected; and having endeavoured alſo to procure ſome winter covering from the latter city, the offer to purchaſe it was preſented to

every merchant there, who to a man refuſed complying with any part of the order, and returned for anſwer, "that they never would ſupply any article for the benefit of men who were ſent as enemies to their country."

Every thing now tended to increaſe the mutual apprehenſion, diſtruſt, and animoſity between government and the people. Thoſe of Boſton, either were, or pretended to be, under continual terror, from the apprehenſions of immediate danger, to their properties, liberties, and even their lives. They were in the hands of an armed force whom they abhorred, and who equally deteſted them. The ſoldiers on the other hand, conſidered themſelves in the midſt of enemies, and were equally apprehenſive of danger from within and without. Each ſide profeſſed the beſt intentions in the world for itſelf, and ſhewed the greateſt ſuſpicion of the other. In this ſtate of doubt and profeſſion, things were rendered ſtill worſe, by a meaſure, which did not ſeem of ſufficient importance in its conſequences, to juſtify its being hazarded at ſo critical a ſeaſon. This was the landing of a detachment of ſailors by night, from the ſhips of war in the harbour, who ſpiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

In the mean time the Provincial Congreſs, notwithſtanding the cautions given, and dangers held out by the governor, not only continued their aſſembly, but their reſolutions having acquired, from the diſpoſition and promptitude of the people, all the weight and efficacy of laws, they ſeemed to have founded in effect ſomething like a new and independent government. Under the ſtyle of recommendation and advice, they ſettled the militia; they regulated the public treaſures; and they provided arms. They appointed a day of public thankſgiving, on which, among the other enumerated bleſſings, a particular acknowledgment was to be made to the Almighty, for the union which ſo remarkably prevailed in all the colonies.

Theſe and ſimilar meaſures, induced General Gage to iſſue a proclamation, in which, though the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings, which are generally underſtood as nearly tantamount to treaſon and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly, in the king's name, prohibited from complying, in any degree, with the requiſitions, recommendations, directions, or reſolves of that unlawful aſſembly. Nov. 10th.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

General Congreſs held at Philadelphia. Previous inſtructions to ſome of the deputies. Acts of the Congreſs. Approbation of the conduct of the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and of the late reſolutions paſſed by the county of Suffolk. Reſolutions. Declaration of rights. Letter to General Gage. Aſſociation. Reſolution for a future Congreſs. Petition to the king. Memorial to the people of Great-Britain. Addreſs to the inhabitants of Canada. Addreſs to the colonies. The Congreſs breaks up.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, the twelve old colonies, including that whole extent of continent which ſtretches from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the General Congreſs, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September 1774. Such was the unhappy effect of the meaſures, purſued, perhaps ſomewhat too avowedly, and for that reaſon the leſs wiſely, for reducing America by diviſion, that thoſe twelve colonies, claſhing in intereſts, frequently quarrelling about boundaries and many other ſubjects, differing in manners, cuſtoms, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealouſies, and averſions, incident to neighbouring ſtates, were now led to aſſemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Whatever may be the event, it was undoubtedly a dangerous experiment to bring matters to this criſis.

Several of the colonies had given inſtructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in congreſs. In general, they contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and allegiance; of affection for the mother country; of conſtitutional dependance on her; and of gratitude for benefits already received in that ſtate. They totally diſclaimed every idea of independence, or of ſeeking a ſeparation; acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and declared their readineſs and willingneſs to ſupport them with life and fortune, ſo far as they are warranted by the conſtitution. The Penſylvanians, in particular, declare that they view the preſent conteſts with the deepeſt concern; that perpetual love and union, an interchange of good offices, without the leaſt infraction of mutual rights, ought ever to ſubſiſt between the mother country and them.

On the other hand, they were unanimous in declaring, that they never would give up thoſe rights and liberties which, as they ſaid, deſcended to them from their anceſtors, and which, they ſaid, they were bound by all laws, human and divine, to tranſmit whole and pure to their poſterity; that they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of Britiſh-born ſubjects; that the power lately aſſumed by parliament is unjuſt, and the only cauſe of all the preſent uneaſineſs; and that the late acts reſpecting the capital and province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, are unconſtitutional, oppreſſive, and dangerous.

The inſtructions, however, of the ſeveral colonies that purſued that mode, differed conſiderably from each other. In ſome great violence appeared. Others were more reaſonable. In ſome nothing was ſpoken of but their grievances. Others propoſed likewiſe terms on their part to be offered to Great-Britain—Such as an obedience to all the trade laws paſſed, or to be paſſed, except ſuch as were ſpecified; and the ſettling an annual revenue on the crown for public purpoſes, and diſpoſable by parliament. The deputies however were inſtructed, that in theſe and all other points, they were to coincide with the majority of the congreſs. This majority was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a vote, without regard to the number of deputies which it ſhould ſend.

The debates and proceedings of the congreſs were conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, nor have any parts of them yet tranſpired, but thoſe which they thought proper to lay before the public. The number of delegates amounted to fifty-one, who repreſented the ſeveral Engliſh colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Penſylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina.

Sept. 17th. The firſt public act of the Congreſs was a declaratory reſolution expreſſive of their diſpoſition with reſpect to the colony of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people. In this they expreſſed, in the moſt pathetic terms, how deeply they felt the ſufferings of their countrymen in that province, under the operation, as they ſaid, of the late unjuſt, cruel, and oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament; they thoroughly approved of the wiſdom and fortitude with which their oppoſition to theſe miniſterial meaſures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the reſolutions paſſed, and meaſures propoſed, by the delegates of the county of Suffolk; and earneſtly recommended a perſeverance in the ſame firm and temperate conduct, according to the determinations of that aſſembly. This was immediately publiſhed, and tranſmitted to that province, accompanied with an unanimous reſolution, That contributions from all the colonies for ſupplying the neceſſities, and alleviating the diſtreſſes of their brethren at Boſton, ought to be continued in ſuch manner, and ſo long, as their occaſions may require.

By the ſubſequent reſolutions of the Congreſs, they not only formally approve of the oppoſition made by that province to the late acts; but further declare, that if it ſhould be attempted to carry them into execution by force, all America ſhould ſupport it in that oppoſition.—That if it be found abſolutely neceſſary to remove the people of Boſton into the country, all America ſhould contribute towards recompenſing them for the injury they might thereby ſuſtain.—They recommend to the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's Bay, to ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of juſtice, as it cannot be procured in a legal manner under the rules of the charter, until the effects of the application of the Congreſs for a repeal

repeal of those acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.—And that every person who shall accept, or act under, any commission or authority, derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, hath given to America. They besides recommended to the people of Boston and Massachusett's-Bay, still to conduct themselves peaceably towards the general, and the troops stationed at Boston, so far as it could possibly consist with their immediate safety; but that they should firmly persevere in the defensive line of conduct which they are now pursuing. The latter part of this instruction evidently alluded to and implied an approbation of the late resolutions of the county of Suffolk, relative to the militia, and to the arming of the people in general. The Congress conclude by a resolution, that the transporting, or attempting to transport any person beyond the sea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

These resolutions being passed, the Congress wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the complaints which had been before repeatedly made by the town of Boston, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Massachusett's-Bay, they declare the determined resolution of the colonies, to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppressed; that, in consequence of their sentiments upon that subject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern, that, whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the Congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a civil war. In order to prevent these evils, and the people from being driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the king's troops, if they could be assured of their own safety, they intreated, that the general would discontinue the fortifications in Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communications between the town and country should be open, unmolested, and free.

The Congress also published a declaration of rights, to which, they say, the English colonies of North-America are entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts,

pacts. In the firſt of theſe are life, liberty, and property, a right to the diſpoſal of any of which, without their conſent, they had never ceded to any ſovereign power whatever. That their anceſtors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born ſubjects; and that by ſuch emigration, they neither forfeited, ſurrendered, nor loſt, any of thoſe rights. They then ſtate, that the foundation of Engliſh liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council; and proceed to ſhew, that as the coloniſts are not, and, from various cauſes, cannot be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures, where their right of repreſentation can alone be preſerved, in all caſes of taxation and internal policy, ſubject only to the negative of their ſovereign, in ſuch manner as had been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legiſlative power in their aſſemblies, which might ſeem to leave no means of parliamentary interference for holding the colonies to the mother country, they declare that from the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the mutual intereſt of both countries, they chearfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh parliament, as are, bona fide, reſtrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its reſpective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects in America, without their conſent.

They alſo reſolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more eſpecially, to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage. That they are entitled to the benefit of ſuch of the Engliſh ſtatutes as exiſted at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience found to be applicable to their ſeveral local and other circumſtances. That they are likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or ſecured by their ſeveral codes of provincial laws. That they have a right to aſſemble peaceably, conſider of their grievances, and petition the king for redreſs; and that all proſecutions, and prohibitory proclamations for ſo doing, are illegal. That the keeping of a ſtanding army, in times of peace, in any colony, without the conſent of its legiſlature, is contrary to law. That it is eſſential to the Engliſh conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature ſhould be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exerciſe of legiſlative power, by a council appointed during pleaſure by the crown, is unconſtitutional, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation.

They declared in behalf of themſelves and their conſtituents, that they claimed, and inſiſted on the foregoing articles, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own

conſent,

conſent, by their repreſentatives in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures. They then enumerated the parts, or the whole, of eleven acts of parliament, which had been paſſed in the preſent reign, and which they declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the coloniſts; and that the repeal of them was eſſentially neceſſary, in order to reſtore harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts of parliament thus reprobated, was the Quebec bill, which had already been the cauſe of ſo much diſcuſſion at home, and which they termed, "An act for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, aboliſhing the equitable ſyſtem of Engliſh laws, and erecting a tyranny there;" to the great danger, (as they aſſerted) from ſo total a diſimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring Britiſh colonies, by the aſſiſtance of whoſe blood and treaſure that country was conquered from France.

After ſpecifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, they declared, that, to obtain redreſs of the latter, which threatened deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North-America, a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation, agreement, would prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure; they accordingly entered into an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves, and of courſe their conſtituents, to the ſtrict obſervance of the following articles.—1ſt. That after the firſt day of the following December, they would import no Britiſh goods or merchandize whatſoever, nor any Eaſt-India tea, from any part of the world; nor any of the products of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands; nor wines from Madeira, or the Weſtern iſlands; nor foreign indigo.—2. That, after that day, they would wholly diſcontinue the ſlave-trade, and neither hire veſſels, nor ſell commodities or manufactures to any concerned in that trade.—3. That from the preſent date, they will uſe no tea on which a duty had been or ſhall be paid; nor after the 1ſt of March enſuing, any Eaſt-India tea whatever, nor any Britiſh goods, imported after the 1ſt of December, except ſuch as come under the rules and directions which we ſhall ſee in the 10th article.—4. By this article, the non-exportation agreement is ſuſpended to the 10th of September 1775; after which day, if the acts of parliament which they had before recited are not repealed, all exportation is to ceaſe, except that of rice to Europe.—5. The Britiſh merchants are exhorted not to ſhip any goods in violation of this aſſociation, under penalty of their never holding any commercial intercourſe with thoſe that act otherwiſe.—6. Owners of ſhips are warned to give ſuch orders to their captains, as will effectually prevent their receiving any of thoſe goods that are prohibited.—7. They agree to improve the breed of ſheep, and to increaſe their number, to the greateſt poſſible extent.—8. This article tends to encourage frugality, œconomy, and induſtry; to promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures; to diſcountenance all expenſive ſhows, games, and entertainments; to leſſen the expences of funerals; to diſcontinue the giving of gloves and ſcarfs, and the wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.—

Venders of goods are to ſell them at the uſual prices, without taking any advantage of the preſent ſituation of affairs.—10. This article ſeems in a certain degree to ſoften the rigour of the firſt, and permits a conditional importation for two months longer, at the option of the owner; who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the firſt of February, to the committee of the place that they arrive at, they are to be ſold under their inſpection, and the prime coſt being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the ſufferers at Boſton. All goods that arrive after that day, to be ſent back without landing, or breaking any of the packages.——The three following articles relate to the appointing of committees, to prevent any violation of the foregoing, and to publiſh the names of the violators in the Gazette, as foes to the rights, and enemies to the liberty of Britiſh America; they alſo regulate the ſale of domeſtic manufactures, that they may be diſpoſed of at reaſonable prices, and no undue advantages taken of a future ſcarcity of goods.—By the 14th and laſt article, any colony or province, which ſhall not accede to, or which ſhall hereafter violate the aſſociation, is branded as inimical to the liberties of their country, and all dealings or intercourſe whatever with ſuch colony is interdicted.

This aſſociation was ſubſcribed by all the members of the congreſs; and the foregoing reſolutions were all marked, *nemine contradicente*. They afterwards reſolved, that a congreſs ſhould be held in the ſame place, on the 10th day of the following May, unleſs the redreſs of grievances, which they have deſired, ſhould be obtained before that time; and they recommended to all the colonies to chuſe deputies, as ſoon as poſſible, for that purpoſe. They alſo, in their own names, and in the behalf of all thoſe whom they repreſented, declared their moſt grateful acknowledgments, to thoſe truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had ſo generouſly and powerfully, though unſucceſsfully, eſpouſed and defended the cauſe of America, both in and out of parliament.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to his Majeſty, a memorial to the people of Great-Britain, an addreſs to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majeſty contained an enumeration of their grievances; among which are the following, viz. The keeping of a ſtanding army in the colonies in time of peace, without the conſent of the aſſemblies; and the employing of that army, and of a naval force, to enforce the payment of taxes. —The authority of the commander in chief, and of the brigadiers general, being rendered ſupreme in all the civil governments in America.—The commander in chief of the forces, in time of peace, appointed governor of a colony.—The charges of uſual offices greatly increaſed, and new, expenſive, and oppreſſive offices, multiplied. —The judges of the admiralty courts impowered to receive their ſalaries and fees from the effects condemned by themſelves; and the officers of the cuſtoms to break open and enter houſes, without the authority

authority of the civil magiſtrate.—The judges rendered entirely dependent on the crown for their ſalaries, as well as for the duration of their commiſſions. Counſellors, who exerciſe legiſlative authority, holding their commiſſions during pleaſure.——Humble and reaſonable petitions from the repreſentatives of the people fruitleſs.—The agents of the people diſcountenanced, and inſtructions given to prevent the payment of their ſalaries; aſſemblies repeatedly and injuriouſly diſſolved; commerce burthened with uſeleſs and oppreſſive reſtrictions.

They then enumerate the ſeveral acts of parliament paſſed in the preſent reign for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in the colonies, and of extending the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; whereby their property is taken from them without their conſent, the trial by jury, in many civil caſes aboliſhed, enormous forfeitures incurred for ſlight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are juſtly liable, and oppreſſive ſecurity is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

They complain of the parliamentary vote for reviving the ſtatute of the 35th Henry VIIIth, and extending its influence to the coloniſts; and of the ſtatute of the 12th of his preſent majeſty, whereby the inhabitants of the colonies may, in ſundry caſes, by that ſtatute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage. They then recite the three acts of the preceding ſeſſion, relative to Boſton and the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; the Quebec act, and the act for providing quarters for the troops in North-America.

The petition repeatedly contains the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty, of affectionate attachment and duty to the ſovereign, of love and veneration for the parent ſtate; they attributed theſe their ſentiments to the liberties they inherited from their anceſtors, and the conſtitution under which they were bred; while the neceſſity which compelled, was the apology for delivering them. They at the ſame time promiſed themſelves a favourable reception and hearing from a ſovereign, whoſe illuſtrious family owed their empire to ſimilar principles.

They declare, that from the deſtructive ſyſtem of colony adminiſtration, adopted ſince the concluſion of the laſt war, have flowed thoſe diſtreſſes, dangers, fears and jealouſies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and they defy their moſt ſubtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and them from an earlier period, or from other cauſes than they have aſſigned. That they aſk but for peace, liberty and ſafety; they wiſh not for a diminution of the prerogative, nor do they ſolicit the grant of any new right in their favour; the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great-Britain, they ſhall always carefully and zealouſly endeavour to ſupport and maintain. That, "appealing to that Being who ſearches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they ſolemnly profeſs, that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending deſtruction."

They

They conclude by imploring his majeſty, in the name of all America; and a ſolemn adjuration by all that is ſacred and aweful; that, "for the glory, which can be advanced only by rendering his ſubjects happy, and keeping them united; for the intereſts of his family, depending in an adherence to the principle that enthroned it; for the ſafety and welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almoſt unavoidable dangers and diſtreſſes; that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the ſame bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he will not ſuffer the tranſcendent relation formed by theſe ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compenſate for the calamities through which they muſt be gained."

This petition was ſubſcribed by all the delegates.

In the memorial to the people of this country, they pay the higheſt praiſe to the noble and generous virtues of their and our common anceſtors; but they do it in a manner, that inſtead of reflecting any comparative honour on the preſent generation in this iſland, rather reproaches us with a ſhameful degeneracy. They afterwards ſay, that born to the ſame rights, liberties, and conſtitution, tranſmitted to them from the ſame anceſtors, guarantied to them by the plighted faith of government, and the moſt ſolemn compacts with Britiſh ſovereigns, it is no wonder they ſhould refuſe to ſurrender them to men, whoſe claims are not founded on any principles of reaſon, "and who proſecute them "with a deſign, that, by having "their lives and property in their "power, they might with the "greater facility enſlave us." They complain of being oppreſſed, abuſed, and miſrepreſented; and ſay, that the duty they owe to themſelves and to their poſterity, to our intereſt, and to the general welfare of the Britiſh empire, leads them to addreſs us on this very important ſubject.

After complaining of grievances in the ſtyle and ſubſtance of the petition, they recall the happy ſtate of the empire on both ſides of the Atlantic, previous to the concluſion of the late war; and ſtate the advantages which we derived, and to which they willingly ſubmitted, from the ſyſtem of colony government then purſued; they ſay, they looked up to us as to their parent ſtate, to which they were bound by the ſtrongeſt ties; and were happy in being inſtrumental to our proſperity and grandeur. They call upon ourſelves to witneſs their loyalty and attachment to the common intereſts of the whole empire: their efforts in the laſt war: their embarking to meet diſeaſe and death in foreign and inhoſpitable climates, to promote the ſucceſs of our arms; and our own acknowledgments of their zeal, and our even reimburſing them large ſums of money, which we confeſſed they had advanced beyond their proportion, and far beyond their abilities.

They aſk to what cauſes they are to attribute the ſudden change of treatment, and that ſyſtem of ſlavery, which was prepared for them at the reſtoration of peace; they trace the hiſtory of taxation from that time, and aſſert, that thoſe exactions,

exactions, instead of being applied to any useful purpose, either for this country or that, have been lavishly squandered upon court favourites and ministerial dependants; that they ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide for the necessary support of their own government; and, whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, they shall, as they have heretofore done, chearfully contribute their full proportion of men and money.

They then proceed to state and examine the measures and the several acts of parliament, which they consider as hostile to America, and subversive of their rights; or, in their words, the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving them. They represent the probable consequences to this country of a perseverance in that scheme, even supposing it attended with success; addition to the national debt; increase of taxes; and a diminution of commerce, must attend it in the progress; and if we are at length victorious, in what condition shall we then be? What advantages, or what laurels shall we reap from such a conquest?

They artfully endeavour to render theirs a cause common to both countries, by shewing that such success would in the event, be as fatal to the liberties of England as to those of America. They accordingly put the question, May not a minister with the same armies that subdued them enslave us? If to this it be answered, that we will cease to pay those armies, they pretend to shew, that America reduced to such a situation, would afford abundant resources both of men and money for the purpose; nor should we have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of them, they should refuse to assist in reducing us to the same abject state.—In a word (they say) "Take care that you do not fall "into the pit that is preparing "for us."

After denying the several charges, of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency, all of which they assert to be calumnies; they, however, declare that, if we are determined, that our ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain our hands from the shedding of human blood in such an impious cause, they must tell us,—"That they never will submit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

They afterwards make a proposal, which it were much to be wished had been more attended to, as it affords at least no unfavourable basis for negociation.—"Place us" say they, "in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

They conclude this memorial, by expressing the deepest regret for the resolutions they were obliged to enter into for the suspension of commerce, as a measure detrimental to numbers of their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and Ireland; they account and apologize for this conduct, by the over-ruling principles of self-preservation; by the supineness, and inattention to our common interest, which we had shewn for several years; and

by

by the attempt of the miniſtry, to influence a ſubmiſſion to their meaſures by deſtroying the trade of Boſton. "The like fate," they ſay, "may befall us all; we will endeavour therefore, to live without trade, and recur for ſubſiſtence to the fertility and bounty of our native ſoil, which will afford us all the neceſſaries and ſome of the conveniencies of life." They finally reſt their hopes of a reſtoration of that harmony, friendſhip, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majeſty's kingdoms and territories, ſo ardently wiſhed for by every true American, upon the magnanimity and juſtice of the Britiſh nation, in furniſhing a parliament of ſuch wiſdom, independency, and public ſpirit, as may ſave the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked miniſters and evil counſellors, whether in or out of office.

Of all the papers publiſhed by the American congreſs, their addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada, diſcovers the moſt dextrous management, and the moſt able method of application to the temper and paſſions of the parties, whom they endeavour to gain.—— They ſtate the right they had, upon their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, to the ineſtimable benefits of the Engliſh conſtitution; that this right was further confirmed by the royal proclamation in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of thoſe advantages. They impute to ſucceeding miniſters an audacious and cruel abuſe of the royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus juſtly entitled.—That as they have lived to ſee the unexpected time, when miniſters of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the moſt ſacred compacts and obligations; and as the Canadians, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from diſcovering the unſpeakable worth of that, from which they are debarred, the congreſs think it their duty, for weighty reaſons, to explain to them ſome of its moſt important branches.

They then quote paſſages on government from the Marquis Beccaria and their countryman Monteſquieu, the latter of whom they artfully adopt as a judge, and an irrefragable authority upon this occaſion, and proceed to ſpecify and explain, under ſeveral diſtinct heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the Engliſh conſtitution; and theſe rights, they truly ſay, defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the induſtrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their ſuperiors.

They ſtate, that without theſe rights, a people cannot be free and happy; and that under their protecting and encouraging influence, the Engliſh colonies had hitherto ſo amazingly flouriſhed and increaſed. And, that theſe are the rights which a profligate miniſtry are now ſtriving by force of arms to raviſh from themſelves; and which they are, with one mind, reſolved never to reſign but with their lives.

They again remind the Canadians that they are entitled to theſe rights, and ought at this moment to be in the perfect exerciſe of them.

them. They then aſk, what is offered to them by the late act of parliament in their place. And from thence proceed to a ſevere examination of the Quebec act, in which they attempt to ſhew, that it does not afford them, and has not left them a civil right or ſecurity of any kind, as every thing it ſeems to grant, and even the laws they poſſeſſed before, are liable to be altered and varied, and new laws or ordinances made, by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and conſequently, wholly dependent on, and removeable at the will of a miniſter in England; ſo that all the powers of legiſlation, as well as that of granting and applying the public ſupplies, and diſpoſing of their own property, being thus totally out of the hands and controul of the people, they are liable to the moſt abject ſlavery, and to live under the moſt deſpotic government in the univerſe.

After pretending to point out numberleſs deformities in that law, and placing them in ſuch points of view, as were ſufficient to render it odious to mankind, as well as hideous to the Canadians, they repreſent, as an inſult added to their injuries, the hopes upon which, they ſaid, it had been founded by the miniſter; he expecting, that, through an invincible ſtupidity in them, and a total inability of comprehending the tendency of a law, which ſo materially affected their deareſt intereſts, they ſhould, in the exceſs of a miſtaken gratitude, take up arms, and incur the ridicule and deteſtation of the world, by becoming willing tools in his hands, to aſſiſt in ſubverting the rights and liberties of the other colonies; without their being capable of ſeeing, that the unavoidable conſequences of ſuch an attempt, if ſucceſsful, would be the extinction of all hopes to themſelves and their poſterity of being ever reſtored to freedom; for idiotcy itſelf, (ſay they) "cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with leſs cruelty than they have us, who are of the ſame blood with themſelves."

They again apply to their paſſions, and partiality for their countryman, by calling up the venerable Monteſquieu, and deſiring them to apply thoſe maxims, ſanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to their own ſtate; they ſuppoſe him alive, and conſulted by the Canadians as to the part they ſhould act in their preſent ſituation: They are told (after expatiating on the ſubject of freedom and ſlavery) that they are only a ſmall people, compared with their numerous and powerful neighbours, who with open arms invite them into a fellowſhip; to ſeize the opportunity in their favour, which is not the work of man, but preſented by Providence itſelf; that it does not admit of a queſtion, whether it is more for their intereſt and happineſs, to have all the reſt of North America their unalterable friends, or their inveterate enemies; that as nature had joined their countries, let them alſo join their political intereſts; that they have been conquered into liberty, if they act as they ought; but that their doing otherwiſe will be attended with irremediable evils.

They endeavour to obviate the jealouſies and prejudices which might ariſe from the difference of

their religious principles, by inſtancing the caſe of the Swiſs cantons; whoſe union is compoſed of Catholic and Proteſtant ſtates; who live in the utmoſt concord and peace with each other, and have been thereby enabled to defeat all attempts againſt their liberties. This inſtance, though perhaps the moſt appoſite that could have been brought for the purpoſe, would not, however, have borne the teſt of much examination.

They declare, that they do not require them, to commence acts of hoſtility againſt the government of their common ſovereign; that they only invite them to conſult their own glory and welfare, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous miniſters ſo far, as to become the inſtruments of their cruelty and deſpotiſm. They conclude by informing them, that the congreſs had with univerſal pleaſure, and by an unanimous vote, reſolved, that they ſhould conſider the violation of their rights, by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they ſhould be invited to accede to their confederation, which had no other objects than the perfect ſecurity of the natural and civil rights of all the conſtituent members, according to their reſpective circumſtances, and the preſervation of a happy and laſting connection with Great-Britain, on the ſalutary and conſtitutional principles before mentioned.

In the addreſs to the colonies they inform them, that, as in duty and juſtice bound, they have deliberately, diſpaſſionately, and impartially examined and conſidered all the meaſures that led to the preſent diſturbances; the exertions of both the legiſlative and executive powers of Great-Britain, on the one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other. That upon the whole, they find themſelves reduced to the diſagreeable alternative, of being ſilent and betraying the innocent, or of ſpeaking out and cenſuring thoſe they wiſh to revere. In making their choice of theſe diſtreſſing difficulties, they prefer the courſe dictated by honeſty, and a regard for the welfare of their country.

After ſtating and examining the ſeveral laws that were paſſed, and the meaſures purſued with reſpect to America, from the year 1764, to the preſent period, they enquire into the motives for the particular hoſtility carried on againſt the town of Boſton, and province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, though the behaviour of the people in other colonies, had been in equal oppoſition to the power aſſumed by parliament, and yet no ſtep whatever had been taken againſt any of them by government. This they repreſent as an artful ſyſtematic line of conduct, concealing among others the following deſigns: 1ſt. That it was expected, that the province of Maſſachuſett's would be irritated into ſome violent action, that might diſpleaſe the reſt of the continent, or that might induce the people of England to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exaſperated miniſtry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province ſhould diſappoint that part of the plan, it was in that caſe hoped, that the other colonies would be ſo far intimidated, as to deſert their brethren, ſuffering

in a common cauſe, and that thus diſunited, all might be eaſily ſubdued.

After examining the Quebec act, and pretending to aſſign the motives on which it was founded, they ſay, that from this detail of facts, as well as from authentic intelligence, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a reſolution is formed, and now is carrying into execution, to extinguiſh the freedom of the colonies, by ſubjecting them to a deſpotic government.

They then proceed to ſtate the importance of the truſt which was repoſed in them, and the manner in which they have diſcharged it. Upon this occaſion, they ſay, that though the ſtate of the colonies would certainly juſtify other meaſures than thoſe which they have adviſed; yet they have for weighty reaſons given the preference to thoſe which they have adopted. Theſe reaſons are, that it is conſiſtent with the character which the colonies have always ſuſtained, to perform, even in the midſt of the unnatural diſtreſſes and imminent dangers that ſurround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore they were induced to offer once more to his majeſty the petitions of his faithful and oppreſſed ſubjects in America.—That from a ſenſe of their tender affection for the people of the kingdom from which they derive their original, they could not forbear to regulate their ſteps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the coloniſts are equally dear to them. That they ardently wiſh the ſocial band between that body and the colonies may never be diſſolved, and that it cannot, until the minds of the former ſhall become indiſputably hoſtile, or their inattention ſhall permit thoſe who are thus hoſtile to perſiſt in proſecuting, with the powers of the realm, the deſtructive meaſures already operating againſt the coloniſts; and, in either caſe, ſhall reduce the latter to ſuch a ſituation, that they ſhall be compelled to renounce every guard but that of ſelf-preſervation.—That, notwithſtanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point; that they do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; and they have choſen a method of oppoſition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other ſide of the Atlantic.

That, they deeply deplore the urgent neceſſity that preſſes them to an immediate interruption of commerce, which may prove injurious to their fellow-ſubjects in England; but truſt they will acquit them of any unkind intentions, by reflecting that they ſubject themſelves to ſimilar inconveniencies; that they are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulſions, and that they are contending for freedom, ſo often contended for by their anceſtors.

They conclude by obſerving, that the people of England will ſoon have an opportunity of declaring their ſentiments concerning their cauſe. "That in their piety, "generoſity, and good ſenſe, they "repoſe high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of paſt events, "be perſuaded that they, the de"fenders of true religion, and the "aſſertors of the rights of man"kind, will take part againſt

"their affectionate Proteſtant brethren in the colonies, in favour "of their open and our own ſecret enemies, whoſe intrigues, "for ſeveral years paſt, have been "wholly exerciſed in ſapping the "foundation of all civil and religious liberty."

Theſe public acts being paſſed, the delegates put an end to their ſeſſion, on the 52d day from the opening of the congreſs.

October 26th.

Without examining the truth of their allegations, or pretending to form any opinion upon a ſubject, on which the firſt names in this country have differed ſo widely, it muſt be acknowledged, that the petition and addreſſes from the congreſs have been executed with uncommon energy, addreſs, and ability; and that, conſidered abſtractedly, with reſpect to vigour of mind, ſtrength of ſentiment, and the language, at leaſt of patriotiſm, they would not have diſgraced any aſſembly that ever exiſted.

CHAP. III.

State of affairs previous to the diſſolution of Parliament. The new Parliament meets. Speech from the throne. Addreſſes. Amendments propoſed. Debates. Proteſt. Apparent irreſolution with reſpect to America. Eſtimates of ſupply formed upon a peace eſtabliſhment. Reduction in the naval department.

WHILST matters of this magnitude were tranſacting in America, an unexampled ſupineneſs with regard to public affairs, prevailed among the great body of the people at home. The Engliſh nation, which uſed to feel ſo *tremblingly alive*, upon every conteſt that aroſe between the remoteſt powers in Europe, and to intereſt itſelf ſo much in the iſſue, as ſcarcely to be with-held from becoming a party where-ever juſtice or friendſhip pointed out the way, by a ſtrange reverſe of temper, ſeemed at this time, much more indifferent to matters, in which were involved its own immediate and deareſt intereſts. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who muſt be the firſt to feel, and the laſt to lament any ſiniſter events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foreſight and provident ſagacity in whatever regards their intereſt, ſeemed now to be ſunk in the ſame careleſneſs and inattention with the reſt of the people.

Several cauſes concurred to produce this apparent indifference. The colony conteſts were no longer new. From the year 1765, they had, with but few, and thoſe ſhort intermiſſions, engaged the attention of parliament. Moſt of the topics on the ſubject were exhauſted, and the vehement paſſions which accompanied them had ſubſided. The non-importation agreement, (by diviſions within the colonies, which, if not cauſed, were much forwarded by the conceſſions with regard to ſeveral of the taxes laid in 1767) had broken up, before it had produced any ſerious

conſequences.

conſequences. Moſt people therefore flattered themſelves, that as things had appeared ſo very frequently at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, that now, as formerly, ſome means would be found for accommodating this diſpute. At worſt it was conceived, that the Americans would themſelves grow tired. And as an opinion was circulated with ſome induſtry and ſucceſs, that a countenance of reſolution, if perſevered in for ſome time, would certainly put an end to the conteſt, which (it was ſaid) had been nouriſhed wholly by former conceſſions, people were in general inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perſeverance and reſolution, to a miniſtry who valued themſelves on thoſe qualities. The court had alſo with great tenaciouſneſs adhered to this ſyſtem for ſome years. It frequently got the better, not only of the regular oppoſition, but of parties in the miniſtry itſelf, who were from time to time inclined to relax either from fear, wearineſs, or change of opinion. All theſe things had hitherto indiſpoſed the body of the nation from taking part in the ſanguine manner they had hitherto done on other ſubjects, and formerly on this.

From theſe cauſes, adminiſtration being totally diſengaged at home, was at full leiſure to proſecute the meaſures which it had deſigned againſt America, or to adopt ſuch new ones, as the oppoſition there rendered neceſſary towards carrying the new laws into execution. The times indeed were highly favourable to any purpoſe, which only required the concurrence of that parliament, and the acquieſcence of the people.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances on the one ſide, and that general indifference which prevailed on the other, it was not totally forgotten by either, that the time for a general election was approaching, and that the parliament had but one ſeſſion more to compleat its allotted term. In ſome few places, where the popular ſpirit ran high, teſts were already propoſed to be ſigned by their future candidates, previous to their receiving any aſſurance, or promiſe of ſupport from the electors. At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, a teſt was propoſed to Mr. Wilkes and Serjeant Glynne, and by them ſigned, in which they engaged their utmoſt endeavours to promote bills for ſhortening the duration of parliaments, for the excluſion of placemen and penſioners from the houſe of commons; for a more fair and equal repreſentation of the people; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of that county, and through them of all the electors in the kingdom; for procuring a repeal of the four late American acts, viz. That for the province of Quebec, and the three which affected the town of Boſton, and the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; beſides binding themſelves, ſo far as in them lay, to reſtore and defend that excellent form of government, which had been modelled and eſtabliſhed at the revolution.

Teſts, upon much the ſame principles, were propoſed in London and ſome other places; and it is ſtill the opinion of ſome of thoſe, who were ſanguine in that mode

of proceeding, that the apprehenſion of its becoming general influenced the ſubſequent conduct of adminiſtration to the diſſolution of parliament. This opinion, however, ſeems ill founded. There was no reaſon then to expect, nor is there now to imagine, that the mode of ſubſcribing to teſts would have become general, or even extenſive. The influence of adminiſtration, in a great number of the boroughs, and in many of the counties, is at all times too well known to be called in queſtion; and the principal and moſt celebrated leaders in oppoſition totally diſclaimed all teſts whatever, as unworthy of themſelves, derogatory of their character as ſenators, and reſtrictive of their rights as men.

Other more probable cauſes muſt be ſought, for the meaſure of diſſolving the parliament. The civil liſt was again become deeply in debt, and the diſtreſſes of the lower part of the houſhold, from the withholding of their wages, were become ſo notorious, and ſo much ſpoken of, that it ſeemed diſgraceful to the nation, as well as grievous to the ſovereign. It was therefore thought, and probably rightly, that it was intended, in the enſuing ſeſſion, not only to demand a large ſum of money for the diſcharge of the ſtanding debt, but alſo that a requiſition would be made, for ſuch a conſiderable and certain yearly addition to the civil-liſt revenues, as would prevent all ſuch mortifying applications for the future.

Though no doubt could be entertained of the good will and compliance of the then parliament, it was, perhaps, not thought prudent, to load them with ſo diſagreeable a taſk, at the eve of a general election. Recent experience had ſhewn, that this was a ſubject which would excite much general diſcuſſion; and that however a majority might, from their zeal to the eaſe of their ſovereign, overlook all the difficulties that could be raiſed within doors, ſuch a ſettlement, attended with the payment of a great preſent balance, and loaded with an entailed irredeemable future incumbrance would not at all be ſatisfactory without. People are apt to be out of humour at the parting with their money, and an application for future truſt and favour, in ſuch a temper, would ſeem, at leaſt, ill timed. On the other hand, ſuch a meaſure would be nothing in the hands of a new parliament, and would be worn out of memory, or become only an hiſtorical reference, at the time of their natural demiſe. The ſiniſter events which have ſince taken place have, however, hitherto prevented the making of any requiſition of this nature.

Another motive may, perhaps, be ſuppoſed, for the meaſure of diſſolution. That parliament had already paſſed the moſt hoſtile laws againſt America; and as they could not, with ſo good a grace, reſcind their own acts, the miniſter was, in ſome degree, tied down to a perſeverance in the ſupport of thoſe meaſures on which they were founded; whereas, in a new Houſe of Commons, he would be ſomewhat at large in chuſing or altering his line of conduct, as circumſtances varied, and they, if neceſſary, might throw all the odium of thoſe laws upon their predeceſſors.

It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that as the iſſue of the American meaſures became every day more precarious, it was thought a right meaſure to have

have the elections over, before any unfortunate event could change the temper, or irritate the minds of the people. If this ſhould coincide with the time of a general election, there was no doubt but the oppoſition muſt carry every thing before it. This, in all likelihood, was the ſtrongeſt and moſt prevalent motive to this reſolution, though the others might have had their ſhare. And it may be ſafely concluded, that a ſaving to the friends of government, by curtailing the time for conteſt and expence, particularly in the counties, was not at all overlooked upon this occaſion. Indeed, the oppoſition complained that they did not receive fair play; that ſome places were loſt by ſurprize; and, they ſaid, that thoſe in the ſecret had infinite advantages, by ſetting out betimes for the ſcene of action, and taking the neceſſary meaſures to ſtrengthen their intereſt, before even a ſuſpicion of the deſign was formed on the other ſide.

However it was, very unexpectedly, and much to the ſurprize of the nation in general, (as it had not been a meaſure much practiſed of late years, no ſimilar inſtance having occurred ſince the year 1746, and even that being an unique in the long reign of George II.) a proclamation was iſſued for the diſſolution of the parliament, and the calling of a new one, the writs for which were made returnable on the 29th day of the following November. Notwithſtanding the ſurprize, and ſhortneſs of the time, ſome of the elections were conteſted with extraordinary perſeverance and ardor.

September 30th.

In London, the popular party carried every thing before them, and returned all the members. Mr. Wilkes was again elected to repreſent the county of Middleſex, without a ſhadow of oppoſition from the court, and Lord Mayor of that city for the enſuing year; and there was no doubt that the court party, grown ſomewhat wiſer by long and bitter experience, would no longer controvert his ſeat. The diſpute, concerning that ſingle ſeat, had produced to them more troubles, vexation, and diſgraces, than the conteſt with the twelve united colonies of America. It would have been an imprudence, of the groſſeſt kind, to mix theſe diſputes in the preſent criſis; and thus, after near fourteen years ſtruggle, it was thought the beſt way to leave him maſter of the field.

It was ſaid, by ſome of thoſe who are curious in attending to ſuch obſervations, that notwithſtanding the ſurprize, and the ſhortneſs of the time, a greater number of the old members were thrown out than was common at general elections. However the fact might be, thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with men and things, did not augur any change of ſyſtem from this circumſtance. The court, notwithſtanding all the ill ſucceſs of all the meaſures from which the beſt ſucceſs was ſo confidently expected, ſeemed firmly reſolved to perſevere in the ſame courſe. It is ſaid, that private advices from America encouraged them to ſet a light value on the public appearances.

On the meeting of the new parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton was, without oppoſition, appointed Speaker. In the ſpeech from the throne, the two Houſes were informed, that a moſt daring ſpirit of

Nov. 30th. 1774.

reſiſtance and diſobedience to the law ſtill unhappily prevailed in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and had, in divers parts of it, broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature; that theſe proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in others of the colonies, and unwarrantable attempts made to obſtruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations; that ſuch meaſures had been taken, and ſuch orders given, as were judged moſt proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, for the protection and ſecurity of commerce, and for reſtoring and preſerving peace, order, and good government, in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay; that they might depend upon a firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was conſidered as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and the welfare of the Britiſh empire; his Majeſty being aſſured of receiving their aſſiſtance and ſupport while acting upon theſe principles.

The greateſt ſatisfaction was expreſſed, at the peace concluded between Ruſſia and the Porte, whereby the general tranquillity of Europe was rendered compleat; and the uſual aſſurance given of every endeavour to preſerve that tranquillity, of which there was the greater hope, as other powers gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of an equally pacific diſpoſition.

No particular ſupply was demanded; but it was not doubted, that the ſame affectionate confidence, and the ſame proofs of zeal and attachment, would be met with in this Houſe of Commons, which had been conſtantly received from others. The ſpeech concluded, by particularly recommending to both Houſes, at this time, to proceed with temper in their deliberations, and with unanimity in their reſolutions. To let the people, in every part of the dominions, be taught, by their example, to have a due reverence for the laws, and a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings of our excellent conſtitution.

An addreſs, in the uſual form, having been moved for, an amendment was propoſed, on the ſide of oppoſition, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, to the Houſe, as well as the letters, orders, and inſtructions upon that buſineſs. The propoſal for this amendment was productive of ſome conſiderable debate, as well as of a diviſion.

The ſupporters of the original addreſs went, in the firſt place, upon the old ground, that addreſſes were no more than general compliments, matters of courſe at the beginning of every ſeſſion, which did not preclude any future enquiries; that particular meaſures were not at that time, in any degree, objects of their conſideration; and that American affairs would come in their due order before them, when there would be ſufficient time for deliberation, and conſidering them either ſeparately or in general.

On the other ſide, it was contended, that though no particular meaſures were immediately under conſideration, yet, the addreſs being drawn up in very general terms,

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it implied, or even contained, a general approbation of all the late meaſures purſued with reſpect to America; that this general judgment could not, nor ought not, to be given with out the fulleſt and cleareſt information; that a delay in forming ſuch judgment, while the moſt important concerns both of England and America were hanging upon it, might be fatal to both in its conſequences; and that it was a deception to the inexperienced, and an inſult to the Houſe, to pretend that their addreſſes were words without meaning, and to be conſidered only as echoes to the ſpeech.

This ſpeech, they ſaid, was not merely a compliment. It included a ſcheme of policy. It included a ſcheme of unfortunate policy; from whence nothing good had ſprung, and from which nothing good could rationally be expected. They had hitherto been groſsly deceived, and this expreſſion of good humour and confidence, (for it was that at leaſt, or it was nothing) muſt belie the genuine feelings of a new parliament, which ought to be cautious in committing itſelf in the meaſures of the old, before it had time or means of examining them. They ſaid that this caution would be but decent, even tho' the acts of the former parliament had not left the empire in a flame; but when they met in the midſt of the conflagration, it was abſolutely incumbent on them to know ſomething of the true nature of the affair, before they took any meaſures for heaping on new combuſtible matter. However pretenders to moderation might delude themſelves, or attempt to delude others, with an idea of the unoperative nature of an addreſs, they would certainly find their previous approbation pleaded againſt a ſubſequent diſſent,—and an advantage taken from thence, to infuſe an opinion into the nation in general, into Europe, and into America, that parliament had, that day, ſolemnly adopted all the former proceedings with regard to the colonies. That this opinion would alienate more and more the affections of the colonies from this nation, and therefore it would be neceſſary to lay a ground for their future ſyſtem, by an examination into the true nature and effects of the paſt.

The miniſter ſaid, that it was not a proper time for entering into any diſcuſſion of the affairs of America; he ſeemed to acknowledge, that a reconciliation was highly deſirable, but that as no terms had yet been propoſed by America, nor conceſſions offered, it could not be preſumed, that England would make offers of ſubmiſſion; and that as matters were in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he hoped the motion for an amendment would be withdrawn.

Several gentlemen who make a merit of being conſidered as totally diſengaged from all parties and connections, ſaid they would vote for the original addreſs; not that they would in any degree be conſidered to approve of the late meaſures againſt America, or that this vote ſhould be at all ſuppoſed an engagement with regard to their future conduct on that ſubject; but they would do it merely as a matter of buſineſs and courſe, and hold themſelves, notwithſtanding, entirely at liberty upon all future queſtions.

In the courſe of this debate, the conduct of the late parliament underwent

derwent much ſevere animadverſion, and the miniſter was reminded of the mighty effects he had predicted from the late acts againſt America; they were to humble that whole continent in the duſt, without any further trouble, and the puniſhment of Boſton was to ſtrike an univerſal panic on all the colonies; that refractory town would be totally abandoned; and inſtead of obtaining relief, a dread of the ſame fate would prevent even the appearances of pity; that the event has, in every inſtance, been the direct reverſe of the expectations thus held out. The cauſe of Boſton is now become the cauſe of all America; her ſufferings have given her a kind of pre-eminence and ſupremacy, which ſhe could never otherwiſe have acquired; and theſe meaſures, inſtead of dividing the colonies, have joined them in a cloſeneſs of friendſhip and union, which perhaps no other means in nature could have done. The great ſpeakers in oppoſition never diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a more ſtriking manner, than in this day's debate.

The diviſion ſhewed, that oppoſition had not gained any great acceſſion of ſtrength by the general election, and alſo, that the temper of the Houſe at preſent, with reſpect to America, was not eſſentially different from that of the late parliament. The numbers in ſupport of the addreſs, as it originally ſtood, were 264, and thoſe who voted for the amendment, amounted to 73 only.

The addreſs from the Lords was not leſs warmly debated than that from the Houſe of Commons. It was couched in very ſtrong terms, and declaratory of their abhorrence and deteſtation of the daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience to the laws, which ſo ſtrongly prevailed in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and of the unwarrantable attempts in that and other provinces of America, to obſtruct, by unlawful combinations, the trade of this kingdom.

A noble Duke, who has long been diſtinguiſhed by his manly, reſolute, and inflexible ſpirit in oppoſition, moved an amendment in the following words: "To deſire "his Majeſty would be graciouſly "pleaſed to give directions for an "early communication of the accounts which have been received "concerning the ſtate of the colonies, that we may not proceed "to the conſideration of this moſt "critical and important matter, "but upon the fulleſt information; "and when we are thus informed, "we ſhall, without delay, apply "ourſelves with the moſt earneſt "and ſerious zeal to ſuch meaſures "as ſhall tend to ſecure the honour "of his Majeſty's crown, the true "dignity of the mother country, "and the harmony and happineſs "of all his Majeſty's dominions."

The Lords in oppoſition argued, that they could not agree to commit themſelves with the careleſs facility of a common addreſs of compliment, in expreſſions, which may lead to meaſures in the event fatal to the lives, properties, and liberties of a very great part of their fellow-ſubjects. They conſidered an addreſs, in the preſent ſituation, as neceſſarily carrying a conſiderable influence upon their future proceedings, and as impreſſing the public with certain ideas of the meaſures which they mean to ſupport; that whatever meaſures they ſhall think it adviſeable to purſue, it

It will certainly add greatly to the weight and efficacy of their proceedings, if they appear the reſult of full information, mature deliberation, and temperate enquiry; that no materials for ſuch an enquiry have been laid before them, nor even ſo much as promiſed; that in this ſituation they are called upon to make an addreſs, arbitrarily impoſing qualities and deſcriptions upon acts done in the colonies, of the true nature and juſt extent of which they are as yet in a great meaſure unapprized; a procedure, which, they think, by no means conſonant to that purity which they ought ever to preſerve in their judicial, and to that caution which ought to guide them in their deliberate capacity.

They beſides objected to the addreſs, its implying an approbation of the unfortunate ſyſtem adopted with regard to the colonies in the laſt parliament; a ſyſtem which, they repreſented, as conceived without prudence, and purſued without temper, conſiſtency, or foreſight. After enlarging upon the miſchiefs it had produced, without a rational proſpect of advantage, they ſaid that it afforded a melancholy proſpect of the diſpoſition of Lords in the preſent parliament, when they ſee the Houſe, under the preſſure of ſo ſevere and uniform an experience, again ready, without any enquiry, to countenance, if not to adopt, the ſpirit of the former fatal proceedings.

To this, beſides the general obſervations on addreſſes, it was anſwered by the miniſterial ſide, that the proceedings in America had been ſuch, that if they were not met by ſomething ſpirited in the language of parliament, immediately at its meeting, the cauſe would ſeem to be given up; and this would be a declaration without enquiry, as that propoſed in the addreſs; that for their part, nothing was farther from their thoughts, than a conceſſion either expreſſed or implied; that they hoped this parliament would ſhew the ſame regard for its dignity, by which the late parliament had acquired ſo much honour; and one miniſter confeſſed, that he had adviſed the diſſolution, leſt popular diſſatisfaction, ariſing from untoward events, ſhould break the chain of thoſe public meaſures which were neceſſary to reduce the colonies to due obedience. The ſooner the new parliament ſpoke out upon the ſubject, the better.

The debate was long and vehement, though the minority was but 13 to 63 on the diviſion. It was rendered memorable by the circumſtance of having produced a proteſt, the firſt we remember to have heard of upon an addreſs, and that too very ſtrong and pointed. The proteſt concluded with the following remarkable declaration:

"But whatever may be the miſchievous deſigns, or the inconſiderate temerity, which leads others to this deſperate courſe, we wiſh to be known as perſons who have ever diſapproved of meaſures ſo pernicious in their paſt effects, and their future tendency, and who are not in haſte, without enquiry or information, to commit ourſelves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Notwithſtanding the hoſtile tone of the ſpeech, and the great majority that ſupported the addreſſes in both Houſes, there appeared the moſt glaring irreſolution on the

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ſide of miniſtry, with reſpect to American affairs. It ſeemed as if no plan had yet been formed, nor ſyſtem adopted upon that ſubject. The miniſter appeared leſs than uſual in the Houſe of Commons, and ſtudiouſly avoided all explanation. Many imagined that he was thwarted and overruled by what in the cant phraſe is called the interior cabinet, and did not approve of the violent meaſures that were there generated. It was even at this time ſuppoſed, that he was feeling his own ſtrength, and had ſome thoughts of making an effort to emancipate himſelf from thoſe ſhackles, which rendered him anſwerable for the acts of others, who were not themſelves in any degree reſponſible.

Other cauſes might, perhaps with more probability, be aſſigned for this irreſolution. The miniſter might ſtill have his doubts with reſpect to the temper of the new parliament. The landed intereſt, which muſt firſt contribute to the ſupport of coercive meaſures, was not yet prepared to look in the face the direct avowal of a war; and an increaſe of the land-tax, where there was no incitement of national glory, and even the queſtion of intereſt ſufficiently doubtful, might meet with a general and fatal oppoſition. The whole weight of the mercantile intereſt, and of the great manufacturing body of the nation, was alſo to be apprehended.

However it was, whether it proceeded from irreſolution, a want of ſyſtem, or a difference of opinion in the cabinet, there was a ſtrange ſuſpenſion of American buſineſs previous to the Chriſtmas receſs, and the miniſter ſeemed evidently to ſhrink from all conteſt upon that ſubject. The national eſtimates were entirely formed upon a peace eſtabliſhment. The land-tax was continued at three ſhillings in the pound; no vote of credit was required; the army remained upon its former footing, and a reduction of 4000 ſeamen took place, only 16,000 being demanded for the enſuing year.

Upon the laſt of theſe articles it was obſerved on the ſide of oppoſition, that there was no reconciling the conduct of adminiſtration in a reduction of 4000 ſeamen, with the ſpeech from the throne, which announced the affairs of America to be in a moſt critical and alarming ſituation, and ſeemed to call for the moſt vigorous and deciſive meaſures. That this had all the appearance of being a miniſterial trick; a forming of eſtimates, in the firſt inſtance, which were only deſigned as waſte-paper, and never intended to be adhered to, and afterwards to ſurprize and drive the houſe into grants of an improper and burdenſome nature; that gentlemen could not face their conſtituents in the receſs, without being able to give them any information, either relative to future burdens, or to what would be neceſſarily involved in ſuch an enquiry, whether compulſive meaſures were really intended to be purſued againſt the Americans; for that to talk of enforcing the acts upon a reduced eſtabliſhment, either naval or military, was a ſort of language fit to be held only to children.

The miniſter not being then in the Houſe, a noble Lord who ſat upon the ſame bench with him, ſaid, he had authorized him to acquaint the Houſe, that he had no information whatever to lay before it, nor meaſures to propoſe reſpecting

ing America. Other gentlemen on the ſame ſide ſaid, that this was not a proper time for a diſcuſſion of American affairs; that when they came before them in a parliamentary way, every gentleman would be at full liberty to declare his ſentiments, and ſupport his opinions, when it was not to be doubted but the miniſter would give very good reaſons as well for the delay, as for the naval reduction.

An attempt was made in thoſe debates, and ſupported with pleaſantry, to turn the tables upon the gentlemen in oppoſition, who had for ſeveral years been complaining of the greatneſs of our peace eſtabliſhment both by ſea and land, and now ſeemed to oppoſe a reduction as ſoon as it was attempted by the miniſters. But they juſtified their conduct on the appearance of public affairs, as well as the ſpeech from the throne; they ſaid, an impoſition upon the Houſe and the public, by deluſive eſtimates, was not a method of ſhewing reſpect to the one, or attention to the other, and the heavy loſs and expence that might be incurred in that mode, under the ſeveral heads of an increaſed navy debt, ſervices not provided for, and perhaps a vote of credit, were fully ſhewn. The ſtrange inconſiſtency of adminiſtration, with reſpect to American affairs, was ſeverely ſcrutinized. It was aſſerted, that the whole was a cheat, in order to delude the people into a war, rendered doubly ruinous and diſgraceful by a defective preparation; that the miniſters obſtinately reſolved not to make peace by any reaſonable political conceſſion, nor war by any vigorous military arrangement; but by fluctuating between both, deprived the nation of a poſſibility of deriving benefit from either. Far from ſaving for the public, this delay of incurring timely charge would certainly aggravate the future expence, as they would aſſuredly feel in due time. That they were far from deſiring war; as little did they reliſh large peace eſtabliſhments: but if, againſt their will, war *muſt* be carried on, common ſenſe dictated, that it ought to be carried on with effect; and that if a peace eſtabliſhment, and even lower than a peace eſtabliſhment, was ſufficient to ſupport a war, this afforded a demonſtrative proof, that the peace eſtabliſhment had been ſhamefully prodigal.

In anſwer to this, the miniſter of the naval department publicly aſſerted, in the Houſe of Lords, that he knew the low eſtabliſhment propoſed would be fully ſufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. He ſpoke with the greateſt contempt both of the power and the courage of the Americans. He held, that they were not diſciplined nor capable of diſcipline, and that formed of ſuch materials, and ſo indiſpoſed to action, the numbers of which ſuch boaſts had been made, would only add to the facility of their defeat.

Although on theſe grounds the eſtabliſhment ſtood, or ſeemed to ſtand as reduced, the miniſters did not diſclaim any further arrangements of a political nature. By being frequently urged, ſome explanation was drawn out on that ſubject in the Houſe of Commons. A gentleman called publicly upon the miniſter in that Houſe to know, whether he had any information to lay before them, or any meaſures to propoſe reſpecting America, for

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if he had not, he thought it the duty of parliament to interpoſe, to call for papers, and to proceed on ſuch information, however defective, as they could obtain. He concluded by totally reprobating the meaſures adopted by the late parliament, as equally impolitic and impracticable; and ſaid, that they never could be prudently or effectually carried into execution.

The lord at the head of the treaſury did not enter much into a juſtification of the meaſures of the late parliament. He ſaid the ſubject would require the utmoſt diligence and attention, as a matter of the greateſt magnitude ever debated within their walls; that he could not entirely acquieſce in the condemnation of meaſures haſtily, which had been taken up and adopted upon ſuch weighty motives; that at the time, it was impoſſible to foretel preciſely how they might anſwer; but that they ſhould have a fair trial before they were reprobated; and that the wiſdom and policy of them could be only finally known in the event. That he had information which he would lay before the Houſe ſoon after the holidays; and that he would ſo far adopt the gentleman's ideas who had called upon him, as to propoſe the appointment of a committee for taking the affairs of America into conſideration.

Much altercation aroſe upon this delay in buſineſs of ſuch vaſt importance as the American, and that the papers and all neceſſary means of information ſhould be ſo long retained from the Houſe. Upon theſe occaſions, the ridiculous and diſtreſſing ſituation in which General Gage and his little army ſtood in Boſton; at the ſame time, in a certain degree, beſieging, and themſelves beſieged, was a ſubject productive of much animadverſion, as well as raillery.

A gentleman in office, and who not long ſince had become a convert to the principles of adminiſtration, juſt before the receſs pulled the maſk a little aſide, both with reſpect to the American buſineſs, and to the ſtate of the eſtimates. He ſaid, that any increaſe of the one, however neceſſary, or the explanations required on the other, would, in the preſent ſeaſon, be highly improper; that ſuch propoſals at the eve of an adjournment, could only be intended to embarraſs adminiſtration; that a compliance with them, would ſpread ſuch an alarm among the merchants, with reſpect to their property, as might be productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences; and that they were matters only to be entered upon, when the meaſures at large, and the means of carrying them into execution, were brought together, and connected in one view.

Nothing of any conſequence was tranſacted in the Houſe of Lords from the paſſing of the addreſs, except that a motion was made, and at length carried, for putting an end to that ſcandalous contention with the Commons, by which, ever ſince the year 1770, the members of each houſe were interdicted from the other.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Lord Chatham's motion. Debates. Petitions. London petition withdrawn. Petitions offered from the American agents. Rejected.

THE apprehenſions of the miniſtry, that they would meet with a vigorous oppoſition from the mercantile intereſt in the purſuit of their American meaſures, were not ill founded. During the receſs a general alarm was ſpread, and ſeveral meetings of the great bodies of North-American merchants in London and Briſtol were held, where thoſe meaſures by which they were ſo deeply affected, were fully diſcuſſed, their conſequences explained, and petitions to parliament prepared and agreed upon in both places. The times were, however, altered, and ſuch an oppoſition now, was not productive of the efficacy or danger, which till very lately would have rendered it terrible.

The miniſter found the oppoſition reinforced from another quarter, which in other times, and other ſituations, would have been formidable. The Earl of Chatham, after a long abſence, appeared in the Houſe of Lords, to expreſs his utmoſt diſſent and diſapprobation to the whole ſyſtem of American meaſures. Though his power and influence were from many cauſes much leſſened, his appearance could at no time be wholly without effect.

Jan. 20th. 1775. On the firſt day of the meeting after the receſs, the nobleman at the head of American affairs, having laid the papers belonging to his department before the Lords, Lord Chatham moved an addreſs to his majeſty, for recalling the troops from Boſton. This motion was uſhered in and ſupported by a long ſpeech, in which he repreſented this meaſure as a matter of immediate neceſſity; an hour now loſt in allaying the ferment in America, might produce years of calamity; the preſent ſituation of the troops rendered them and the Americans continually liable to events, which would cut off the poſſibility of a reconciliation; this conciliatory meaſure, thus well timed; this mark of affection and good-will on our ſide, will remove all jealouſy and apprehenſion on the other; and inſtantaneouſly produce the happieſt effects to both. He announced this motion to be introductory to a plan he had formed for a ſolid, honourable, and laſting ſettlement between England and America; he now only ſet his foot upon the threſhold of peace.

He ſeverely reprehended adminiſtration for eight weeks delay in communicating the American papers, at ſo very critical a period. He charged them with deluding and deceiving the people of this country in ſeveral inſtances; by general miſrepreſentations of the colonies; by perſuading them that the diſputes there were the affair of Boſton only, in which the reſt were totally unconcerned; and that the appearance of a ſingle regiment there, would reſtore every thing to quiet. He attributed the ſudden diſſolution of the parliament, to the ſame principle of deception.

ception. He condemned the whole late ſeries of American laws and meaſures; ſaid he contended not for indulgence, but juſtice to America; that if we conſulted either our intereſt or our dignity, the firſt advances to peace and concord ſhould come from us; that conceſſion comes with a better grace, and more ſalutary effects, from the ſuperior power; and warned them of the humiliating diſgrace, of repealing thoſe acts through neceſſity, which they refuſed to do from other motives. He is ſaid to have concluded the ſpeech with the following remarkable words, "If the "miniſters thus perſevere in *miſadviſing* and *miſleading* the king, I "will not ſay that they can alienate "the affections of his ſubjects from "his crown, but I will affirm, that "they will make the crown *not "worth his wearing*.—I will not "ſay that the king is betrayed, "but I will pronounce that—*the "kingdom is undone*."

Whatever difference of opinion in the cabinet might have produced an apparent irreſolution previous to the receſs, it now became evident, that meaſures were finally ſettled with reſpect to America. Though the military and naval ſtrength was not increaſed, a plan of coercion ſeemed to be determined on. The language of the lords in adminiſtration was high and deciſive. They condemned the conduct of the Americans in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unreſerved terms; and juſtified all the acts of adminiſtration, and all the late laws without exception. They inſiſted, that all conciliating means having proved ineffectual, it was high time for the mother country to aſſert her authority, or for ever to relinquiſh it. If the taſk be difficult now, what muſt it be in a few years? Parliament muſt be obeyed, or it muſt not; if it be obeyed, who ſhall reſiſt its determinations? If it be not, it is better at once to give up every claim of authority over America. The ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature cannot be diſputed; and the idea of an inactive right, when there is the moſt urgent neceſſity for its exerciſe, is abſurd and ridiculous. If we give way on the preſent occaſion, from miſtaken notions of preſent advantages in trade and commerce, ſuch a conceſſion will infallibly defeat its own object; for it is plain, that the navigation act, and all other regulatory acts, which form the great baſis on which thoſe advantages reſt, and the true intereſts of both countries depend, will fall a victim to the intereſted and ambitious views of America. In a word, it was declared, that the mother country ſhould never relax till America confeſſed her ſupremacy; and it was avowed to be the miniſterial reſolution, to enforce obedience by arms.

In this debate it did not appear that the Lords in the minority were fully agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. Some lords, who were the moſt earneſt for peace, did not think it at all juſt or wiſe, to leave thoſe who had riſqued their lives in favour of the claims of this country, however ill-founded, or improperly exerciſed, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed and incenſed populace; and that too, before any previous ſtipulations were made for their ſafety. They thought that if proper conceſſions were made, the troops then at Boſton were not numerous

merous enough to raiſe an alarm on account of a ſuppoſed ill faith in keeping them up, and could by no means prevent the reſtoration of peace. It was wrong at firſt to ſend the force; but it might be dangerous to recal it before that was accompliſhed. They however ſupported the motion becauſe it looked towards that great object; and becauſe, they ſaid, they thought any thing better than a perſeverance in hoſtility. In argument, it was denied that lenient means had been ineffectually tried with the colonies; and on the contrary inſiſted, that they had been continually irritated by a ſeries of abſurd, contradictory, wanton, and oppreſſive meaſures. That the proſcription of Boſton, untried and unheard, whereby 30,000 people were conſigned to famine and beggary, for the alledged crimes of a few, was an injuſtice and cruelty ſcarcely to be paralleled. That, as if it had been done to inflame them to madneſs, and to keep hoſtility always in their eyes, an army, merely of irritation, as it evidently could anſwer no other purpoſe, was ſent amongſt them. That unfortunately, paſſion, obſtinacy, and ill-will, under the direction of inability and ignorance, had been made the principles for governing a free people. That America only wants to have ſafety in property, and perſonal liberty; and the deſire of independency was falſely charged on her. It was alſo inſiſted on, that the colonies never denied or queſtioned the acts of navigation, except when excited to it by injury.

That the ſpecious language, of the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature, the intereſts of Great-Britain, of her authority over the colonies, and other phraſes equally ſounding, was artfully held out to deceive and delude both parliament and people; they were pompous words, and might ſwell the importance of the meaneſt mechanic; but they would neither prevent the miſeries of a civil war, preſerve our commerce, nor reſtore our colonies if once loſt.

After a pretty long debate, for that houſe, the queſtion was rejected by a vaſt majority, there appearing upon a diviſion, no leſs than 68 who oppoſed, to 18 only, who ſupported the motion. This diviſion was rendered remarkable, by having a prince of the blood, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, for the firſt time in the minority.

This deciſive victory reſtored the confidence of the miniſter, and perhaps encouraged him to meaſures in the other houſe which he would not otherwiſe have hazarded. Upon laying the American papers before the Houſe of Commons, a celebrated gentleman in the oppoſition, deſired they might be informed, whether theſe papers contained all the intelligence the miniſters had received from America. The miniſter replied, that he would not undertake to ſay they did, as thoſe he had brought were extracts, containing only the facts in the original letters; that the writers opinions were not mentioned, it having been frequently found, that the making public the private opinions of people in office, had been attended with bad conſequences; therefore his majeſty's ſervants had determined, for the future, never to mention the private opinion of any perſon.

The gentleman who propoſed the queſtion ſaid, that in ſome caſes it might be proper to keep a perſon's private opinion ſecret; but, in ſo critical and alarming an affair as that of the Americans, the opinions of people in power, on the ſpot, muſt be of great ſervice. Their judgments muſt operate here as facts; at leaſt, facts unconnected with the opinions of thoſe who beſt knew the ſpirit and tendency of each action, would be of little uſe, tending only to miſlead: an act of violence is committed—if we know neither the motive to it—to what it is likely to lead—or what force will probably ſupport it—how can a true judgment be made of it? As to the opinion concerning the meaſures proper to be purſued for quieting theſe troubles; there too the opinion of thoſe on the ſpot, and poſſeſſing every means of information, was of the firſt importance. That things were gone too far, to think it neceſſary to manage the opinions of any man in office in America. The riſque to be run (at ſuch a time) is a neceſſary conſequence of their ſituation; and they would be more endangered by the ignorance of parliament concerning their ſentiments, than by any ſentiments they could deliver. That in 1766 (the year, he ſaid, of happy reconciliation) every paper, without reſerve, had been laid before the Houſe, and no man ſuffered by it. He therefore was of opinion, that the whole of the information received from America ought to be laid before the Houſe, and not extracts of particular letters, ſuch as ſuited the miniſter's purpoſe.

This propoſition not being admitted, the miniſter moved, that the papers ſhould, on the 26th inſtant, be referred to the conſideration of a committee of the whole Houſe. They conſiſted principally of letters between ſome of the miniſters, and the governors of moſt of the colonies; and were tranſmitted in this mutilated ſtate to the committee.

The principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, having waited to regulate their conduct as to American affairs, by that of the merchants of London and Briſtol, now accordigly followed the example of thoſe two great commercial bodies, and prepared petitions upon that ſubject to be preſented to parliament. The petition from the merchants of London, was of courſe the firſt delivered, and being preſented by one of the aldermen of that city, who was likewiſe a member of parliament, he moved, that it ſhould be referred to the committee, who were appointed to take into conſideration the American papers. Jan. 23d.

This ſeemed to be ſo natural, and ſo much a matter of courſe, as ſcarcely to admit of a controverſy. The miniſters had, however, by this time, hit upon a manoeuvre, which, though ſucceſsful for the preſent, may not in all ſeaſons be ſo happily drawn into practice; but by which, the ſhower of petitions was ſo effectually thrown off, that they became a matter of ſport rather than of concern. It was diſcovered, that this matter was to be taken up in a political, not a commercial light. That therefore, as there was little connection between the views of the Houſe, and thoſe of the merchants, it would be the higheſt abſurdity, that a committee, whoſe thoughts were

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occupied by the firſt, ſhould be at all broke in upon or diſturbed by the latter. It was accordingly propoſed, to appoint a ſeparate committee for the conſideration of the merchants petition, and for that purpoſe an amendment was moved, that it ſhould be referred to a committee on the 27th, the day ſucceeding that on which the committee was to take the American papers into conſideration.

It was repreſented, that the committee for the conſideration of the American papers was appointed with a view to their coming to ſome ſpeedy reſolution, ſuited to the dignity of parliament, and to the preſent ſtate of affairs in America; that the reſtoration of peace in that country, depended as much upon the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the meaſures determined; that the great variety of facts, and maſs of matter, which of courſe muſt come under conſideration in the committee to which the petition was referred, would be a work of tedious enquiry, and long toil; that ſuch a length of enquiry was incompatible with the diſpatch neceſſary in the buſineſs with which it would be coupled by the motion; that the hands of government would thereby be tied up, and the powers of parliament reſtrained from giving that ſpeedy relief, which the preſſure of public affairs requires; and that the views and objects of the enquiry originating with the American papers, and the petition, being totally diſtinct in their nature; the determinations and execution ariſing from both muſt be different.

On the other ſide, adminiſtration was very ſeverely handled. They ſaid, that it would be fairer and more manly to reject the petition at once, than to endeavour in this manner to defeat it; that the pretence of appointing a committee was a ſhameful pitiful evaſion; that while to a avoid the rejection of a petition which had nothing exceptionable in the matter or the form, they ſuffered it into the houſe, they, at the ſame time, took care it ſhould never be heard; or, what was more inſulting to the petitioners, and more diſgraceful to parliament, to hear it, after a determination. Is it then true, ſaid they, that in a queſtion concerning the colonies, polities and commerce are ſeparate and independent conſiderations? But if they are, ſtill the information which the merchants may give in their evidence of matters merely political, may be of advantage to the Houſe. Their correſpondencies are of all kinds. They do not ſcruple to offer to the Houſe all they know of the ſtate of that country; without thoſe fears which it ſeems affect our officers in America. And as the miniſter had refuſed to give them the whole correſpondence, this ſupplemental information became the more neceſſary. That if there was not ſufficient time to enquire into and ſettle the American buſineſs, why was a month loſt in diſſipation during the Chriſtmas receſs, for which the deareſt intereſts of the empire were to be ſacrificed, and perhaps its exiſtence as an empire hazarded. That after all, what time would be loſt? One day perhaps—One petition contained the merits of the whole—and all the evidence might be examined to that. This, they ſaid, was the courſe in the year 1766, when an act of reconciliation, which in its nature

required more haſte, was before the Houſe. Much larger correſpondence, and infinitely more evidence, than probably would now appear, was then before them. It did not delay a buſineſs which experience had ſhewn to be beneficial; that therefore, they need not be in ſuch a violent haſte, to new coercive meaſures, which the ſame experience had ſhewn, in late inſtances, to be highly pernicious.

The queſtion being at length put, the motion for the amendment was carried by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 197, who voted for the latter, againſt 81 who ſupported the original motion.

A ſimilar fate attended the petitions from Briſtol, Glaſgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and ſome other places, all of which were in turn conſigned to what the oppoſition termed the committee of oblivion.

On the day appointed for taking the American papers into conſideration, a ſecond, and very ſtrong petition was preſented from the merchants of London, in which they argue, that the connection between Great-Britain and America originally was, and ought to be, of a commercial kind; and that the benefits derived therefrom to the mother country are of the ſame nature; that obſerving the conſtant attention which the Britiſh legiſlature had for more than a century given to thoſe valuable objects, they had been taught to admire the regulations by which that connection had been preſerved, and thoſe benefits ſecured, as the moſt effectual inſtitution which human wiſdom could have framed for thoſe ſalutary purpoſes; that preſuming therefore on that opinion, and ſupported by that obſervation, they repreſent, that the fundamental policy of thoſe laws of which they complain, and the propriety of enforcing, relaxing, or amending them, are queſtions inſeparably united with the commerce between Great-Britain and America; and conſequently, that the conſideration of the one cannot be entered on, without a full diſcuſſion of the other.

They then lament the late deciſion, by which their petition was referred to a ſeparate committee, and by which, they ſay, they are abſolutely precluded from ſuch a hearing in its ſupport, as could alone procure them that relief, which the importance and preſent deplorable ſtate of their trade required. They conclude by praying, that they may be heard, by themſelves or their agents, in ſupport of their former petition, and that no reſolution reſpecting America may be taken by the Houſe, or by any committee thereof, until they ſhall be fully heard.

It was then moved, that the order for referring the merchants petition to a ſeparate committee ſhould be diſcharged, and that it ſhould be referred to the committee of the whole Houſe, who were appointed to conſider the American papers.

This motion was ſupported by the gentlemen in the minority, as they contended, on the principles of law, juſtice, reaſon, and expediency. The indignity and mockery offered to ſo great a body as the merchants of London by the late reſolution, which with an inſidious affectation of civility, received the petition

petition with one hand, and threw it out of the window with the other, was painted in ſtrong colours. It was ſaid, that the matter of that petition, was not merely the buſineſs of the merchants, nor even of this kingdom in particular; it was the buſineſs of the whole empire, every part of which was concerned in the event; yet this matter of ſuch momentous concern, was referred to a committee, called up, nobody knew why, for the framing of commercial regulations, which were neither wanted, nor applied for; while this committee did not even pretend to have the remoteſt concern with thoſe great points of commercial policy, which were the objects of the petition. That to compleat this ſyſtem, and render its wiſdom equally conſpicuous in all its parts, the committee, to whoſe conſideration thoſe objects were avowedly referred, to which the petition applied, were doomed to grope their way in the dark, without a ſingle ray of information; the probable, and almoſt inevitable conſequence of which, muſt be the involving us in a moſt deſtructive and ruinous civil war.

In further ſupporting the motion on the merchants petition, it was obſerved, that the reaſon given by thoſe who ſent the petition to that committee (which was deſcribed by various appellations of mockery and deriſion), for not referring them to that on American papers, was of a moſt extraordinary and unheard of nature; it was, that the reſolutions of that committee were to be ſolely on the grounds of policy, and that the commercial examination would delay the meaſures neceſſary for the coercion of America. That this was to anticipate and predetermine the future proceedings in a committee, as a reaſon for keeping information from it; how did they know what meaſures would be purſued there, and on what principles? Was there any inſtruction to the committee ſo to confine itſelf? Or was it that the miniſtry had already not only reſolved what that committee was to do, but reckoned upon it ſo much as a certainty, and as a matter ſo juſtifiable, that they did not ſcruple to avow it, and to make it a ground of argument for what the Houſe ought, or ought not to have brought before its committee. This proceeding was repreſented to be of a moſt alarming and unprecedented nature. It was further added, that if they meant hoſtility, the reaſon they gave for not hearing, was the ſtrongeſt for it; that as their war muſt ever be dependent on their finances, and their finances muſt depend upon their commerce, the true ſtate of that commerce was neceſſary to be known, eſpecially as colonies and commerce are inſeparably connected.

The arguments on the other ſide were partly perſonal; partly political. In either way they did not ſeem to furniſh reaſons againſt hearing the merchants; and from the nature of the meaſure which afterwards was adopted, it did not ſeem very material whether it paſſed a month earlier or later. It was ſaid, that intereſted and factious people had induced the merchants to ſign their petitions. That they came too late, and as the merchants had confided ſo long in parliament, they ought to do ſo ſtill. That the American trade was deſtructive, unleſs the ſupremacy of

parliament, and the rights of ſovereignty, were vigorouſly aſſerted. That if in this attempt commerce ſhould be ſuſpended, the funds ſuſtain a ſhock, and the landed property experience a diminution, ſuch evils muſt be patiently ſubmitted to, and the merchants muſt forego their intereſt, for the permanent advantages which they may expect when the Americans are ſubdued. It was alſo mentioned, that the merchants might be quieted, by paſſing a law to compel the ſeveral colonies to pay all the debts, which any individuals of thoſe provinces owed here.

All the debates on this ſubject of the petitions, were attended with an unuſual degree of aſperity, and even acrimony on the ſide of oppoſition. The charges of negligence, incapacity, and inconſiſtency, were rung in the ears of the miniſter. The acts of the laſt parliament were arraigned in the ſevereſt terms, and ſaid to be framed on falſe information, conceived in weakneſs and ignorance, and executed with negligence. The miniſters were told, that a bitter day of reckoning would come, when they would be convicted of ſuch a chain of blunders and neglects, as would inevitably draw vengeance on their heads. A pathetic picture was drawn and deplored, of the miſeries of that civil war, which muſt be incurred through their raſhneſs and blind precipitation. Trade deſtroyed—The revenue impoveriſhed—The poor ſtarving—Manufactures ſtagnating—The poor-rate running into the land-tax, and both devouring the eſtates.

The conduct alſo of the late parliament was ſcrutinized without mercy in the courſe of theſe debates, and its memory was treated with more than want of reſpect. A gentleman, who is remarkable for a ſarcaſtic poignancy in his obſervation, in ſketching a ſhort hiſtory of that parliament, ſaid, that they began their political life with a violation of the ſacred right of election in the caſe of Middleſex; that they had died in the act of Popery, when they eſtabliſhed the Roman Catholic religion in Canada; and that they had left a rebellion in America, as a legacy.

In endeavouring to obviate ſome of the charges brought againſt him, the miniſter attributed the delay before the holidays, in the firſt place, to the want of neceſſary information, and in the ſecond, to his having underſtood from ſeveral perſons, who had means of being well informed, that a petition was on its way to the throne, from the meeting which the Americans called a continental congreſs, which was of ſo conciliatory a nature, as to make way for healing and lenient meaſures, and for reconciling all matters in an amicable manner. As to other charges upon the American ſubject, he ſaid, that it was impoſſible for him to have foreſeen the proceedings in America reſpecting the tea; that the duty had been quietly collected before; that the great quantity of teas in the warehouſes of the Eaſt-India Company, as appeared by the repoſt of the Secret Committee, made it neceſſary to do ſomething for the benefit of the Company; that it was to ſerve them that nine-pence in the pound weight draw-back was allowed; that it was impoſſible for him to foretell that the Americans would reſiſt at being able to drink their tea at nine-pence in the pound cheaper.

This

This defence called up a gentleman of great weight in the East-India Company, and who has been long celebrated for his knowledge in its affairs. He ſaid, that he got up merely to ſpeak to a matter of fact; that he could not ſit ſtill and hear the noble Lord plume himſelf on actions which, of all others, were the moſt reprehenſible in this train of political abſurdities; that it was unbecoming to alledge that this dangerous meaſure had been adopted to ſerve the East-India Company, when it was notorious, that the Company had requeſted the repeal of the three-pence per pound in America, and felt and knew the abſurdity of giving a draw-back here, and laying a duty there; a meaſure equally a ſoleciſm in commerce and politics. That the Company offered their conſent, that government ſhould retain 6d. in the pound on the exportation, if the 3d. was remitted in America. That the gentleman himſelf, then ſpeaking, had, in his place, requeſted and intreated the noble Lord, to remove the cauſe of diſpute; and that he then foretold to him the conſequence of perſevering in error.

After ſome ſevere reflections, he ſhewed, that the Company had thus preſented the happieſt opportunity which could have offered, for removing with credit the cauſe of difference with America. The ſupporting the authority of parliament was the only cauſe aſſigned by the miniſter himſelf, for retaining the duty on tea; at the ſame time, that he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax, as any of thoſe which he had repealed upon that principle. Here, then, ſprung the happieſt occaſion of doing right, without interfering on the claims on either ſide. The East-India Company aſk; their ſituation required the relief. It could not be alledged that it was done at the inſtance of American diſcontent. But the golden bridge was refuſed. New contrivances were ſet on foot to introduce the tea into America. That various intrigues, ſolicitations, and counter-ſolicitations, were uſed to induce the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman of the Company, to undertake this raſh and fooliſh buſineſs; that it had been proteſted againſt, as contrary to the principles of their monopoly: yet the power of miniſtry prevailed, and they would, notwithſtanding, cover all thoſe facts, which are ready, from their conſequences, to convulſe the whole empire, under a pretence of the pureſt intentions in the world, merely of ſerving the East-India Company.

Theſe facts were conſidered as incontrovertible, as none of them were denied at that time or afterwards. The queſtion was rejected upon a diviſion by a very great majority, there appearing in ſupport of the motion, for reſcinding the former reſolution relative to the merchants petition, only 89, to 250 who oppoſed that meaſure. Jan. 26th.

Though it was then late, a petition was offered from Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, ſtating, that they were authorized by the American continental congreſs, to preſent a petition from the congreſs to the King, which petition his Majeſty had referred to that Houſe; that they were enabled to throw great light upon the ſubject, and prayed to be heard at the bar, in ſupport

of the ſaid petition. On this a violent debate aroſe, partly on the ſame grounds with the former, partly on different.—The miniſtry alledged that the congreſs was no legal body, and none could be heard in reference to their proceedings, without giving that illegal body ſome degree of countenance; that they could only hear the colonies through their legal aſſemblies, and their agents properly authorized by them, and properly admitted here; that to do otherwiſe, would lead to inextricable confuſion, and deſtroy the whole order of colony government.

To theſe arguments it was anſwered, that regular colony government was in effect deſtroyed already: in ſome places, by act of parliament; in others, by diſſolution of aſſemblies by governors; in ſome, by popular violence. The queſtion now was, how to reſtore order? That this congreſs, however illegal to other purpoſes, was ſufficiently legal for preſenting a petition.—It was ſigned by the names of all the perſons who compoſed it, and might be received as from individuals. That it was their buſineſs rather to find every plauſible reaſon for receiving petitions, than to invent pretences for rejecting them. That the rejection of petitions was one principal cauſe, if not the moſt powerful cauſe, of the preſent troubles. That this mode of conſtantly rejecting their petitions, and refuſing to hear their agents, would infallibly end in univerſal rebellion; and not unnaturally, as thoſe ſeem to give up the right to government who refuſe to hear the complaints of the ſubject. This petition was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 218 to 68.

The London merchants, however, did not ſubmit patiently to the indignity with which they thought themſelves now treated. The ſpirit which had at all times diſtinguiſhed that great commercial body was not loſt; nor was the rank and conſideration, which they ever held in the affairs of this country, forgotten. The day following the rejection of their ſecond petition, being that on which the committee of oblivion was to hold its firſt meeting, and their buſineſs of courſe the firſt to come before it, a gentleman, one of their body, deputed by the committee of merchants, in their name repreſented at the bar of the Houſe, "that merchants revealing at that bar the ſtate of their affairs, was a meaſure which all would wiſh to avoid, unleſs upon ſuch great occaſions as the preſent, where the public weal is evidently at ſtake, when their duty as good ſubjects requires it of them; but when the mode of examination is ſuch as totally precludes them from anſwering the great public object, which in their opinion is clearly the caſe at preſent, they beg leave humbly to ſignify, that they wave appearing before the committee which has been appointed; and that the merchants are not under any apprehenſions reſpecting their American debts, unleſs the means of remittance ſhould be cut off by meaſures that may be adopted in Great-Britain."

During this war of the petitions, one had been ſent from Birmingham and preſented, entitled, a petition from the inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood, in which they

they ſet forth, that any relaxation in the execution of the laws, reſpecting the colonies, would greatly injure the commerce of Birmingham; and ſtrongly urging, that the Houſe would exert its utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the authority of the laws. No other petition or addreſs had then appeared in favour of ſtrong meaſures againſt America; and it was ſuſpected, that this had been procured by indirect practice, as moſt of thoſe, who had ſigned the paper, were perſons no ways concerned in the ſtaple manufactures of the place; at leaſt, ſuch as were, did not export any conſiderable quantity to America. Another petition, to a contrary effect, was ſigned and preſented by thoſe, who dealt moſt largely in that branch. A leading gentleman in the minority obſerved, that the miniſtry had frequently reproached the oppoſition with unfair methods in procuring theſe petitions; that now, one place having ſpoken ſuch different languages, they had an opportunity of diſcovering the truth of that matter, and of effectually diſcouraging ſuch matters for the future: he therefore moved, that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the committee, to enquire into the manner of procuring and ſigning both petitions; and alſo, how far the perſons, ſeverally ſigning them, are concerned in the trade to North-America.

The motion, as uſual, was overruled.

In this manner the parties tried their ſeveral forces in parliament and in the nation, previous to the bringing in the grand meaſure, on which the miniſtry reſted their hope of finally breaking the ſpirit which gave them ſo much trouble in America. It was evident, that their failure in their former plans had not in the leaſt abated the readineſs ſhewn by both Houſes of Parliament to adopt any others which adminiſtration ſhould propoſe; and it was confidently believed and aſſerted, that when the merchants and manufacturers were deprived of all hopes of preventing the operation of force, it would then become their intereſt to give all poſſible effect to it. They would thus become, by degrees, a principal ſupport of that cauſe, which they now ſo eagerly oppoſed. When once every thing was made to depend on war, nothing but the ſucceſs of that war could give the trading body any hopes of recovering their debts and renewing their commerce: therefore, not only this opinion, of the efficacy of ſuch a mode of proceeding in America, but the hopes of compelling a great body at home to concurrence, made the miniſters more and more reſolved to go through, and complete the coercive plan they had begun with.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Lord Chatham's conciliatory bill with reſpect to America. Debates. The bill rejected. Petition from the Weſt-India planters, and the merchants of London, to the Houſe of Commons. Addreſs to the Throne moved for in that Houſe, by the Miniſter. Great debates; amendment moved for; rejected; original motion for the addreſs carried by a great majority. Motion for re-committing the addreſs, upon receiving the report from the committee. Debates longer than before. The motion rejected. Conference with the Lords. Petitions from the merchants and planters to the Lords. Debate on a point of order, whether the petitions ſhould be received, previous to the making of a motion for filling up the blanks in the addreſs. Motion made. Previous queſtion put. Great debates, both with reſpect to the previous queſtion, and the ſubject of the addreſs. Motion for the previous queſtion rejected by a great majority; original motion, by which the Lords concurred with the Commons in the addreſs, agreed to. Proteſts.

THE noble Earl, who lately made a motion in the Houſe of Lords for the recall of the troops from Boſton, not diſcouraged at the great majority by which his motion was rejected, ſtill perſevered in the proſecution of that conciliatory ſcheme with America, which he then in part announced, and to which that motion was only introductory. He accordingly
Feb. 1. brought into that Houſe the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would anſwer that ſalutary purpoſe, under the title of "A proviſional act for ſettling the troubles in America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great-Britain over the colonies."

He intreated the aſſiſtance of the Houſe to digeſt the crude materials, which, thrown together in the nature of a bill, he now preſumed to lay before them; to bring and reduce the whole to that form, which was ſuited to the dignity and importance of the ſubject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exerciſe their candor, and deprecated the effects of a party or prejudice; of factious ſpleen, or a blind predilection. He declared himſelf to be actuated by no narrow principle, or perſonal conſideration whatever; and ſaid, that though the propoſed bill might be looked upon as a bill of conceſſion, it was impoſſible but to confeſs, at the ſame time, that it was a bill of aſſertion.

This bill cauſed a great variety of diſcuſſions within and without doors. The miniſtry found it a propoſition of reconciliation by conceſſion, which was cauſe ſufficient (independently of the obnoxious quarter from whence it came) to induce them to reject it; their plan being at that time, tho' a little varied afterwards, to ſhew a firm reſolution not to give way, in any inſtance, whilſt the oppoſition in America continued. Others ſaid, that the bill contained a multiplicity of matter. Many of its parts were liable to, and ſeemed to require

quire much ſeparate diſcuſſion: they were ſo numerous, and ſo various in their nature, that the aggregate maſs appeared too great to be comprized in one draught. As it was in a great meaſure conditional, its operation depended, not only on the conſent, but the acts of others; and a long time might elapſe before it could be certainly known, whether it was or was not to operate. He laid down, as a condition not to be controverted, and upon which all the benefits of the act depended, a full acknowledgment of the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, and the ſuperintending power of the Britiſh parliament. It did not abſolutely decide in words upon the right of taxation, but partly as a matter of grace, and partly, to appearance, as a compromiſe, declared and enacted, that no tallage, tax, or other charge ſhall be levied in America, except by common conſent in their provincial aſſemblies; a manner of conceſſion, which ſeems to imply the right. It aſſerts, as an undoubted prerogative, the royal right to ſend any part of a legal army to any part of its dominions, at all times, and in all ſeaſons, and condemns a paſſage in the petition from the continental congreſs, which militates with that right; but, as a ſalvo, declares, that no military force, however legally raiſed and kept, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and deſtroy the juſt rights of the people; a declaration which, it was ſaid, would afford little relief to a people groaning under the preſſure of a military government; as whoever held the ſword, would decide upon the queſtion of law.

This bill legalized the holding of a congreſs in the enſuing month of May, for the double purpoſe of duly recognizing the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt. Taking it for granted that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flouriſhing ſtate of the colonies, the neceſſities of the mother country, and their obligations to her; on theſe conditions, it reſtrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and without repealing, ſuſpended for a limited time thoſe late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the continental congreſs. It placed the judges upon the ſame footing, as to the holding of their ſalaries and offices, with thoſe in England; and ſecured to the colonies all the privileges, franchiſes and immunities, granted by their ſeveral charters and conſtitutions.

The noble Lord, at the head of the American department, behaved with great moderation. He ſaid, that the bill took in ſuch a variety of matter, that it was impoſſible to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; and that as its noble author did not ſeem to preſs the Houſe to any immediate deciſion, but appeared rather deſirous that it ſhould be maturely and fully conſidered, he ſuppoſed it would be agreeable to him, and he would have no objection to receive it upon that condition, that it ſhould lie upon the table till the American papers were firſt taken into conſideration.

Whether

Whether reſpect for the framer of the bill, or whatever the motives were that induced this conceſſion, they had no effect on the other Lords in adminiſtration, who oppoſed it with ſo much heat, as to forget that attention which its author, and the importance of the ſubject, ſeemed to demand. It is unuſual in parliament to reject, on the firſt propoſition, any bill for an object allowed to be neceſſary; and promiſing, however faintly or rudely, any plan for obtaining the end propoſed. But the proceeding on this occaſion was different. They condemned, without reſerve, the bill in the whole, and in all its parts; and cenſured the mode of bringing it in, as irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented; that it was impoſſible to conceive how ſuch a maſs of matter, ſo important in its nature, ſo extenſive in its conſequences, and directed to ſuch a variety of objects, each of them worthy of a ſeparate conſideration, could be thus brought forward together, and in ſuch a manner; that the matter ſhould have been laid before the Houſe in ſeparate proportions, each of which ſhould be ſingly diſcuſſed, as leading to one great comprehenſive ſyſtem.

It was beſides contended, that this bill fell in with the ideas of America in almoſt every particular, and held out no one ſecurity; that ſhould we be baſe and daſtardly enough to betray the rights of the parliament of Great Britain, the Americans would only agree to thoſe parts of it that ſuited their own views, and totally diſclaim thoſe that were held out as matters of ſubmiſſion or conceſſion. But above all other cauſes it was condemned, as not only giving a ſanction to the traiterous proceedings of the congreſs already held, but by the appointment of another, to legalize ſuch meetings by act of parliament.

It was ſaid, that the ſuſpenſion of thoſe acts, propoſed in the bill, would, to every ſubſtantial purpoſe, amount to an actual repeal; that if the laws for eſtabliſhing the admiralty courts were repealed, the act of navigation would be of no farther avail, and become only a dead letter. The rebellious temper and hoſtile diſpoſition of the Americans was much enlarged upon; that they were not diſputing about words, but about realities; that though the duty upon tea was the pretence, the reſtrictions upon their commerce, and the hope of throwing them off, were the real motives of their diſobedience; that they had already attacked and taken one of the King's forts, and ſeized his ſtores and ammunition, to employ them againſt himſelf; that if any thing can conſtitute rebellion, this muſt; that this was no time for conceſſion; and that, to concede now, would be to give the point up for ever. It was therefore moved, and ſtrongly ſupported by all the Lords on that ſide, that the bill ſhould be rejected in the firſt inſtance.

The noble framer defended himſelf and his bill from the numerous attacks which were made on both, with great ſpirit and vigour. The indignity which was offered, ſeemed to renew all the fire of youth; and he retorted the ſarcaſms, which were levelled upon him from different quarters, with a moſt pointed ſeverity. If he was charged with hurrying this buſineſs in an unuſual and irregular manner into parliament,

ment, he placed it to the critical neceſſity of the times; to the wretched inability and incapacity of the miniſters, who, though they declared all America to be in rebellion, had not at this late ſeaſon, a plan to propoſe, or a ſyſtem to purſue, for the adjuſtment of public affairs; that under ſuch circumſtances of emergency on one ſide, when perhaps a ſingle day might determine the fate of this great empire; and ſuch a ſhameful negligence, inattention, and want of ability on the other, no alternative remained, but either to abandon the intereſts of his country, and relinquiſh his duty, or to propoſe ſuch meaſures as ſeemed the moſt capable of reſtoring peace and quiet. He then called upon the ſervants of the crown, to declare, whether they had any plan, however deficient, to lay before the Houſe? And that if they had, he would ſet them an example of candour which they by no means deſerved, by inſtantly withdrawing the preſent bill.

Though it was evident, that no previous concert had been held with the Lords in oppoſition, in reſpect to this bill, and that few of them, perhaps, would have approved of it in all its parts if there had; yet they all felt, as in their own caſe, the inſult offered, and the contempt ſhewn, by throwing it out in this abrupt and diſgraceful manner. The moſt moderate contended, that both the framer and ſome of the matter of the bill, deſerved a better reception; that they were entitled to a fair hearing and a free diſcuſſion; that it would convey to foreigners, as well as natives, very unfavourable ideas of the juſtice of that Houſe, and of its hoſtile diſpoſition towards the colonies, if the firſt propoſitions that were made, for the reſtoration of peace and harmony, were to be rejected in ſo harſh and unprecedented a manner, without even affording them a fair hearing. Conciliatory meaſures ſhould at leaſt be examined, whether it were found eligible to adopt them or not. The bill was in their hands; they might ſtrike out the objectionable parts; and undoubtedly they would find many which it might be highly uſeful to retain.

This debate of courſe called up the whole of the American affairs, which accordingly underwent much diſcuſſion. On one ſide, the dangers of a civil war were ſhewn, as well with reſpect to its domeſtic as foreign conſequences, and its miſeries ſtrongly painted; our preſent calamitous ſituation deplored, and the men and the meaſures execrated that involved us in ſuch a labyrinth of evils. On the other, the dangers were in part leſſened, and thoſe that were ſuppoſed, reſpecting foreign ſtates, denied; the conſequent evils of rebellion were incident to dominion and government; and, in the preſent inſtance, ſprung entirely from the original traiterous deſigns, hoſtile intentions, and rebellious diſpoſition of the Americans. The nature of the ſubjects, and the ſtate of temper on both ſides, produced much warmth, ſevere altercation, and even perſonal animadverſion.

After a long and moſt pointed debate, the bill was rejected by a majority of 61 to 32; not being even allowed to lie upon the table. Upon this queſtion his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland voted in the minority.

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The day after this debate, a petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, from the planters of the ſugar colonies reſiding in Great Britain, and the merchants of London trading to thoſe colonies. In this petition they ſet forth, how exceedingly they were alarmed at the aſſociation and agreement entered into by the continental congreſs, in conſequence of which all trade between North America and the Weſt Indies were to ceaſe at a given day, unleſs the acts of parliament therein ſpecified were repealed by that time. They ſtated, that the Britiſh property in the Weſt India iſlands amounted to upwards of thirty millions ſterling; that a further property of many millions was employed in the commerce created by the ſaid iſlands; a commerce comprehending Africa, the Eaſt Indies and Europe; and that the whole profits and produce of thoſe capitals ultimately center in Great-Britain, and add to the national wealth, while the navigation neceſſary to all its branches, eſtabliſhes a ſtrength which wealth can neither purchaſe nor balance.

They ſhewed, that the ſugar plantations in the Weſt-Indies are ſubject to a greater variety of contingencies than many other ſpecies of property, from their neceſſary dependance on external ſupport; that therefore, ſhould any interruption happen in the general ſyſtem of their commerce, the great national ſtock, thus veſted and employed, muſt become precarious and unprofitable; and that the profits ariſing from the preſent ſtate of thoſe iſlands, and that are likely to ariſe from their future improvement, in a great meaſure depend on a free and reciprocal intercourſe between them and the ſeveral provinces of North-America, from whence they are furniſhed with proviſions and other ſupplies, abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport and the maintenance of their plantations,

They then proceed to ſhew, that they could not be ſupplied from any other markets, and in any degree proportionate to their wants, with thoſe articles of indiſpenſable neceſſity, which they now derive from the middle colonies of North America; and that if the agreement and aſſociation of the congreſs take full effect, which they firmly believe will happen, unleſs the former harmony which ſubſiſted between this kingdom and the American colonies, to the infinite advantage of both, be reſtored, the iſlands will be reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. This petition, like all the former upon the ſame ſubject, was referred to the eſtabliſhed petition committee.

The time was at length arrived, when the miniſter thought proper to open his deſigns with reſpect to America. On the day, upon which the Weſt-India petition had been preſented, he in a long ſpeech recapitulated the information contained in thoſe American papers which had been referred to the committee; he then proceeded to diſcriminate the temper, diſpoſition, and degrees of reſiſtance, that prevailed in the ſeveral colonies; to point out thoſe where moderation really prevailed; with others, where, he ſaid, violence was concealed under the maſk of duty and ſubmiſſion; and finiſhed the group by naming thoſe which he conſidered to be in a ſtate of actual rebellion. He aſſerted, that ſeveral

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arts had been practiſed on both ſides of the Atlantic, to raiſe this ſeditious ſpirit to its preſent alarming height. After this charge, he proceeded to draw a compariſon between the burdens borne by the people in England, and thoſe in America; in which, allowing his premiſes and calculations, the diſparity appeared about fifty to one; that is, a man in England, ceteris paribus, pays fifty times as much money to the public expence as a man in America.

He then proceeded to lay down the legiſlative ſupremacy of parliament; to ſtate the meaſures adopted by America to reſiſt it, and the almoſt univerſal confederacy of the colonies, in that reſiſtance. Here, he ſaid, he laid his foot on the great barrier, which ſeparated, and for the preſent diſunited both countries; and on this ground alone, of reſiſtance and denial, he would raiſe every argument leading to the motion which he intended to make; and this motion, he explained, would be for an addreſs to the king, and for a conference with the lords that it might be the joint addreſs of both Houſes. He then gave a ſketch of the meaſures he intended to purſue, which were, to ſend a greater force to America; to bring in a temporary act to put a ſtop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New England, particularly to their fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty; at the ſame time declaring, that whenever they ſhould acknowledge the ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, pay obedience to the laws of this realm, and make a due ſubmiſſion to the king, their real grievances, upon their making proper application, ſhould be redreſſed.

The miniſter ſaid, that the other colonies were not ſo culpable, and he hoped might yet be brought to a ſenſe of their duty to the mother country by more lenient meaſures. The queſtion now, he ſaid, lay within a very narrow compaſs: it was ſimply whether we ſhould abandon all claims on the colonies, and at once give up all the advantages ariſing from our ſovereignty, and the commerce dependant on it? or whether we ſhould reſort to the meaſures indiſpenſably neceſſary in ſuch circumſtances, and thereby inſure both?

The addreſs was to the following purpoſe. To return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that having taken them into moſt ſerious conſideration, they find that a part of his majeſty's ſubjects in the province of the Maſſachuſett's-Bay, have proceeded ſo far as to reſiſt the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature, and that a rebellion at this time actually exiſts within the ſaid province; that they ſee with the utmoſt concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into, in ſeveral of the other colonies, to the injury and oppreſſion of many of their innocent fellow-ſubjects reſident within the kingdom of Great Britain and the reſt of his Majeſty's dominions; that this conduct appears the more inexcuſable, when they conſider with how much temper his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament have acted, in ſupport of the laws and conſtitution of Great-Britain. They declare, that

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they can never ſo far deſert the truſt repoſed in them, as to relinquiſh any part of the ſovereign authority over all the dominions, which by law is veſted in his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament; and that the conduct of many perſons, in ſeveral of the colonies, during the late diſturbances, is alone ſufficient to convince them how neceſſary this power is, for the protection of the lives and fortunes of all his Majeſty's ſubjects; that they ever have been, and always ſhall be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, which ſhall in a dutiful and conſtitutional manner be laid before them; and whenever any of the colonies ſhall make a proper application to them, they ſhall be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; but that, at the ſame time, they conſider it as their indiſpenſable duty, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that he will take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature; and they beg leave in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure his Majeſty, that it is their fixed reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to ſtand by his Majeſty, againſt all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his juſt rights, and thoſe of the two Houſes of Parliament.

This addreſs was ſo loaded with conſequences, the extent of which could not be defined, that it not only called up all the powers of oppoſition; but even ſome few of the moſt moderate, and who in conformity to that habit of temper, had uſually gone with adminiſtration, as a ſmooth, ſafe, and eaſy way of travelling, ſeemed now to feel a kind of chill and horror, at entering upon ſo deciſive a meaſure, and, as they apprehended, ſo dangerous in the tendency, and inexplicable in the event.

A gentleman of the firſt eminence in the law, though not now in office, followed the miniſter through the whole detail of his ſpeech, and anſwered the different poſitions. He affirmed, that though the premiſes might be right, the concluſions were erroneous; that having examined with legal preciſion the definitions of treaſon, he inſiſted that the Americans were not in rebellion. That the appearances of riot, diſorder, tumult, and ſedition, which had been ſo faithfully recounted, as they were not of a nature to imply rebellion directly in themſelves, ſo neither did they ariſe from motives, which render acts of the ſame or leſs magnitude truly and properly rebellious. That nothing in the papers have either ſuch acts or motives. Whatever the diſorders might be, they were created by the conduct of thoſe, whoſe views were to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm; and which were manifeſtly directed to reduce America to the moſt abject ſtate of ſervility, as a prelude to the realizing of the ſame wicked ſyſtem in the mother country. He concluded by inſiſting, that an oppoſition to arbitrary meaſures was warranted by the conſtitution, and eſtabliſhed by precedent.

The other gentlemen of the minority entered but little into the juridical part of the debate. They contended, that it was a matter of little importance, whether the diſturbances which prevailed in all the colonies, might be termed in legal acceptation Rebellions or not.

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The question before the House was, whether it was prudent for Parliament, and at that time, to *declare* them so. For if Parliament should find it necessary, in the course of events, to reconcile by any concession, treaty with and concession to Rebels, would be highly dishonourable to Parliament. If treaty should not take place, their arms would never be the more powerful for distinguishing the war by the name of a rebellion. That it would render many in America, if not all, quite desperate; and make them think themselves contending for their lives, properties, and families, as well as for their political liberty. It was vainly expected (they said) that this method of choosing out Massachusett's-Bay as the only seat of rebellion, could ever blind the other colonies to the consequences, or persuade them to abandon, what they had already made a common cause in the most public and solemn manner possible. That it was well known, no act of violence had been committed in Massachusett's-Bay, which was not equalled by something of a similar, and even sometimes exceeded by acts of a more heinous nature, in every other province. That therefore, the only effect of this violent but partial declaration of rebellion, would be to delude ourselves into preparations of hostility, as if against one province only, when in truth, we had twelve to contend with; and what weakened our preparations would give strength to theirs. That the experience of last year in the partial proceedings against Boston, might serve to teach the House the insufficiency and mischief of such low and contemptible politicks. That instead of repeating errors in defiance of experience; they ought at last to open their eyes to their real situation. The colonies were now compacted into one body. The proceeding of one was become the proceeding of all. Every attempt to disunite them had been found to strengthen their union; all severities, to augment their rage and indignation; that therefore they ought, instead of menacing other places, railing at Massachusett's-Bay, and declaring a partial rebellion, to provide in good earnest and the utmost expedition, for a general war, or general reconciliation with the colonies.

On the other side, the crown lawyers and ministerial debaters insisted, that such Americans as came within certain descriptions, had been guilty of certain acts, and that still persevered in the support and commission of those acts, were in a state of actual rebellion. That those, who by open force make a general resistance to the execution of the laws, are by all writers considered as guilty of high treason. That many in England had been tried, convicted, and executed for that offence without any complaint of illegality and injustice. Were not the acts of as open violence and as much levelled against the laws in Massachusett's-Bay, as any of those proceedings so severely punished here? Or is high treason and rebellion of a different nature in America and England? As to the declaration of parliament, it does not preclude the future mercy of the crown, if the rebels should appear to be deserving of it. The very address was itself an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obstinate people

of their danger. That it was not neceſſary to puniſh univerſally; the puniſhment of a few of the worſt ſort of traitors, ſuch as Hancock and his crew, might be ſufficient to teach the reſt their duty in future. That the boaſted union of the colonies would diſſolve the moment parliament ſhewed itſelf reſolved on meaſures of vigour and ſeverity. The whole of their attempt, both in their political confederacy, and their commercial aſſociations, was founded upon principles of ſelf-denial, ſuffering, and rigour, to which human nature was not equal; and therefore muſt preſently fall to the ground. That therefore both juſtice and reaſon required ſuch a declaration of parliament at the preſent in ſupport of its authority, which might as well be formally abandoned, as not reſolutely aſſerted. Some gentlemen too (one of them of rank in the army) treated all idea of reſiſtance by the Americans with the utmoſt contempt. They ſaid, that they were neither ſoldiers, nor ever could be made ſo; being naturally of a puſillanimous diſpoſition, and utterly incapable of any ſort of order or diſcipline. That by their lazineſs, uncleanlineſs, or radical defect of conſtitution, they were incapable of going through the ſervice of a campaign; but would melt away with ſickneſs before they could face an enemy. So that a very ſlight force would be more than ſufficient for their complete reduction; and to this purpoſe many ludicrous ſtories were told greatly to the entertainment of the Houſe.

A gentleman, who had not long before ſat at the treaſury board, from whence he had been removed for a ſpirit not ſufficiently ſubmiſſive, and whoſe abilities were as unqueſtioned as the ſpirit for which he ſuffered, moved to leave out all but the preliminary words of the addreſs, and to ſubſtitute after them the following, "But deploring "that the information which they" (the papers laid before the Houſe) "had afforded, ſerved only to "convince the Houſe that the meaſures taken by his Majeſty's ſervants tended rather to widen "than to heal the unhappy diſferences between Great Britain "and America," and then prayed an alteration in the ſame.

Upon a diviſion in a very full Houſe, the amendment was rejected by a large majority, there being 304 againſt, to 105, who ſupported the queſtion. The queſtion being then put upon the original motion for the addreſs, was carried by nearly the ſame majority, the numbers being 296, to 106.

The minority had not yet, however, done with the buſineſs. Upon receiving the report from the American committee a few days after, a noble lord, whoſe family have at all times been remarkable for their attachment to the conſtitution and liberties of their country, and whoſe anceſtor had a principal ſhare in the revolution, made a motion to recommit the addreſs which had been agreed to in the committee. He ſupported his motion with many arguments; ſaid, that the conſideration of a meaſure which appeared to him and many others to be fraught with the greateſt miſchiefs, and which, from its nature, was undoubtedly capable of much evil, could not be looked upon as time thrown away, or miſpent. He

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ſtated our domeſtic ſituation, and that in which we ſtood both with reſpect to the colonies and to foreign powers; from all which he inferred the impropriety and danger of a declaration from that houſe, of the exiſtence of a rebellion in any part of our dominions; he ſhewed the deſperate meaſures into which it might precipitate the Americans; and the advantage that might be taken of ſuch an occaſion by our powerful and watchful neighbours, whoſe ancient enmity and jealouſy were much increaſed, by the glory we had acquired, and the diſgrace and loſs they had ſuffered in the laſt war. His head and his heart, he ſaid, joined in deprecating the horrors of a civil war; which would be rendered ſtill more dreadful by involving in its certain conſequences, a foreign one with the combined forces of great and powerful nations. He particularly called the attention of the Houſe to the unequal balance of our loſs and our gain in the event; in which we might find our revenue deſtroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itſelf overturned. And what was the prize to be gained, by running all this riſque, and encountering ſo much danger? If we were ſucceſsful, we might ſubdue America; by which we gained nothing; America being, to all wiſe intents and purpoſes, our own already; and much more profitably ſo, than it could be in virtue of any conqueſt.

This motion introduced the longeſt and moſt intereſting debate that had taken place in the preſent parliament. All the queſtions upon American affairs that had been agitated ſince the year 1764, and all the arguments they gave riſe to, were again, in ſome degree, controverted or revived; with the addition of thoſe which new matter and a change of circumſtance afforded, or the greateſt ingenuity could ſuggeſt. The matter is of ſuch importance that we ſhall be excuſed going over the debates, as they became known to the public; although ſomething like repetition in a buſineſs like this is inevitable.

It was acknowledged on all hands, that the ſubject was one of the moſt important that had ever been debated in that Houſe; and the preſent criſis the moſt perilous and intricate of any in which this nation had been involved ſince the revolution. It was contended by thoſe who oppoſed the motion, that either the legiſlative power of this kingdom has authority over all its dominions, or it has none over any part of them; it cannot be partial, nor can any one branch of that legiſlature, by any act or charter whatever, exempt any particular ſet of its ſubjects from the authority of the whole; and that which was never exerciſed was juſt the ſame as loſt. It was allowed, that for the ſake of tranquillity, of our trade and manufactures, it were much to be wiſhed, that lenient meaſures could be ſucceſsfully purſued; but it was ſaid, that there were none which could be propoſed or adopted, that had not already been repeatedly and ineffectually tried; that the Americans were too ungrateful, too refractory, and too incorrigible, to be won by kindneſs, or retained by benefits; and that the mildneſs, lenity, and tenderneſs, which had been conſtantly practiſed by government in all its

proceedings with the colonies, and which they inſidiouſly interpreted as the effects of timidity, became thereby, in a great degree, productive of the preſent fatal conſequences.

It was aſſerted, that the Americans had long been aiming at independency; and that as ſoon as they thought themſelves able, and a pretence occurred, they inſolently and openly avowed their eagerneſs to put the deſign in execution; that it was our buſineſs and duty as Engliſhmen, at any price and at any hazard, to prevent its completion; to cruſh the monſter in its birth; to bring them back, before it is too late, to a ſenſe of their duty, their condition, and their obligations to us; to a proper remembrance, that their preſent potency, the exceſs of their greatneſs and riches, is the conſequence of our favour; and that their very exiſtence has been purchaſed by us at an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure. That the danger was immediate and preſſing; and that, regardleſs of conſequences, we muſt encounter it like men; that every moment's delay increaſes the evil, and it would be highly criminal to our country, as well as an act of the moſt conſummate baſeneſs and cowardice, by a mean temporizing to ſhift it off from ourſelves, and leave it in all its accumulative bulk and weight, to drop upon the heads of our poſterity.

Many of the acts and reſolutions of the continental congreſs, with paſſages from their petition, and inſtances from the general proceedings of the Americans, were brought to juſtify the ſentiments, corroborate the aſſertions, and enforce the arguments that were uſed upon this occaſion. The dangers from foreign powers ſupporting the Americans was ſaid to be imaginary; beſides the moſt pacific aſſurances, thoſe, of whom we might be with reaſon moſt apprehenſive, were too much intereſted in colony matters, to give any ſupport to a reſiſtance, which might in its example be ſo ruinous to themſelves. It was ſtill contended by ſeveral of thoſe who oppoſed the motion, that an appearance of vigorous meaſures, with ſome reinforcement to the troops at Boſton, would prove ſufficient to quell the diſturbances in America, without the drawing of blood, or coming to any of thoſe extremities, which had been ſo often predicted, and pathetically lamented on the other ſide. They ſeemed ſtill to ſuppoſe, that the friends of government were much ſtronger and more numerous, than there is any reaſon at preſent to think they really were; and that they were prevented from declaring themſelves, partly from the ſudden violence of the diſcontented, and partly from a want of mutual dependance, and knowledge of each others ſentiments.

On the other ſide, the addreſs was ſtigmatized as cruel, ſanguinary and unjuſt; that ſuppoſing ſome acts to have been committed, which might have borne the conſtruction of rebellion in the ſtrict rigour of the law, it would ſtill have been more humane, more politic, and more becoming the wiſdom of the legiſlature, not to have ſeen them in that ſenſe; to give paſſion time to ſubſide, and reaſon to operate, than by ſuch a raſh, haſty, and violent meaſure, to ſet, themſelves, the example of intemperance, and drive men headlong to defiance and deſperation.

It was denied that the Americans had either ſought or wiſhed for independency; though it was too much to be feared, from the preſent complexion of the times, that through our violence and our madneſs, we ſhould at length urge them to that extremity. It was aſked, from whence we can form any judgment of the thoughts and intentions of men, but from their actions and their words? By the firſt of theſe, which are indeed the teſts of the human diſpoſition, the Americans have given the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal demonſtrations of their filial piety towards the mother country; they have fought and bled by our ſide. In the time of neceſſity, they did not wait to be chilled by conſulting the cold rules of prudence, as the meaſure of the ſupport and aſſiſtance which they were to give us; with liberal hearts, they gave every thing; our journals, in the ſame inſtance, bear witneſs to our own juſtice, and to their liberality.

Nor are their words leſs unequivocal than their actions. Even in the midſt of the preſent diſturbances; when our miniſters have excited innumerable fears and jealouſies, and by every provocation ſcrewed their paſſions up even to madneſs; yet in this ſtate of diſtraction, they require no more for the reſtoration of harmony, than to be placed in the ſame ſituation that they were at the cloſe of the laſt war.

It was ſaid, that waving all queſtions upon the right of taxation, wiſe governments had ever paid a reſpect even to prejudices of a long ſtanding, when they were eſtabliſhed among great bodies of the people; that the Americans had been nurſed up in a long ſeries of years, in ideas of certain rights, of which, the electing of their own repreſentatives, and the diſpoſal of their money for the public ſervice only through them, were among the principal. That if this was an error, the crown and parliament were equally faulty with the Americans, having in their whole conduct conſtantly nouriſhed the deluſion. That at the time of the repeal of the ſtamp act, two of the firſt names of this kingdom, for ability, as well as for legal knowledge, beſides many others, utterly denied the right of taxation; yet inſtead of any ſtigma for the holding of thoſe opinions, which are now to be conſtrued into rebellion, the Americans ſaw, immediately after, one of thoſe great men not only placed at the head of public affairs, but the framer of a whole adminiſtration, and the other appointed to the higheſt civil office under the crown, and what is emphatically called the keeper of the king's conſcience. Was it then to be wondered at, that the Americans, with ſuch authorities on their ſide, ſhould be tenacious of a right ſo invaluable in its nature, which has been at all times conſidered as the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, which had been confirmed by ſo long a preſcription, and upon which, to this inſtant, the wiſeſt and honeſteſt men, even in the mother country, are divided in opinion.

It was further urged, that if conqueſt was determined, the force intended, which the miniſter rated at about ten thouſand men, was totally inadequate to the end. But that waving that point, and ſuppoſing we ſhould ſucceed in conquering the Americans, the colonies muſt of courſe

be ruined in the conflict, the vaſt and profitable trade, which depended upon them loſt, and as no future means could be deviſed for their government, without the continual intervention of a large military force, this nation would ever after be ſaddled with a very great and certain expence, while the reſources that ſhould provide for it were wantonly cut off. But if we imagined that the powers of Europe would ſit ſtill during this conteſt, we muſt ſuppoſe a ſyſtem of policy now to prevail, or rather an extenſion of folly, all over Europe, which never before was known in any period of its exiſtence.

It was remarkable in this debate, that a gentleman high in office declared, that his ideas upon the ſubject differed totally from thoſe which in the preſent debate ſeemed to be adopted by the noble lord at the head of adminiſtration; that he could not give his aſſent to a meaſure, at the very thoughts of which his ſoul ſhuddered; that he diſapproved of the whole ſyſtem with reſpect to America; and wiſhed it to be reconſidered in every point of view, leſt wrong and oppreſſion ſhould render reſiſtance juſtifiable. He obſerved, that though ſome perſons, leſs reſponſible had uniformly perſevered in a ſtyle of the moſt inflexible rigour, that noble perſon at the head of the finances, had frequently changed his language; and ſeemed to ſuffer under great occaſional depreſſion; that he even declared at times, that he did not mean to tax America; and ſeeming beſides to ſpeak but ſlightly of the right of taxation, and giving ſome intimation even of conſenting to a repeal of the tea duty, that we were then contending only about words and quiddities, and entering into a ruinous war without an object.

Much ill temper appeared in every part of the Houſe, in the courſe of both theſe debates. The miniſters were charged with acting uniformly and ſyſtematically upon Tory and arbitrary principles, which were ſubverſive of the conſtitution, deſtructive of the rights of the people, and had thrown the whole empire into a ſtate of confuſion and diſtraction. That by a purſuance of theſe diſgraceful and ruinous meaſures, they had tarniſhed the luſtre of the crown, alienated the affections of the people, and ſunk the nation, from the higheſt pinnacle of power and glory, to a degree of contempt in the eſtimation of the reſt of Europe, which, only a few years ago, it would have been deemed impoſſible for the accumulated misfortunes and diſgraces of an age to have accompliſhed. But that in the true ſpirit of a Tory adminiſtration, they had ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of the nation in all tranſactions with foreigners, and reſerved all the ſpirit, the pride, the dignity, and the force of government, to be played off againſt the liberties of the people at home. They were repeatedly told, that a bitter day of retribution would inevitably come, when they muſt anſwer to the juſtice of their country, for the miſchiefs they had already done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they were plunging the nation. In a word, it was ſaid, that the ſhort and ſimple queſtion before the Houſe, was, whether we ſhould loſe our colonies, or give up our miniſters?

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On the other ſide, all the evils and diſturbances in America, were by charge or implication attributed to the oppoſition. Much was ſaid about faction at home, a republican ſpirit and principles, and that the Americans were ſpirited up to their violence and rebellion, by incendiary writers and ſpeakers in England. In the courſe of this violence and heat, a gentleman, having ſpoken ſomething of Catalines at home, who ought to be dragged forth to public diſgrace and puniſhment, was called to from the other ſide to point them out; and told, that the imputation was undoubtedly right, but he ſeemed to miſplace it; that if he meant by Catalines, thoſe who were involving their country in all the horrors and miſeries of a civil war, they could be eaſily found; but it would be on that ſide where he did not wiſh the ſearch to be made.

After a debate which continued till half an hour paſt two o'clock in the morning, the queſtion being at length put, the motion for the recommitment of the addreſs was rejected by nearly the former majority, the numbers upon the diviſion being 288 againſt, to 105, who ſupported the motion.

Feb. 7th. A conference was held the next day with the lords, at the requeſt of the commons, to propoſe their joining in the addreſs. In the mean time, a petition from the merchants of London, concerned in the commerce to North America; and another from the Weſt India merchants and planters, were preſented to the Marquis of Rockingham, to be laid before the lords by that nobleman, previous to their entering upon American affairs. Whether the eaſe with which petitions had been rendered fruitleſs in the other houſe, had encouraged a ſimilar diſpoſition to render them equally ineffectual here, we ſhall not pretend to ſay, but however it was, or from whatever cauſe it proceeded, this period ſeemed particularly fatal to that mode of application for redreſs.

The lords being returned from the conference, and the preſident having made the report and read the addreſs, the Marquis of Rockingham ſtood up to introduce and preſent the petitions; but the noble Earl at the head of the American department, having riſen to ſpeak at the ſame time, a great diſpute aroſe who ſhould be the firſt heard. In this ſtate of confuſion, the lord keeper, inſtead of deciding by his own eye or opinion, put the queſtion, whether the lord in adminiſtration ſhould be then heard? This proceeding called up a noble Duke on the other ſide, who inſiſted, that it was a moſt ſlaviſh poſition, and unworthy their rank and character, that any lord in that houſe, ſhould have a preference to any other; and ſtill more ſo, to render that preference the act of the houſe, by putting it to the queſtion. The diſpute was now brought into the form of a regular debate, in which, on one ſide, the importance and nature of the ſubject which the marquis had to propoſe, was ſaid, independent of any other cauſes, to entitle it to a preference; and the neceſſity and juſtice of their accepting the merchants petitions, and hearing their allegations, before they entered into any reſolutions upon American affairs, were ſtrongly urged. It was alledged, that they not only ſat there in their

legiſlative, but in their judicial capacity, and were therefore bound by all the ties of juſtice, as well as of official duty, to obtain every poſſible light and information upon the ſubject before them. That the pretence of delay, or loſs of time, could not avail in this inſtance, as there was nothing dependent on the addreſs, which required any ſudden reſolution. But if there even were, a matter which involved in its conſequences, not only the juſtice of the Houſe, but the intereſts and ſafety of the nation, ſhould not be haſtily nor unadviſedly decided upon, nor ſhould a mere attention to forms, ſuppoſing them to be eſtabliſhed or authenticated, be deemed a ſufficient cauſe for cutting off the means of information.

On the other ſide, the method of ſtating and propoſing the queſtion was juſtified by ſome precedents, moſt of which were brought from the houſe of commons; and it was contended, that the chairman in either houſe, had a right, either to decide immediately upon the queſtion, or to ſtate it in ſuch manner, and to propoſe ſuch party as he pleaſed; that the propoſed mode of proceeding on the petitions, while the other buſineſs was before them, was unuſual and unparliamentary; and that independent of all other cauſes, the preference upon this occaſion ſhould be given to the noble lord in adminiſtration, as a mark of the reſpect owing to the other branch of the legiſlature. The queſtion being at length put, the motion was carried without a diviſion.

Upon this deciſion, the nobleman in whoſe favour it was carried, made the uſual motion, merely for the ſake of ſecuring the occupancy of the ground, viz. That the blank which was left open in the addreſs preſented by the Commons, ſhould be filled up by the inſertion of thoſe words, "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal." &c. which were to render that inſtrument the joint act of both Houſes.

The Marquis then acquainted the Houſe with the nature and great importance of the petitions which he had to preſent; that they were immediately relative to the buſineſs under conſideration; and were well worthy of arreſting any determination of theirs, for at leaſt one day, being certain, that within that ſhort period, information of infinite conſequence would be laid before them; perhaps ſufficient to alter, or at leaſt to ſoften the rigour of thoſe meaſures, which they were now madly, haſtily, and blindly proceeding to adopt. That to remove every doubt of their being intended, either to gain time, or to cauſe delay, he was authorized by the Weſt India merchants to inform them, that if neceſſitated ſo to do, they were ready, without counſel or further preparation, inſtantly to offer evidence to prove, that ſeveral of the Weſt-India iſlands could not be able to ſubſiſt after the operation of the propoſed addreſs in America. He then ſaid, that as a queſtion was now before the Houſe, which muſt be firſt diſpoſed of, before the matter of the petitions could come regularly under their cognizance, and as he ſtill hoped they would be willing to hear the petitioners, as men ſuffering under the heavieſt misfortunes, none of which could be attributed to their own miſconduct,

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he would be under the neceſſity, as the only means left, of moving the previous queſtion, which would open a door for taking into conſideration the general ſtate of the petitioners grievances.

It was further urged, in ſupporting the motion for the previous queſtion, that the papers which had been laid before them by the miniſters, were ſo manifeſtly defective and avowedly curtailed, that no certain information could be derived from them of the real ſtate of the objection which they were going to decide; that in ſuch a ſituation, they ſhould accept with pleaſure that information, which if it had not been voluntarily offered, it would have been their duty to have ſought, at any expence, whether of time or otherwiſe; that if the papers had been even in their original ſtate, without garbling or mutilation, ſtill, there was no ſpecies of information relative to the colonies, to which the merchants were not more competent, and leſs liable to impoſition through ignorance, or to impoſe upon others through prejudice, than the public officers employed by the crown; of which, if there was any doubt before, the erroneous opinions, falſe ideas, and miſrepreſentation of facts, upon which the fatal acts of the laſt parliament were founded, afforded too melancholy an experience. That the expreſs prayer of the petitioners being, that they might be heard before any reſolution was taken reſpecting America, the refuſal of this act of juſtice, or of even ſuffering the petitions to be preſented, was a proceeding of the moſt unwarrantable nature, and directly ſubverſive of the moſt ſacred rights of the ſubject. They ſummed up their arguments by concluding, that juſtice in regard to individuals, policy with regard to the public, and decorum with regard to themſelves, required that they ſhould admit the petitions; and that a refuſal of them was no leſs, than a denial of juſtice.

On the other ſide, ſome of the lords ſpoke tenderly with reſpect to the merchants; ſaid they deſerved every mark of attention and reſpect, which was conſiſtent with the intereſts of the empire at large; that although their grievances were imaginary, their complaints were deſerving of indulgence. It was, however, to be hoped, that when they maturely conſidered that the ſteps now taking were to prevent the return of ſuch evils in future, they would not only chearfully acquieſce in the wiſdom of parliament in the preſent inſtance, but be gratefully thankful hereafter; for if the ſupremacy of the legiſlature was once given up, their trade, commerce, and every poſſible advantage accruing from them, would ſoon be annihilated. It was therefore to be hoped, that the merchants would, on the preſent occaſion, ſubmit to a temporary inconvenience, or even to a ſhort-lived diſtreſs, to inſure the moſt permanent and laſting benefits; and manifeſt that degree of magnanimity, which a ſenſe of their own intereſts, founded in ſubmiſſion and acquieſcence to the wiſdom of parliament, muſt, upon mature conſideration and paſt experience, moſt certainly ſuggeſt.

Thus far, the debate was confined to the ſubject of the previous queſtion; but with reſpect to the original motion, it branched out far

far more extenſively. The queſtions of treaſon, rebellion, and conſtructive treaſons, were deeply entered into by two great Law Lords, one of whom has long been at the head of one of the firſt departments in his profeſſion, the chief court of criminal juſtice; and the other, within a few years, the higheſt officer under the crown. As theſe learned Lords differed totally, both in their legal and political opinions and ſentiments, a long debate was carried on, with great eagerneſs, warmth, and ability between them; in which a vaſt ſtock of profeſſional, as well as general learning, was diſplayed on both ſides. On the one, the Americans were pronounced to be in abſolute rebellion; while a rich, and moſt fertile imagination, had an opportunity of exerting all its ingenuity, in traverſing the almoſt inextricable mazes of conſtructive treaſons; from whence were drawn ſuch ſtores of inferences, deductions, concluſions, and diſtinctions, as were not eaſily developed or ſeparated, when involved in the ſplendor of a moſt powerful eloquence. The learned Lord on the other ſide, with equal abilities, as full a ſhare of legal knowledge, and an eloquence not inferior to any, ſtuck cloſe to the letter of the law, and as abſolutely denied the charge made upon the Americans. He reſted the whole ground of argument upon the ſtatute of the 25 Edward III. and would admit of no ſpecies of treaſon but what was therein deſcribed, nor of any conſtructive treaſon that was not already clearly eſtabliſhed by precedents in the courts, founded upon that baſis. It is much to be lamented, that with all the boaſted excellency of our conſtitution, a queſtion of ſo vaſt a magnitude, as to include in its conſequences the lives, fortunes, and honours of all the ſubjects of this empire, ſhould ſtill remain involved in ſuch obſcurity, as not only to admit of a difference of opinion, but that even the great oracles of the law are bewildered in its darkneſs.

With reſpect to the immediate queſtion, it was inſiſted on the one ſide, that we were reduced to the alternative of adopting the moſt effectual and coercive meaſures, or of relinquiſhing for ever all claim of dominion and ſovereignty over the colonies; that no medium could poſſibly be deviſed, which would exclude the inevitable conſequence of either ſyſtem abſolutely prevailing; for that, on the one hand, the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature muſt be compleat, entire, and unconditional; or, on the other, the colonies muſt be free and independent: that all enquiry about the right or expediency of taxation was now fruitleſs; taxation was no longer the queſtion; it was only the pretence of American diſobedience and reſiſtance; all their acts ſtrike at the ſuperintending power of the legiſlature; that was their real grievance: and a repeal of any one of thoſe laws which they complained of, would be a renunciation of all ſovereignty for ever. That it was an abſurdity of the moſt monſtrous kind, to ſuppoſe that they had a right diſtinct from the legiſlature in any one particular, and not in all; if they had ſuch a right, the defence of it would juſtify reſiſtance; and to contend that ſubjects had a right to reſiſt the government, was a doctrine which could not be maintained, on any principles of civil government, reaſon, experience, or common ſenſe.

As to the petitioners, it was not doubted but they were aggrieved; it might be granted, that all their allegations were well founded, and that they laboured under great and ſingular diſtreſſes; it was as little to be doubted, that the landed gentlemen, the merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and every order of men in the nation, would all heavily feel, in their ſeveral ſituations, the threatened calamities. But theſe were circumſtances that did not interfere with the motion; they are a part of the evils incident to mankind, which may be deplored but cannot be avoided. The events of war are ever uncertain; its calamities great, and undefined; we may be defeated; we may loſe that ſovereignty we are ſtruggling to retain; but theſe are the inevitable conditions of warfare: nor are they more grievous in the preſent inſtance than in others. The queſtion now under conſideration is, whether, allowing all the inconveniencies, difficulties, and dangers that are ſuppoſed, and taking into full contemplation every poſſible contingency that human foreſight and prudence could ſuggeſt, we ſhould relinquiſh our rights, or reſolve, at all events, reſolutely to perſiſt in their exertion?

On the other ſide, the madneſs of entering into a civil war, merely to cover and ſupport a ſeries of miniſterial violence, miſconduct, and miſrule, with the ruin and deſtruction that muſt inevitably attend ſuch unnatural cruelty and injuſtice, were painted in the ſtrongeſt colours. The learned Lord, who had aſſerted the Americans to be in rebellion, was ſeverely reprehended; it was ſaid, that with all his legal knowledge and ability, he had not been able, in any degree, to ſupport the charge, and that ſuch cruel and inflammatory repreſentations, at this alarming criſis, were very unbecoming the gravity and dignity of his ſituation, and the ſeveral high relations he ſtood in to the ſtate. It was ſhewn, that as commerce was the ſource of our wealth and our power, and its deſtruction the inevitable conſequence of perſevering in the preſent inſane and pernicious meaſures; ſo we were running headlong into a civil war, and at the ſame time cutting off, irretrievably, the means which enabled us to ſupport any; the conſequence of which, in the natural courſe of things, muſt be our falling an open and defenceleſs prey to the firſt bold invader. It was alſo aſſerted, that every engine had been employed, and every art too ſucceſsfully eſſayed, to render the landed intereſt a party in this ruinous work, and to lead it into the fatal error of conſidering itſelf as diſtinct from the commercial; as if the latter could ſuſtain any injury which the former muſt not equally feel. But, it was aſked, what roſe the value of the lands, but commerce? What ſupported commerce but the lands?—their intereſts being as inſeparable as the benefits they derived from each other were mutual and reciprocal.

It was aſſerted, that the violent matter of the dangerous addreſs before them, was highly aggravated by the unuſual and violent manner in which it was attempted to be precipitated through the Houſe: that they were not to be allowed the interpoſition of a moment's time for recollection or deliberation, before they were to be driven headlong into a declaration of civil war,

war. A conference was held with the Commons; an addreſs, which took in ſubjects of ſuch a nature and magnitude as to ſtrike the mind with dread and horror, preſented; all extraneous information, altho' offered, poſitively refuſed; all petitions, arbitrarily rejected; and the whole of this moſt awful buſineſs, received, debated, and intended to be concluded in a ſingle day; that no legal grounds were laid, either in argument or in fact, to ſhew that a rebellion, properly ſo called, exiſted in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, when the papers of the lateſt date, and from whence alone they derived their information, were written; that the overt acts, to which the ſpecies of treaſon affirmed in the addreſs ought to be applied, were not eſtabliſhed, nor any offenders marked out; but a general maſs of the acts of turbulence, ſaid to be done at various times and places, and of various natures, were all thrown together to make out one general conſtructive treaſon; nor was there any ſort of proof of the continuance of any unlawful force, from whence it could be inferred that a rebellion was at the preſent time exiſting.

It was further contended, that the caſes of conſtructive treaſon had been already ſo far extended by the judges, and the diſtinctions upon them were ſo nice and ſubtle, that no wiſe man would wiſh to increaſe their number, or to add to their authority; much leſs ought ſo high an authority as the two Houſes of Parliament, without the cleareſt evidence of uncontroverted overt-act, to denounce ſo cruel a judgment, as a declaration of rebellion, againſt a great body of the people; a declaration, in every view of it, big with the moſt horrible and direful conſequences; and which, if confirmed by that Houſe, will from that inſtant authorize every ſpecies of rapine, plunder, maſſacre, and perſecution.

This extraordinary debate was attended with ſome ſingular circumſtances. A great Law Lord, who had been ſo ſevere in his charge againſt the Americans, condemned alſo, in the moſt explicit and unreſerved terms, (to the great ſurprize of moſt of his auditors) the meaſure of laying on the duties in the year 1767, which he declared to be the moſt abſurd and pernicious that could be deviſed, and the cauſe of all our preſent and impending evils. If this declaration was unexpected, the acknowledgment that followed was ſtill more ſo. Three great Lords, who were at that time cabinet counſellors, and held the firſt offices in the ſtate, declared ſeparately in their places, that they had no ſhare in that meaſure, nor had ever given it any approbation; and two of them condemned it in expreſs terms, while the third, who was ſtill in high office, did not by any means pretend to ſupport it. It ſeems they were in ſome way over ruled. But the manner in which a meaſure of miniſtry was carried againſt the opinion of miniſters was not explained.

It cannot be wondered, that ſuch a diſcloſure relative to a matter, which had already convulſed the whole empire, and was ſtill more to be dreaded in its future conſequences, ſhould excite the moſt general amazement, mixed with a great ſhare of indignation and regret in particulars. The fatal and over-ruling ſecret influence, which,

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as they ſaid, had ſo long guided and marred all the public affairs of the nation, was accordingly deplored and animadverted upon in different parts of the Houſe.

In the courſe of the heat, which ſprung from much collateral matter that was thrown in upon this occaſion, a ſeries of arraignment, juſtification, aſſertion, denial, animadverſion, and recrimination took place, in which many things paſſed, that were either new in that Houſe, or extraordinary in their nature. The learned Lord, who had condemned the meaſure of laying on the American duties in the year 1767, was himſelf, partly by implication, and in part directly, charged with having a principal ſhare in thoſe ſecret counſels, which had been ſtigmatized as the moſt obnoxious and ruinous to the nation; notwithſtanding his repeated declaration, that he had not acted as an efficient cabinet counſellor for ſeveral years. Theſe charges were urged and oppoſed with a degree of aſperity, and a harſhneſs of perſonal altercation, not often heard in that Houſe; with violent threats on the one ſide, and general defiance on the other.

At length, the previous queſtion being put, according to the noble Marquis's motion, at 40 minutes paſt one o'clock in the morning, was loſt by a prodigious majority, the numbers, including the proxies, being 104, to 29, only, who ſupported the previous queſtion. The main queſtion being then put, whether to agree with the Commons in the addreſs, by inſerting the words neceſſary to fill up the blank, it was carried in the affirmative, by ſomething near the ſame majority.

Both the previous queſtion, and the main queſtion, were, however, each of them productive of a ſeparate proteſt, which were ſigned by eighteen Lords, who conclude their reaſons of diſſent in the following words: "Becauſe the means of enforcing the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, is confided to perſons, of whoſe capacity for that purpoſe, from abundant experience, we have reaſon to doubt; and who have hitherto uſed no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing thoſe who oppoſe that authority: this appears in the conſtant failure of all their projects, the inſufficiency of all their information, and the diſappointment of all the hopes, which they have for ſeveral years held out to the public. Parliament has never refuſed any of their propoſals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worſe, until we have been brought, ſtep by ſtep, to that ſtate of confuſion, and even civil violence, which was the natural reſult of theſe deſperate meaſures.

We therefore proteſt againſt an addreſs, amounting to a *declaration of war*, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refuſing to ſuffer the preſentation of petitions againſt it, (although it be the undoubted right of the ſubject to preſent the ſame); which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no ſubſtantial offer of redreſs of grievances; and which promiſes ſupport to thoſe miniſters who have inflamed America, and groſsly miſconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Meſſage from the throne for an augmentation of the forces. Bill for reſtraining the commerce of the New-England colonies, and to prohibit their fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, &c. brought into the Houſe of Commons. Great oppoſition to the bill. Petition and evidence againſt it. Petition and evidence from the town of Pool in ſupport of the bill. Petition from the Quakers. Long debates. Motion for an amendment over-ruled. The bill carried through by great majorities. Meets with equal oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords. Petitions and evidence as before. Great debates. Queſtion for committing the bill, upon the ſecond reading, carried by a great majority. Motion on the third reading for an amendment, to include ſeveral other colonies in the reſtrictions of the bill. The queſtion carried upon a diviſion. The bill paſſed, and returned with the amendment to the Commons. Proteſt. Conference; the Commons give reaſons for refuſing to concur in the amendment; the Lords agree to the rejection. The bill receives the royal aſſent.

THE anſwer from the throne to the addreſs, beſides the uſual thanks, contained an aſſurance of taking the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature; together with a declaration, that, whenever any of the colonies ſhould make a proper and dutiful application, his Majeſty would be ready to concur in affording them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; and concluded with an earneſt wiſh, that this diſpoſition might have an happy effect on their temper and conduct.

The anſwer was accompanied with a meſſage from the Throne to the Commons, in which they were informed, that as it was determined, in conſequence of the addreſs, to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for ſupporting the juſt rights of the crown, and the two Houſes of Parliament, ſome augmentation to the forces by ſea and land would be neceſſary for that purpoſe. This meſſage was referred, as uſual, to the committee of ſupply.

While meaſures were thus taking to apply a military force to the cure of the diſorders in America, other means were thought neceſſary to come in aid of this expedient. The military force might indeed coerce and puniſh the diſobedient, and effectually ſupport the magiſtrate in caſe of inſurrection; but how to get the body of magiſtracy to act, or any ſufficient number upon ordinary occaſions to engage heartily in their cauſe, did not appear. The change in the charter of Maſſachuſett's Bay had not produced the deſired effect. Even if it ſhould, the inferior magiſtrates muſt evidently be taken in the country; ſheriffs, conſtables, ſelect men, grand and petty juries, muſt be aiding to the higher magiſtrates, or nothing could be done; and the idea of having troops in every pariſh would be ridiculous. The coercive plan being therefore ſtill

relied on, it was propoſed to chuſe a puniſhment ſo univerſal, as by the inconveniencies which every man felt, would intereſt every man in procuring obedience and ſubmiſſion to the late acts of parliament. For this reaſon the miniſter moved for leave to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and New Hampſhire; the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantation, in North-America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies; and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time.

Feb. 10.

He ſupported the propoſed bill (of which he had given ſome previous intimation) on the following grounds: that as the Americans had refuſed to trade with this kingdom, it was but juſt that we ſhould not ſuffer them to trade with any other nation; that the reſtraints of the act of navigation, were their charter; and that the ſeveral relaxations of that law, were ſo many acts of grace and favour; all which, when they ceaſed to be merited by the colonies, it was reaſonable and neceſſary ſhould be recalled by the legiſlature; that the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as all the others in North-America, were the undoubted right of Great-Britain, and ſhe might accordingly diſpoſe of them as ſhe pleaſed; that as both Houſes had declared a rebellion in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, it was therefore juſt to deprive that province of the benefits which it derived from thoſe fiſheries.

With reſpect to the other colonies of New-England included in the bill, he obſerved, that though there was ſtill a governor and government in the province of New Hampſhire, yet government was ſo weak there, that a quantity of powder had been taken out of one of the King's forts by an armed mob: beſides, that from the vicinity of that province to Maſſachuſett's Bay, if it were not included, the purpoſe of the act would be defeated. Nor was the ill temper of the people of Connecticut found leſs deſerving of their being included in the general puniſhment, who, upon a report that the ſoldiery had killed ſome people in Boſton, marched a large body of men into the province of Maſſachuſett's; and though that body returned, on finding the falſity of the report, the temper and diſpoſition they ſhewed, as well as the general ſtate and conduct of the colony, did not by any means entitle them to favour. The argument of vicinity was alſo as applicable to the laſt province as to that of New Hampſhire.

The miniſter having ſtated the reaſons on which he acted, declared, that he would not be averſe to ſuch alleviations of the act, as would not prove deſtructive of its great object; and therefore he would only propoſe it as temporary, to continue either to the end of the year, or of the next ſeſſion of parliament;—and he would alſo propoſe, that particular perſons might be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates from the Governor of the province, in which they reſided, of their good behaviour, or upon their ſubſcribing to a teſt, acknowledging

knowledging the rights of parliament.

This bill, beſides the matter that was peculiar to its own nature, brought up in its courſe the whole ſeries of American controverſy. With regard to this particular meaſure, the principle of involving the innocent in the puniſhment of the guilty was alternately combated, with ſerious argument, pathetic remonſtrance, and pointed ridicule. What legiſlature had ever eſtabliſhed a precedent of equal cruelty and injuſtice, with the condemning of half a million of people to periſh with famine, for the ſuppoſed crimes of a few unknown perſons? Such precedents were only to be ſought for in the hiſtory of the moſt ſavage and barbarous tyrants; but not among the judicial acts of legiſlators. Why were three other provinces to be puniſhed for a rebellion ſuppoſed only in one? or if they were alſo in rebellion, why were they not declared ſo? One province was to be deprived of its ſubſiſtence, becauſe a rebellion, no body knew where, nor by whom, was, however, ſaid to be lurking in ſome part of it. A ſecond province was to be puniſhed, becauſe it happened to be next door to rebellion; a third, becauſe it would be doing nothing to let that eſcape; and a fourth muſt be ſtarved, becauſe the miniſters could not otherwiſe ſquare their plan. Very bad reaſons, they ſaid, had been given for puniſhing the other New-England colonies; but no reaſon at all had been aſſigned for including *Rhode Iſland* in the common reſtriction: unleſs perhaps the mere neighbourhood might be the cauſe, which was left to be gueſſed, miniſtry being ſilent as to that province. It was ſaid, that in whatever other matters of policy our miniſters might be found deficient, they had the moſt infallible receipt for making rebellions, and the happieſt talent in hitting upon meaſures for the ruin of trade and commerce, and the diſmemberment of a great empire, of any ſet of men that ever conducted the public affairs of any country.

It was ſaid, that the cruelty of the bill exceeded the examples of hoſtile rigour with avowed enemies; that in all the violence of our moſt dangerous wars, it was an eſtabliſhed rule in the marine ſervice, to ſpare the coaſt-fiſhing craft of our declared enemies; always conſidering, that we waged war with nations, and not with private men; and that it would be unworthy the character of a great and brave people, and even ſavage and barbarous, to deprive poor wretches of their means of hard-earned livelihood, and the miſerable village inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, of their daily food. It was known that the people of New-England ſubſiſt much on fiſh; and that the ſale of that commodity ſupplies them with the means of purchaſing flour and ſeveral other articles neceſſary to life; three of the provinces in queſtion not raiſing wheat for the fourth part of their demand: ſo that we now inhumanly intend to ſtarve whole provinces, and theſe our own people, excepting only ſuch, as a Governor may think proper to favour; a paltry pretence of lenity, which will ſerve only to cover the moſt ſcandalous partiality, and give riſe to unjuſt preference, monopoly, and to all kinds of the moſt ſhameful and pernicious jobbs. They deſired the propoſer of the bill to recollect

recollect that he had frequently ſpoken of the multitude of friends he had in all thoſe provinces; and now, by his own meaſure, he not only confounded the innocent with the guilty, but friends with enemies, and involved his own partizans in one common ruin with the reſt.

But this was not only to operate upon ſuppoſed rebels, or upon thoſe who had the misfortune of being their neighbours, or who it was imagined either did or might conceal rebellion; but it was alſo to puniſh the people of Great-Britain, who were charged with no delinquency, not even of concealment or neighbourhood, and who muſt loſe a very great ſhare of their property which was lying in the proſcribed provinces, in conſequence of this bill. For, as New-England was not productive of ſtaple commodities, ſufficient to pay the great balance which it was always under a neceſſity of owing in this country, it had no other means of diſcharging that debt than through the fiſhery, and the circuitous trade dependent on it: ſo that to cut off thoſe means was, in fact, to beggar our merchants and manufacturers; and the Britiſh legiſlature was, in its wiſdom, going to paſs a diſabling bill, to prevent the payment of debts to its Britiſh ſubjects.

It was further contended, that the abſurdity of the bill was even equal to its cruelty and injuſtice. That its object was to take away a trade from our colonies, which all who underſtood its nature knew we could not transfer to ourſelves. That God and nature had given the fiſheries to them, and not to us; and ſet limits to our avarice and cruelty, which we could not paſs; that when they were once deſtroyed, we could neither benefit by them ourſelves, nor reſtore them to thoſe, whom we had thus violently and unjuſtly deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence; that diſtance and local circumſtances ſhut us out in the firſt inſtance; and with reſpect to the other, that the little capital, veſſels, and implements of fiſhermen, the majority of whom, muſt ever be neceſſarily poor, could only be kept up by the conſtant returns of profit, and when the returns failed, the capital and implements would be loſt for ever. That the people muſt either periſh, or apply themſelves to other occupations, from which they could not be recalled at will. That we were thus finding out the means for Providence of puniſhing our own cruelty and injuſtice; for that thoſe fiſheries, which were a more inexhauſtible, and infinitely more valuable ſource of wealth and power than all the mines in the new world, would not only be loſt to ourſelves, but would be thrown into the ſcale againſt us, by falling, in a very great degree, into the hands of our natural rivals and enemies. They obſerved alſo, that the fiſherman, having no occupation, muſt of courſe become a ſoldier. Thus we provoke a rebellion by the injuſtice of one ſet of acts, and then recruit the rebellious army by another.

In ſupport of the bill, beſides the arguments that were originally urged, the charges of injuſtice and cruelty were denied; and it was ſaid, that whatever diſtreſs the bill might bring upon the colonies, they could not complain of the legiſlature, as they not only deſerved it by their diſobedience, but had themſelves ſet the example. That they had entered into the moſt unlawful and daring combinations, as far as in them lay, to ruin our merchants,

merchants, impoverish our manufacturers, and to starve our West-India islands. That nothing could be more equitable than to prohibit the trade of those who had prohibited ours. That if any foreign power had offered us only a small part of the insult and injury that we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and woe to the ministers who were slack in obtaining it. Were we then to act the part of bullies with all the rest of mankind, only to be kicked at home by our own people?

The charge of cruelty was said to be equally ill founded. This was a bill of humanity and mercy, as well as of coercion; it being the only moderate means of bringing the disobedient provinces to a sense of their duty, without involving the empire in the horrors of a civil war. They had daringly incurred all the penalties of contumacy and rebellion, and were liable to the severest military execution, without any imputation of cruelty. Instead of these dreadful punishments which they so justly merited, they were to be brought to their senses without any severity, only by a restriction on their trade, which would last no longer than their contumacy. Thus government would be supported, without the miseries of war, or the effusion of blood.

As to the charge of involving the innocent with the guilty, friends with foes, the propriety or impropriety, the justice or injustice of such an act, depended on the necessity of the measure. That whenever this was the case, the necessity might be lamented, but could not be helped. That a town of ours, held by rebels or enemies, might contain the best of our friends, and those friends too might be the more numerous part of the inhabitants; but still the miseries of a siege, and possibly of a famine must be submitted to, or the town never could be recovered.

Never, said they, was a measure more truly necessary than the present. The colonies had too long imposed upon and deluded us, by the bugbear of withdrawing their trade, hoping, through the terror of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to such a ripeness, as to be able to throw off the mask, and openly to avow their rebellious purposes. That this was the third time, within a few years, in which they had thrown the whole commerce of this country into a state of the greatest confusion. That both colonies and commerce were better lost than preserved upon such terms; that life itself could not be worth the keeping in a constant state of uncertainty and fear. Things were now come to a crisis, and the conflict must be borne. We must either relinquish our connections with America, or fix them upon such a sure and certain basis, as would effectually prevent the return of those evils.

The minority replied, that the necessity was pretended, not real. That this measure, so far from necessary, was by no means expedient. That the parallel with foreign nations did not hold. That nothing bound a foreign nation but fear. But is that the bond of internal government, and the foundation of security at home? To revenge injuries in your own domestic disputes is not the way to prevent their return. The way to lasting

peace

peace is to cut off the cauſe of thoſe diſputes, otherwiſe they will return the moment the terror is over; or perhaps rigour may rather provoke than terrify; and then you fall from bad to worſe. They aſked, whether the acts of rigour of the laſt ſeſſion had produced any of the effects which were expected from them?

The queſtion being called for late at night, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of more than three to one, the numbers being 261 to 85 only.

In the further progreſs of the bill, a petition from the merchants and traders of London, who were intereſted in the American commerce, was preſented againſt it, upon ſome of the commercial principles mentioned in the foregoing debate; and particularly on the danger, even to our own fiſheries, from ſuch prohibition.

A motion being made, that the petitioners ſhould be heard by themſelves or their counſel againſt the bill, and in ſupport of their allegations, it was agreed to; in conſequence of which a long train of witneſſes, conſiſting of merchants and captains of ſhips, who reſided in England or North-America, and who had been long verſed in the trade and fiſheries of both, were examined at the bar of the Houſe, the evidence being conducted by Mr. David Barclay, who was appointed agent to manage this buſineſs by the committee of American merchants.

In the courſe of this evidence, (among a vaſt quantity of other intereſting matter) it appeared, that ſo long ago as the year 1764, the four provinces of New-England employed, in their ſeveral fiſheries, no leſs than 45,880 ton of ſhipping, and 6002 men; and that the produce of their fiſheries in the foreign markets for that year, amounted in ſterling money to the ſum of 322,220l. 16s.—It alſo appeared, that the fiſheries had increaſed very much ſince that time; that the New-England fiſh was much better than that taken by ſhips fitted out from Great-Britain; that all the materials uſed in the fiſheries, except ſalt, and the timber of which the veſſels are built, were taken from this country; and that the nett proceeds of the fiſh were remitted here.

It was alſo given in evidence, that neither the whale nor the cod fiſhery could be carried on, to any degree of equal extent and advantage, either from Newfoundland or Great-Britain, as from North-America; that there were ſeveral local circumſtances, and ſome natural advantages in favour of the latter, which could neither be counteracted or ſupplied; that with reſpect to transferring the fiſheries to Nova-Scotia or Quebec, were government even to furniſh them with a capital, they had neither veſſels nor men; nor could they procure them from any other place than New-England; that in any caſe, the ſtopping of one fiſhery, and the creation of another, muſt take up much time, and that in the interval the trade would be inevitably loſt; and that the people belonging to the American fiſheries had ſuch an abhorrence of the military government eſtabliſhed at Halifax, and ſo invincible an averſion to the looſe habits and manners of the people, that nothing could induce them to remove thither, even ſuppoſing them reduced to

the neceſſity of emigration. It alſo appeared, that there was nearly a million of money owing from New-England to the city of London only.

They alſo ſtated to the Houſe, that the calamities conſequent of the bill muſt fall, in a marked and particular degree, upon people who, from the nature of their occupations, muſt be innocent; for as the people belonging to the fiſheries paſs the greater part of the year at ſea, they could have no ſhare in the diſturbances or crimes which were imputed to others. The caſe of the inhabitants of Nantucket was particularly hard. This extraordinary people, amounting to between five and ſix thouſand in number, nine tenths of whom are Quakers, inhabit a barren iſland, fifteen miles long by three broad, the products of which were ſcarcely capable of maintaining twenty families. From the only harbour which this ſteril iſland contains, without natural products of any ſort, the inhabitants, by an aſtoniſhing induſtry, keep an 140 veſſels in conſtant employment. Of theſe, eight are employed in the importation of proviſions for the iſland, and the reſt in the whale fiſhery; which, with an invincible perſeverance and courage, they have extended from the frozen regions of the Pole to the coaſts of Africa, to the Brazils, and even as far ſouth as the Falkland Iſlands; ſome of thoſe fiſhing voyages continuing for twelve months.

A petition, from the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the town of Poole, in Dorſetſhire, was preſented, being in avowed oppoſition to that from London, and in ſupport of the principles of the fiſhery bill. This petition (which has ſince been diſclaimed and condemned, by another from the town, corporation, and principal inhabitants) ſet forth, that the reſtraints upon the colonies would not by any means be injurious to commerce; that the foreign markets might be amply ſupplied, by extending the Newfoundland fiſhery from England; that the ſaid fiſhery already exceeded half a million annually, all which centers in this kingdom, whereas the profits of the colony fiſheries go elſewhere; that the fiſhery from the mother country is a conſtant nurſery for ſeamen for the navy; but that the American ſeamen are not compellable to ſerve their country in times of war. They concluded by ſoliciting, no leſs for their own immediate advantage than for the univerſal benefit of their country, ſuch encouragement to the Britiſh fiſhery to Newfoundland, as parliament ſhould think proper.

A merchant of Poole, who had long traded to Newfoundland, was examined in ſupport of the bill. He endeavoured to ſhew, that if the New-England fiſhery was ſtopped, the foreign markets might notwithſtanding be ſufficiently ſupplied, and in ſupport of that poſition aſſerted, that the fiſhery might be extended to any degree from Great-Britain, as we had men, money, and ſhips ſufficient for the purpoſe. He, however, cautiouſly evaded anſwering any queſtions that might lead to concluſions different from thoſe which he wiſhed to eſtabliſh. Being aſked, whether the ſhips fitted out for the Newfoundland fiſhery from Great-Britain, were not fitted out at one third more expence than thoſe from North-

America?

America? he answered, that he was no judge of that matter; and the question being put, How many men were employed to an hundred ton of shipping, on an average? he had not considered that subject. This evidence did not appear sufficiently satisfactory to overthrow the whole weight of the former testimony.

In other matters, this witness was sufficiently informed. It appeared that about 400 ships, of about 36,000 tons burthen, 2000 fishing shallops, of 20,000 tons burthen, and 20,000 men, were employed in the British Newfoundland fishery. That above 600,000 quintals of fish were taken annually, which upon an average of seven years, were worth 14s. per quintal, and with the other amounts, consisting of salmon, cod oil, seal oil, and furs, exceeded half a million annually. And that of the 20,000 men, from Great-Britain and Ireland, employed in that fishery, 8000, necessarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter.

A petition was delivered from the Quakers, in behalf of their brethren and others, the inhabitants of Nantucket, in which they stated their innocence, their industry, the utility of their labours both to themselves and the community, the great hazards that attended their occupation, and the uncertainty of their gains; and shewed that if the bill passed into a law, they must in a little time be exposed to all the dreadful miseries of famine. The singular state and circumstances of these people, occasioned some attention to be paid to them. A gentleman on the side of administration said, that on a principle of humanity he would move, that a clause should be added to the bill, to prevent its operation from extending to any whale ships, which sailed before the first of March, and were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket.

On this petition, and indeed in every stage of the bill, the debate rekindled; and at each revival burned more intensely than before. It was attacked upon every ground of policy and government; and with the greatest strength of language and height of colouring. The minority made amends for the smallness of their numbers by their zeal and activity. They contended, that though the avowed object of this bill was the support of the legislative authority of Great Britain, over America, its real tendency was finally to root up and destroy whatever still remained of it; that it seemed calculated to convince the colonies, that there was no one branch of supreme authority, which parliament might not abuse in such a manner, as to render it reasonable to deny, and necessary to resist the whole. That when at first it was thought wisdom to overthrow established privileges, and to combat the prejudices of whole nations, (which however founded, were rendered respectable from their antiquity and extent) by starting up the new claim of taxation, the Americans went no further than to deny our right of internal taxation; having gained the point of urging them to question one right, we soon convinced them, both by argument and practice, that an external tax might be made to answer all the purposes, and to produce all the mischiefs of internal taxation. They then denied our right of taxing for

ſupply. Parliament then proceeded violently to deprive them of their charters, and to change the courſe of juſtice and of trials. Then they were puſhed to deny the power of internal legiſlation. But ſtill in the midſt of all their violence and all their provocation to it, they never hitherto had formally rejected the power of parliament to bind their trade. But we are now to convince them, that if but a ſingle branch of legiſlative power is left to this country, we can diſtort that branch in ſuch a manner, that it ſhall include all the purpoſes of an unlimited tyranny.

It was ſaid to be evident, that this bill was intended merely to exaſperate the colonies into open and direct rebellion. For though the miniſters would be readily acquitted, from having the ſmalleſt diſpoſition to military atchievement or glory; yet, as by the abſurdity of their conduct, and the oppreſſiveneſs of their deſigns, they had thrown the colonies into a ſtate of diſobedience, diſorder, and confuſion, which it would require the greateſt abilities to manage or reſtore to order, and yet did not come within any legal deſcription of treaſon, they found themſelves bewildered, and utterly incapable of conducting government in ſo nice and critical a ſituation. But if they could bring things to the length of rebellion, the courſe of proceeding, however ruinous and deſperate, would be ſimple and obvious; and it might be hoped, that paſt error would be forgot, and preſent inability paſs unobſerved, in the tumult. Upon this principle, and no other, it was ſaid, the bill could anſwer its purpoſe; for by cutting off from the Americans all means of acquiring a livelihood, or receiving proviſions, no alternative was left but ſtarving or rebellion.

They ſaid that the pretence of relaxing the vigour of this act by powers given to certain governors and the majority of certain councils, was not a corrective but an aggravation of its ill principle. What was it but leaving the ſubſiſtance of whole provinces to the arbitrary diſcretion of thoſe men? That arbitrary power, of leſs extent, committed to good and tried men would be too great a truſt; but the extravagant power of this bill, was to be lodged in the hands of two governors whom the Houſe did not know, (as it was impoſſible for them to know who might be governors, when the act took place) and to the majority of two councils, every one of whom were equally unknown to them. But if it ſhould even happen, that one or both of theſe governors and their council ſhould be diſpoſed to mercy, and that the people ſhould ſubmit to the hardeſt impoſitions which the very miniſters could wiſh to lay upon them, ſtill the conditions of redemption were clogged with ſuch difficulties, as ſcarcely left a poſſibility of its being obtained, until a new law was paſſed for the repeal of the preſent. To compleat (as they ſaid) the climax of abſurdity, deception and cruelty, in this pretence to clemency and juſtice, the two whole provinces of Connecticut and Rhode iſland, were cut off from even thoſe means of redemption, futile as they were; for by this act their governors had no power of relieving them. They muſt go to the governor and council of another, and it might be rival

and

and adverſe province, for their deliverance from this reſtraint. For this extraordinary proviſion no reaſon could be known; but that by the conſtitution of thoſe provinces, the governors were choſen by the people, inſtead of being appointed by the crown. Thus the crime for which 200,000 people were to be famiſhed, conſiſted in the form of government which they received from this country. And it was inſiſted, that the inevitable operation of this bill muſt be, to fix ſo indelible an hatred of this country and its legiſlature in the minds of the Americans, as would alienate them from us for ever, and render all future plans of reconciliation hopeleſs.

It was ſaid, that the preſent parliamentary ſcheme of preſerving its authority by deſtroying its dominions, was new, and unheard of in the hiſtory of civilized nations. That in all other caſes of rebellion, the eſtabliſhed practice was, to puniſh the rebels, but to ſpare the country. In foreign wars the country of an enemy was frequently weakened and waſted, becauſe by ſo doing the ſtrength of an adverſe power was impaired; but the ſovereign ought never to forget, that the ſtrength of his country, though a rebellion may for a time exiſt in it, is ſtill his own ſtrength. Here we have inverted the order of things, and begin by deſtroying the country and rooting up its commerce in ſuch a manner, as to render it uſeleſs to its future poſſeſſors. That evil principles were prolific; the Boſton Port-Bill begot this New-England Bill; this will beget a Virginia Bill; and that again will become the progenitor of others; until, one by one, parliament has ruined all its colonies, and rooted up all its commerce; until the ſtatute book becomes nothing but a black and bloody roll of proſcriptions; a frightful code of rigour and tyranny; a monſtrous digeſt of acts of penalty, incapacity, and general attainder; and that wherever it is opened, it will preſent a title for deſtroying ſome trade, or ruining ſome province.

On the other ſide, the contumacy, rebellious acts, and treaſonable deſigns of the Americans, were brought to anſwer all objections. They firſt provoked penalties by their diſobedience, and then denied the right of the power which had been put under a neceſſity of inflicting thoſe penalties. Some gentlemen on that ſide, acknowledged the harſhneſs of the meaſure, and ſaid that they adopted it with the greateſt reluctance; but they lamented, that the neceſſity of the times, and the conduct of the Americans, had rendered harſh meaſures indiſpenſably neceſſary. A much greater number contended that the bill was in every reſpect proper and juſt, and conſidering the offences of thoſe who were its objects, in a high degree merciful. They contended, that though the New-England provinces did not produce wheat ſufficient for their conſumption, they had great plenty of Indian corn, and did not want other reſources to prevent a real famine; and that though their fiſheries were ſhut up by ſea, they did not want fiſh in their rivers. A few went ſo far as to regret, that the bill did not convey puniſhments adequate to the crimes of the Americans; and dreaded, that the famine, which had been ſo ſtrongly

prognoſticated, and ſo pathetically lamented, would not take place. They ſaid, that the bill was coercive, and that the coercion which put the ſpeedieſt end to the diſpute, was the moſt uſeful, and in the end the moſt merciful; that the object of conſideration was not, whether the Americans were to be ſtarved or not; but which were the moſt eligible means of compelling them to ſubmit, and to return to their duty. It was ſaid, that they had no alternative but to ſtarve or to rebel; but they had a much eaſier and better choice, which was to ſubmit. If they were reduced to hard fare by their obſtinacy, it would ſtill be better than they deſerved; and if they even periſhed by famine, it would not be a greater puniſhment than they merited. In its nature it reſembled the connected guilt and puniſhment of ſelf murder.

Upon the ſecond reading of the bill, it was carried through by the vaſt majority of 215 to 61. On the 8th of March it was read the third time, when a motion was made for the inſertion of a clauſe, that nothing in the act ſhould extend to prohibit the importation into any of the ſaid province, of fuel, corn, meal, flower, or other victual, brought coaſtwiſe from any part of America.

In ſupport of this motion, all the pleas that had been before uſed on the ſide of humanity were again brought up, with the addition of ſuch freſh argument, as ingenuity, or the recollection of new matter, could ſupply. It was particularly urged, that this clauſe was taken from the Boſton Port-Bill of the laſt year; a bill, which its ſtrongeſt advocates did not pretend to be diſtinguiſhed by its lenity or humanity; could there then be a reaſon for throwing away this year, the ſmall ſtock of humanity we poſſeſſed in the foregoing? or for leaving a proof upon record, that the preſent parliament exceeded the laſt in cruelty? It was obſerved, that adminiſtration conſtantly boaſted of the great number of friends which government had in thoſe very provinces; will not their being involved in one common ruin and miſery with the reſt, oblige them to plunge deſperately into one common courſe of defence? when they find that theſe are the mercies you extend to your friends, will they not of courſe become your enemies? Beſides, it was ſaid, that the fate of General Gage, and the handful of brave men which he commanded, might probably hang upon this raſh and cruel act; when the Americans ſee that the bloody flag is hoiſted out, and all poſſibility of retreat, and means of accommodation cut off; when they ſee that you are finally determined, not only upon their ruin but extermination, is it to be ſuppoſed that they will not be prompted to the moſt violent acts; and that they will not exert their preſent ſuperiority of power, to ſtave off, if not to prevent the impending deſtruction.

On the other ſide it was inſiſted, that coercion having become abſolutely neceſſary, it was not ſufficient we ſhould reſtrain the trade of the New-England colonies, while they refuſed to trade with us; they muſt alſo feel the weight of our power, and the effects of our reſentment, until they became experimentally ſenſible of the ill-conſequences that attended their denial of the authority of parliament; and were brought to a thorough

thorough knowledge of their own littleneſs and inſignificance when under our diſpleaſure, or that they dared to enter into any competition with us of power, and that all their former greatneſs and happineſs proceeded from our paternal tenderneſs and care. This was the only ſure and concluſive method, of curing the preſent, and of preventing future evils of the ſame nature. And are we to fear, that our friends will be alienated by the puniſhment of our and their enemies. Is it not more natural, that they ſhould take up arms againſt thoſe who have been the means of bringing ſuch calamities on them, than againſt their friends and protectors; who beſides will ſhew ſuch a reſpectable force, as to give them full encouragement to appear againſt their rebellious neighbours; and thus deliver not only the innocent, but conſequentially even the guilty themſelves.

Some pains were alſo taken in this debate to remove or leſſen the imputations of cruelty and inhumanity which had been ſo repeatedly thrown upon this bill and its promoters. For this purpoſe, a gentleman who had held conſiderable offices for ſeveral years in North-America, declared that the New-England provinces were in fact provition colonies; that they were great grazing ſettlements; and though they did not apply themſelves ſo much to tillage as others, they, however, beſides Indian corn, produced rye and barley in plenty; that though they imported wheat and flower, the firſt was to be conſidered as an article of luxury, which they might well do without, and the ſecond was for the purpoſe of fitting out their ſhips, of which, as that buſineſs would now be at an end, they could have no farther occaſion; ſo that the apprehenſions of famine, he ſaid, were groundleſs. A conſiderable law officer of the other part of the united kingdom, who had uſed ſome very harſh expreſſions on the ſubject of famine, which had brought on very ſevere animadverſions from one ſide, and did not even eſcape cenſure on the other, took an opportunity upon this occaſion to endeavour to ſoften them by explanation.

The queſtion being at length put, upon the motion for the additional clauſe, it was rejected by about the uſual majority, the numbers being 188 to 58 only. The bill was then carried.

Nor did the Fiſhery Bill meet with leſs oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords than in that of the Commons. A petition from the London merchants, ſimilar to that which had been laid before the other Houſe, was preſented by the noble Marquis, who had unſucceſsfully laboured for the reception of the former petitions, previous to the diſcuſſion of the American addreſs. Two of the witneſſes were alſo examined, who had already appeared before the Houſe of Commons, in behalf of the merchants. In their preſent evidence they took in ſome new ground, which tended to ſhew the vaſt importance and extent of the American commerce.

On the other ſide, the former witneſs from Poole, with another from the ſame place, who had been a captain of a ſhip, were examined; and the teſtimony of two officers of rank in the ſea ſervice, one of whom held a conſiderable

office

office in the naval department, and both had ſerved upon the Newfoundland ſtation, was alſo received. All this evidence was brought to ſhew, that the Britiſh Newfoundland fiſhery might be extended to ſuch a degree as to ſupply all the European markets; that if an abſolute prohibition took place, ſo as to exclude the Americans totally and perpetually from the fiſheries, it would be of the greateſt benefit to this nation; and that upon every principle of policy and commerce, both to ſtrengthen our navy and increaſe our trade, they ſhould be reſtricted entirely and perpetually to our own people.

Upon the motion for committing the bill after the ſecond reading, the noble Marquis, who had preſented the petition, oppoſed it with great ability. He examined the general principles of the bill, and the means deviſed for enforcing it. He afterwards entered, with great knowledge of the ſubject, into a detail of the American trade in general, and more particularly, into a comparative view of that of New-England at different periods; by this, the vaſt and rapid growth of that colony appeared truly aſtoniſhing; he ſhewed, that in the year 1704, the whole amount of the exports to the New-England provinces, was only about 70,000l. annually; that in the year 1754, it had riſen to 180,000l. in the ſucceeding ten years to about 400,000l.; and in the laſt ten years, had nearly doubled that ſum. He concluded a ſpeech which took in a great variety of matter, by a general and total diſapprobation of all the meaſures purſued relative to the colonies, ſince the repeal of the ſtamp act; and predicted, that an uſeful and conſtitutional agreement in ſentiments, and a cordial reciprocity of intereſts, would never take place between them and the mother country, until the ſame principles were once more recurred to, and ſimilar meaſures adopted.

A great law lord on the ſame ſide ſaid, that he roſe with the greateſt reluctance, as he was already wearied by the unavailing efforts he had continually made in every part of the American buſineſs; that the great and certain majorities in both houſes, differing from his opinions, and overbearing with a high and powerful hand the feeble efforts on that ſide, had almoſt wearied him into a deſpair of obtaining any thing in that queſtion, or on that ſubject, by argument or debate; but that notwithſtanding, a ſenſe of his duty to interpoſe his endeavours towards the vindication of juſtice, and the ſervice of his country, ſhould outweigh every other conſideration. He accordingly entered into the general nature, ſpirit and character of the bill, ſhewed its operation and tendency, and examined its fitneſs, its wiſdom, and its juſtice, with his uſual force and clearneſs.

In this courſe of legal and political examination, he took particular notice of the nature of the evidence which had been brought before the Houſe in ſupport of the bill. Two inconſiderable men of the town of Poole, contrary to the declared ſenſe of all the merchants of England, were, he ſaid, brought to inſtruct their lordſhips in the political ſyſtem of Great-Britain and America; they were to convince them, that the profits of the commerce of America did not enrich

rich this country; they were to ſatisfy the legiſlature, that the utter deſtruction of American trade would ſtrengthen the navy, and invigorate the marine of England; and the words of theſe redoubtable politicians were to be taken, that if the New-England fiſhery was deſtroyed, we ſhould notwithſtanding be able to ſupply the foreign markets; and that the loſs of five or ſix hundred thouſand pounds annually, the value of that fiſhery, would not only be immediately replaced at home, but prove a great benefit to this country. Such was the importance and magnitude of the ſubjects which were to be decided upon by ſuch perſons; but he hoped they would ſee the frivolous and contemptible nature of ſuch evidence, and that ſuch narrow and intereſted minds are totally unfit for ſuch mighty diſcuſſions.

The lords on the other ſide, differed greatly as to the principles on which they ſupported this bill; though they all united in the main point of its being neceſſary. Some conſidered it as a lenient means of bringing the Americans back to their duty; who would have been averſe to any ſtrong coercion, and much more to every idea of taxation. A more numerous body, who ſeemed to comprehend its nature and operation more perfectly, conſidered it as a bill of firmneſs and vigour; as a ſevere, but juſt and neceſſary act of retaliation and puniſhment; they, however, would not by any means that its operation ſhould extend any further, than was neceſſary to fill up the meaſure of juſtice, and to bring the refractory colonies to a full and compleat ſubmiſſion; they accordingly could not bear the idea of conſidering it in any degree as a *commercial*, and ſtill leſs, as a *permanent* regulation. Others again, conſidered it merely as a matter of trade, abſtracted from all ideas of coercion and puniſhment; as a permanent commercial regulation of great importance, to reſtrain the trade of the colonies, and thereby to ſtrengthen and increaſe the commercial intereſt of this country; theſe would not liſten to any propoſition for purchaſing the obedience of the Americans, by any time ſacrificing an object, from which they expected the moſt extraordinary benefits. To theſe laſt might be added the firſt lord of the admiralty, with, perhaps, a few more, who conſidered only its political operation, as a means of increaſing our maritime power. All thoſe who wiſhed to render it a permanent regulation, ſeemed to go beyond the deſigns of the miniſters, at leaſt of thoſe in the Houſe of Commons, who intended this bill merely as coercive.

In the courſe of this debate much complaint was made of the garbled, defective, and mutilated accounts of American affairs that were laid before them; it was ſaid that public and known facts were withheld from them; that the ſcraps and extracts of letters which were ſhewn to them by the miniſters, were only partial repreſentations, calculated for particular purpoſes; that they had all along in this buſineſs been miſled and miſinformed. That the people would at length ſee how they had been deceived, and how parliament was led blindfolded; that it would be in vain then for the miniſters to hope to cover themſelves by the preſent faſhionable language, that

every

every thing had been done by parliament, as it would be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, that from their total want of information, they neither did nor could do any thing but as they were directed.

After long and warm debates, the queſtion was carried by a great majority, the numbers being 104, to 29 who oppoſed the bill.

On the 21ſt of March, upon the third reading of the bill, a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, ſhould be included in the ſame reſtrictions with the New England provinces. In ſupport of this amendment, it was urged, that by the late accounts which arrived, and letters which were upon their table, it appeared, that the ſeveral provinces ſpecified in it, had rendered themſelves equally culpable with thoſe of New-England; and that of courſe they ought to ſuffer under one common puniſhment; that at the time the bill originated in the Houſe of Commons, this information was not received; but that now they were in poſſeſſion of evidence fully ſufficient to authorize this amendment; and that without it, the bill would be imperfect, and the puniſhment partial.

On the other ſide it was ſaid, that the letters and informations alluded to, were no more in the contemplation of the Houſe, either in its legiſlative or deliberative capacity, than if they had never exiſted; they had not even been read in the Houſe; they had never been conſidered; nor had the accuſed parties been heard in their own defence; ſo that one half of the continent of North America was to be puniſhed, without any trial, proof, or enquiry whatever. That ſuch a mode of proceeding was totally unparliamentary and unprecedented; that it was no leſs repugnant to the eſtabliſhed rules of equity and judicial deciſion, which always and in every inſtance ſuppoſed the party accuſed had been heard, before judgment was pronounced; and, that if ſuch a mode of executive ſpeedy juſtice were to obtain in that houſe, it would be productive of the moſt dangerous and alarming conſequences.

The queſtion being put upon the amendment it was carried by 52 to 21; and the prohibitions of the bill conſequently extended to the five new provinces. The queſtion was then put upon the bill, and carried by a majority of 73 to 21; and it was accordingly returned to the Commons with the amendment.

This bill was productive of a proteſt ſigned by ſixteen lords. Among other ſevere ſtrictures, they repreſent it as one of thoſe unhappy inventions, to which parliament is driven by the difficulties that daily multiply upon them, from an obſtinate adherence to an unwiſe ſyſtem of government. They ſay, that government which attempts to preſerve its authority by deſtroying the trade of its ſubjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of ſuch means, confeſſes itſelf unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itſelf wholly incompetent to the end of its inſtitution. They ſeverely cenſure the attempt made to bribe the nation into an acquieſcence in this arbitrary act, by holding out to them as a temptation for that purpoſe,

poſe, the ſpoils of the New-England fiſhery; this they repreſent to be a ſcheme full of weakneſs and indecency; of indecency, becauſe it may be ſuſpected that the deſire of the confiſcation has created the guilt; and of weakneſs, becauſe it ſuppoſes, that whatever is taken from the colonies is of courſe to be transferred to ourſelves. But this proteſt is particularly diſtinguiſhed, by the ſevere cenſure paſſed upon a Lord high in office, who, in the late debates, to remove all apprehenſion of the dangers which might ariſe from the meaſures that were in agitation, threw out, moſt unadviſedly, a charge of general cowardice againſt the Americans.

The amendment, made by the Lords, cauſed a diſagreement between the title and body of the bill, which would have cauſed great embarraſſment to the officers who were to carry it into execution; and the amendment was accordingly rejected by the Commons. This matter occaſioned the holding of a conference, a few days after, between the two Houſes, at which, the reaſons offered by the Commons, having appeared ſatisfactory, the Lords agreed in rejecting the amendment; and the bill received the royal aſſent on the 30th of March.

CHAP. VII.

Augmentation of the naval and land forces. Lord North's conciliatory motion. Debates. The reſolution paſſed upon a diviſion. Mr. Sawbridge's annual motion. Annual motion on the Middleſex election. Petition and memorial from the aſſembly of Jamaica. Petition from the city of Waterford. Bill for reſtraining the trade of the ſouthern colonies. Evidence in behalf of the Weſt-India merchants and planters. Great importance of the ſugar iſlands. Mr. Burke's conciliatory propoſitions. Great importance, and aſtoniſhing growth of the American colonies. Debates. The previous queſtion moved and carried. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory motion. Debates on the third reading of the reſtraining bill. The bill paſſed. Petitions, militating with each other. Petition from the Britiſh ſettlers in Canada—from the Quakers. Addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, from the city of London. Encouragement to the fiſheries of Great-Britain and Ireland. Motion for bringing up the repreſentation and remonſtrance of the General Aſſembly of New-York. Motion for an amendment put and carried. Amended motion rejected. Memorial to the Lords from the ſame aſſembly, and petition to the King. Memorial to the Lords rejected. Petition to the Lords from the Britiſh inhabitants of the province of Quebec. Lord Camden's bill for repealing the Quebec act. Debates. The bill rejected. Petition from the ſame inhabitants of Quebec to the Houſe of Commons. Sir George Savile's motion for repealing the Quebec act. Motion rejected upon a diviſion. Speaker's ſpeech. Speech from the throne.

THE New-England reſtraining act was ſo much the principal figure in this important ſeſſion, that in attending to its progreſs we paſſed over other matters of which we are now to take notice.

Upon

Feb. 13th. Upon a motion for an addition of 2000 seamen to be employed for the ensuing year, the ministers were reminded of their conduct before Christmas, in deceiving the country gentlemen with the appearances of a reduced peace establishment, and thereby leading them gradually into violent and coercive measures, each of which was supposed to be the last, while they were rendered incapable of seeing at any one point of view, either the extent of the expence in which they were involving their constituents, or of the danger in which they were plunging themselves and the nation. This mode of proceeding was represented as an high insult to the House, and an open mockery of that good faith and confidence, that ought to subsist between the Minister and the Commons; and that the application now for a grant of 2000 seamen, when they knew that five times the number would not be sufficient to carry their designs into execution, was an aggravated repetition of the insult; that this mode of procedure was besides calculated to give a full opening to that ruinous practice of gaming in the funds, whereby those in the secret of affairs had an opportunity of making immense fortunes at the public expence.

The ministers avoided all precise explanation as to future applications for supply: they could not pretend to foretel what events might possibly happen, and could not therefore bind themselves by any specific engagement; but they hoped that this would be the last application of the kind. The insinuation as to the funds was universally disclaimed, and the motion for the augmentation agreed to.

The subject was however brought up, and the same objections made two days after, upon a motion in the committee of supply, for an augmentation of 4,383 men to the land forces. This motion was attended with an explanation of the intended military arrangements, by which it appeared, that the force at Boston would be augmented to about 10,000 men, which was deemed sufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers, (a measure which was complained of, as incurring a needless expence) was necessary, as it was intended to carry on the operations against the Americans by detachments.

This mode of carrying on the war, was much condemned on the other side for its cruelty; for the indiscriminate destruction of friends as well as foes, with which it must be attended; and the total ruin of a country which we considered as our own, and which must be the inevitable consequence, if the measure could at all succeed. But it was insisted, that the force, both by sea and land, was totally inadequate to the purpose for which it was ordained; and that the national money was to be squandered away, without a possible return of advantage, or even a probability of its attaining the ends to which it was directed. For, they said, that the use of an insignificant force must infallibly have the effect of encouraging the colonies to that resistance, which it was possible the early appearance of a great fleet and army might awe and check in the beginning. The augmentation was carried without difficulty.

Whilst parties thus pursued their debates with much eagerness and animosity, and nothing but defiance

fiance was hurled at America on the part of government, the noble Lord at the head of adminiſtration amazed all parties, and ſeemed for a time almoſt to diſſolve his own, by that famous conciliatory motion with reſpect to America, which was then, and has been ſince, the ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion. The motion was for paſſing the following reſolution:—That when the governor, council and aſſembly, or general court of his Majeſty's provinces or colonies, ſhall propoſe to make proviſion, according to their reſpective conditions, circumſtances and ſituations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the general court, or general aſſembly of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony, it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved of by his Majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear, in reſpect of ſuch province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, or to impoſe any further duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties laſt mentioned, to be carried to the account of ſuch province, colony, or plantation reſpectively.

The miniſter introduced this motion by a long ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to ſhew that it was founded upon the late addreſs, particularly the following paſſage—"and whenever any of the colonies ſhall make a proper application to us, we ſhall be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence;"—he, however, ſeemed to build more upon the principles by which he was actuated in moving for that addreſs, and the explanations he then made to the Houſe, than upon the literal conſtruction of any part of it. He ſaid, that it was his ſenſe, and he believed it to be the ſenſe of the Houſe, that parliament, in the paſſing of that addreſs, not only meant to ſhew the Americans its firm determination in the ſupport of its juſt rights; but alſo its tenderneſs, and conciliatory diſpoſition, upon the making of proper conceſſions; and that particularly, upon the great object of diſpute, the point of taxation, although they could never give up the right, and muſt always maintain the doctrine that every part of the empire was bound to bear its ſhare of ſervice and burthen in the common defence; yet, as to the *mode* of contribution, if that, and not the queſtion of right, was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propoſe ſuch means as were moſt agreeable to themſelves, and at the ſame time would effectually anſwer the end, parliament would not heſitate a moment to *ſuſpend the exerciſe* of the right; and that they would concede to the Americans the authority of raiſing their ſhare of the contribution themſelves.

He ſaid, that the addreſs required ſuch a moment as the propoſed reſolution; an explanation by parliament itſelf, which would leave no room for doubt, nor opportunity of evaſion; that as it held out ideas of peace, it ſhould ſhew in the moſt clear, explicit, and definitive terms, what the conditions

ditions were upon which it might be obtained. This reſolution marked the ground on which negociation might take place; it was explicit, it defined the terms, ſpecified the perſons from whom the propoſals muſt come, and to whom they muſt be made; it pointed out the end and purpoſe for which the contributions were to be given, and the perſons from whom the grant of them was to originate; and it takes away every ground of ſuſpicion as to the application of the revenue to purpoſes for which the Americans would not grant their money, by its ſpecific appropriation to the public defence.

That this reſolution would be an infallible touchſtone to try the ſincerity of the Americans; if their profeſſions are real, and their oppoſition only founded upon the principles which they pretend, they muſt, conſiſtently with thoſe principles, agree with this propoſition; but if they are actuated by ſiniſter motives, and have dangerous deſigns in contemplation, their refuſal of theſe terms will expoſe them to the world. We ſhall then be prepared, and know how to act; after having ſhewn our wiſdom, our juſtice, and our humanity, by giving them an opportunity of redeeming their paſt faults, and holding out to them fitting terms of accommodation; if they reject them, we ſhall be juſtified in taking the moſt coercive meaſures, and they muſt be anſwerable to God and man for the conſequences.

He declared himſelf of opinion, that no declaration of his, or even of the Houſe itſelf, could bind to an adherence ſtrictly to any former reſolution relative to the ſubmiſſion to be required of the colonies, previous to a relaxation on our ſide. That the greateſt nations, this nation included, had often made the moſt ſolemn declarations, and entered into the moſt religious engagements to adhere unalterably to certain points, which afterwards, when circumſtances changed, they departed from without ſcruple and without blame. He inſtanced in the late Spaniſh war, in which we declared, that we ſhould never make peace unleſs the point of *ſearch* was given up; yet peace was made without giving up the ſearch. In the *grand alliance*, the parties engaged to each other that no prince of the Houſe of Bourbon ſhould ſit on the throne of Spain; yet peace was made with a prince of the Houſe of Bourbon ſitting on that throne. He cited many other inſtances of a like dereliction of objects, and diſplayed great hiſtorical knowledge and ability in applying it. He added, that in this inſtance he was the more ready to give way, becauſe it was found by experience, that beſides the diſpleaſure our attempt to tax had cauſed in the colonies, the reſult proved very unproductive in point of revenue, from the want of a local knowledge of the beſt methods of impoſing and collecting the duties.

Upon the firſt bruit of conciliatory meaſures being propoſed by the miniſter, it was ſurmiſed, that he was either going to reſign, and would firſt make a diſavowal of thoſe public meaſures which had been lately purſued, or that from ſome ſtrange convulſion in the internal cabinet, the whole political ſyſtem of government was to be changed; all thoſe members who were within hearing accordingly haſtened to the Houſe, with the moſt

moſt eager expectation. Nor was the aſtoniſhment leſs within doors. From ſome perplexity in its conſtruction, and obſcurity in the words, the extent or drift of the motion was not immediately comprehended. The courtiers looked at each other with amazement, and ſeemed at a loſs in what light to conſider the miniſter. That numerous high prerogative party, who always loved a ſtrong government, in whatever hands it might be lodged, and accordingly had, upon principle, ever oppoſed any relaxation in favour of the colonies, heard the propoſitions with horror, and conſidered themſelves as abandoned and betrayed. Even ſome of the old ſtaunch friends of government, who had always gone with every adminiſtration, and uniformly purſued the ſame line of conduct in all changes of men and meaſures, began now more than to waver. In a word, the treaſury benches ſeemed to totter, and that miniſterial phalanx, which had been ſo long irreſiſtible, ready to break, and to fall into irretrievable diſorder.

The oppoſition to the miniſter's motion, accordingly originated on his own ſide. They aſſerted, that the propoſitions contained in it, ſo far from being founded upon, were in direct oppoſition to every principle and idea of the addreſs; that by adopting it, they muſt give up every ground they had gone upon in the whole courſe of American meaſures; that it was a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of parliament; that even upon the principles of the gentlemen in oppoſition, (to whom it was intended as a means of paying court) it could be productive of no good conſequence; but upon their own, would be attended with numberleſs bad ones; that the propoſal was, in effect, an acknowledgment of ſomething really grievous in the idea of taxing America by parliament; that it was therefore a ſhameful prevarication, and a mean departure from principle. They finally concluded, that they would make no conceſſions to rebels with arms in their hands; and that they would enter into no meaſure for a ſettlement with the Americans, in which an expreſs and definitive acknowledgment from them, of the ſupremacy of parliament, was not a preliminary article. So high was the diſſatisfaction on this ſide, that a motion was made for the chairman of the committee to quit the chair; The miniſter was repeatedly called upon his legs, either to make explanations, or to endeavour to reconcile ſeeming contradictions.

In this ſtate of diſorder and confuſion, when all government and command ſeemed at an end, it was found neceſſary to change the ground of argument. This taſk fell to the lot of a gentleman of the long robe, who had been for ſome years in oppoſition, and had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his zeal in promoting all the meaſures for reducing the colonies. This learned gentleman undertook to interpret the ſpeech and motion, and to prove that nothing leſs was meant or effected by either than a dereliction of the claims or right of parliament, or a yielding in any degree to the inſolence of the Americans; but, on the contrary, a more wiſe and effectual method of enforcing the rights of the one and repreſſing the inſolence of the other. As the ſpeech of the noble propoſer had ſeemed chiefly addreſſed to the op-

poſition, this was intended to gain the mojority, whoſe diſſent was of far greater importance. He had the addreſs in a few minutes to huſh the troubled waves to peace.

He ſoon convinced the malcontents, that the appearances of conceſſion, lenity, and tenderneſs, which had ſo much alarmed them in the motion, were of ſuch a nature, that they could not interfere with the moſt rigid meaſures which they wiſhed to enforce. He ſaid, that the addreſs included two correſpondent lines of conduct, which ſeemed hitherto to have eſcaped their penetration; one of theſe was to repreſs thoſe that were in rebellion, and to eſtabliſh the government and enforce the laws of this country in the colonies; the other, to protect its friends, and thoſe that were acting under its authority. They had already taken, and were in a train of taking, the moſt deciſive meaſures for effecting the firſt of theſe purpoſes; and the motion went no further than to provide for the ſecond. What will parliament loſe by accepting this motion? The right? It expreſsly reſerves it. It is ſo eſſential a part of ſovereignty, that parliament, if it would, cannot ſurrender it. Does it ſuſpend the profitable exerciſe of the right? So far from it, that it ſhews the firm reſolution of parliament to enforce the only eſſential parts of taxation, by compelling the Americans to provide what we, not they, think juſt and reaſonable for the ſupport of the whole empire, without a compliance with which they cannot hope to make any terms of reconciliation with us. Nothing ought ſo much to animate the ardour of the youth of this kingdom to a reſolute exertion, as this firm determination of parliament; or encourage the gallant officers and troops who are going abroad to enforce this ſpirited propoſition, as a certainty that they were not going to fight (as had been often reproachfully urged to them) for trifles, and vain points of honour, but for a ſubſtantial revenue. The diſpute was at length put upon its proper footing—Revenue, or no revenue.

This explanation had ſo good an effect, that the miniſter himſelf improved upon the idea, and acknowledged, in the courſe of the debate, that he did not expect his propoſitions would be generally received by the Americans, but that he intended by them to ſeparate the grain from the chaff. If it did no good there, it would do good here; it would unite the people of England by holding out to them a diſtinct object of revenue; as it united England, it would diſunite America: whatever province came firſt to make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated; and if but one province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken; and that union, which alone rendered them formidable, would be diſſolved.

The gentlemen in oppoſition were far from controverting any of the charges that were brought on the other ſide againſt the motion. They allowed every quality that had been aſcribed to it except conciliation, which they utterly denied its poſſeſſing. If it led to peace, their eagerneſs for that wiſhed-for object would induce them to receive it, under all the circumſtances of contradiction, prevarication, meanneſs, and humiliation, with which it was ſaid, and they acknowledged it to

be

be loaded. But inſtead of poſſeſſing that happy property, which with them would have atoned for all its bad ones, they ſaid it was inſidious, baſe, and treacherous, in the higheſt degree; and calculated to render incurable all thoſe miſchiefs which it pretended to remedy; that it was founded upon the wretched principles of the Boſton Port bill, and would be productive of ſimilar effects; the miniſter acknowledged this to be a cheat, as that was, and intended for the ſame purpoſe, to diſunite the Americans; the immediate effect of the former, was to throw all the colonies, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, into one common maſs of union; if any further cement was wanting to conſolidate that maſs; this ſcheme would ſupply it moſt abundantly.

It was ſaid, that the mode in which this motion was ſupported by adminiſtration, was the moſt ridiculous that ever was attempted in parliament; they held it out to one ſide of the houſe as a meaſure of conceſſion; and to the other, as a ſtrong aſſertion of authority; they were renewing that miſerable ſyſtem of low cunning and folly by which they were governed in the tea-act, which to this country was to be a duty of ſupply, and to the Americans, a tax only of regulation. It was obſerved, that there was a ſudden and total change in the principles upon which the miniſters would have us ſuppoſe that we were entering into a civil war. In the whole courſe of this buſineſs, until the preſent day, they had conſtantly denied their having any conteſt about an American revenue; they repreſented the whole to be a diſpute for obedience to trade laws, and to the general legiſlative authority; but now they ſuddenly change their language, and think they ſhall intereſt the nation, conſole our manufacturers, and animate our ſoldiers, by perſuading them that it is not a conteſt for empty honour, and merely to ſupport the dignity of parliament; that it has an object in view which ſtrikes more immediately on the ſenſes, the acquiſition of a ſubſtantial revenue; but this attempt of impoſition upon the people will be found as futile as their other deceptions, and the propoſed revenue as empty a phantom as the ſuppoſed honour.

It was ſaid, that though the mode of collection might admit of ſome ſaving under that head, it could not change the nature of the tax; the people are as effectually taxed without their conſent, by being compelled to the payment of a groſs ſum, as by an aggregate of ſmall duties to the ſame amount; but with this odious difference, that the former carries all the appearance of a contribution or ranſom levied by an hoſtile army in a ſtate of avowed warfare. That this ſcheme of taxation exceeded in oppeſſion any other that the rapacity of mankind had yet deviſed. In all other caſes, ſome ſpecific ſum was demanded, and the people might form ſome opinion of what they could conſider as their own, for the remaining term of the ordinance; but here they were left totally in the dark, as to the extent of the demand; it might be fixed at the half, at the whole, or at more than they were worth; and the ſame power that authorized the demand, might render their bodies anſwerable for the deficiency.

The ridiculous circumſtances that muſt attend this mode of taxation, ſuppoſing it poſſible to be carried into execution, were ſtrongly painted. The colonies were to be held in durance by fleets and armies, until they ſhould ſingly and ſeparately offer to contribute to a ſervice, the nature of which they could not know, in a proportion which they could not gueſs, and on a ſtandard which they will be ſo far from being able to aſcertain, that parliament which is to hold it, has not ventured even to hint what they expect. Thus the Houſe is to be converted into an auction-room, the ſpeaker to hold the hammer, and the colonies to be held priſoners of war, until they conſent to a ranſom, by bidding againſt each other and againſt themſelves, and until the king and parliament ſhall call to ſtrike down the hammer, and ſay—*enough*. If the firſt offer of an aſſembly was not deemed ſufficient, it was aſked what the remedy would be? The buſineſs muſt of courſe go back to America, and the fleets, armies, and durance muſt of courſe continue, until further offers were made by another aſſembly, and theſe were again diſcuſſed in another ſeſſion, and perhaps by another parliament; thus the abſurdity and impracticability of this propoſition were equal to its oppreſſiveneſs. The buſineſs would be in an eternal rotation between Europe and America, and nothing ever be finiſhed; while our diſtractions, confuſions, and expence would every hour increaſe. Upon the whole they concluded, that the Americans would receive theſe inſidious propoſitions with the greateſt indignation; that as they would ſhew them more clearly the neceſſity, ſo they would confirm them the more ſtrongly in their union and oppoſition. That revenue from a free people muſt be the *conſequence* of peace, not the *condition* on which it is to be obtained; and that if we attempted to invert this order, we ſhould have neither peace nor revenue.

Notwithſtanding the general diſſatisfaction with which this motion was received by the friends of adminiſtration, who thought their dignity not a little lowered by it, and believed the effects of conciliation or diſunion propoſed by it, to be very uncertain, it was thought better not to give a triumph to oppoſition by rejecting a propoſition made by the miniſter. It was thought alſo, that this reſolution being ſuſceptible of a variety of interpretations, as had appeared in the debates, ſuch an interpretation might be hereafter adopted, as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to their circumſtances. Accordingly, though ſome of thoſe who in the beginning had openly declared themſelves, and could not recede, voted (on grounds totally adverſe to them) with oppoſition, the reſt of the numbers went as uſual; and the queſtion was carried on a diviſion 274 to 88.

We ſhould have obſerved before, that upon the 1ſt of this month, Mr. Sawbridge, having previouſly obtained a call of the Houſe, repeated his annual motion for ſhortening the duration of parliament. The motion was ſupported; but as uſual produced no debate; adminiſtration being totally ſilent upon the ſubject. It was, probably, from the ſame certainty of the event, that the majority was not quite ſo great as in the preceding year and parliament, the numbers upon a diviſion

diviſion being 195 againſt, to 104 who ſupported the motion.

Sir George Saville's annual motion relative to the Middleſex election, was this year taken out of his hands, being yielded with propriety to the gentleman who was immediately affected by that deciſion. Mr. Wilkes, who was now Lord-Mayor, and who repreſented the county of Middleſex in parliament, took up in perſon his own cauſe, and two days after the debate on the conciliatory motion, moved, "That the reſolution of "this Houſe of the 17th of Fe"bruary 1769," 'that John Wilkes, 'Eſq; having been in this ſeſſion 'of parliament expelled this Houſe, 'was, and is, incapable of ſitting 'in the preſent parliament,' "be "expunged from the journals of "this Houſe, as being ſubverſive "of the rights of the whole body "of electors of this kingdom."

This motion was ably ſupported by the lord-mayor, who was alſo well ſeconded; and a conſiderable debate enſued, in which much of the ground we have formerly traced, was again gone over. The queſtion was overruled by a majority of 68, which taking in the uncommon fulneſs of the Houſe upon the preſent occaſion, was nearly upon a proportional par with that of the preceding year; the numbers now being, in ſupport of the motion, 171, to 239, by whom it was rejected.

On the day that the New-England fiſhery-bill had paſſed the Houſe of Commons, adminiſtration were called upon by a gentleman in oppoſition, for a copy of a letter written by the noble miniſter at the head of the American department, to the lieutenant-governor of New-York, and dated upon the 10th of Dec. 1774; as containing matter of information worthy the conſideration and attention of the Houſe. This application the miniſters refuſed to comply with; who ſaid they were the ſole judges what matter was or was not proper to be laid before the Houſe; that a ſpirit of curioſity might prompt people to require the ſeeing of many papers, which it would be very improper to expoſe to public view; and that from the nature of executive government, many matters muſt neceſſarily be kept ſecret. That if they could be proved to have abuſed this truſt they were reſponſible.

This occaſioned much cenſure on the audacity of refuſing to lay neceſſary information before the Houſe, eſpecially when particular papers were called for and ſpecified; and many reflections were made upon the ſhameful tameneſs which ſubmitted to ſuch daring inſolence, and to be led blindfold in matters upon which the fate of the nation and empire immediately depended. A motion was alſo made for an addreſs to his majeſty, that the paper in queſtion might be laid before the Houſe; but it paſſed in the negative.

It was then obſerved, that a petition and memorial of an extraordinary nature, from the aſſembly of the iſland of Jamaica, to the king in council, was reported to have been received ſome conſiderable time before, and the miniſters being queſtioned as to the fact, were alſo aſked, whether that was among the ſecrets of ſtate which was not fit to be communicated to parliament. This omiſſion the miniſters attributed to inattention, and to their not conſidering it as a matter of any great conſequence; but

they now conſented to lay it before the Houſe.

This petition and memorial from the aſſembly of Jamaica, was drawn up in very ſtrong terms. In expreſſing the moſt perfect duty and allegiance to the throne, and the ſtrongeſt attachment to, and reliance on their fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, they however obſerved, that theſe diſpoſitions were founded on that moſt ſolid and durable baſis, the continued enjoyment of their perſonal rights, and the ſecurity of their property. They recite their conſtant good behaviour, and ſtate even their weakneſs and inability of reſiſtance, as evidences that they cannot be actuated by factious or dangerous motives; and proceed to ſhew, that the moſt dreadful calamities to their iſland, and the inevitable deſtruction of the ſmall ſugar colonies, muſt be involved in a continuance of the preſent unnatural conteſt with the Americans. They afterwards enter into a full, free, and argumentative diſcuſſion of the late claims of the mother country, and of the rights of the colonies; the former of which they combat, and defend the latter with great force. They abſolutely deny that their anceſtors, the ſettlers or conquerors of the colonies, could receive any rights or privileges from their fellow-ſubjects in England at the time of their emigration; the peers could not communicate their privileges, and the people had no rights, but thoſe of which the former were equally poſſeſſed; but the crown, whoſe prerogatives were totally independent of both, for the great purpoſes of colonization, communicated to all the colonies, though in different degrees, a liberal ſhare of its own royal powers of government. Theſe powers, as well as their original rights and privileges, have been confirmed to them by every means which can be deviſed for affording ſecurity to mankind; charters, proclamations, proſcription, compact, protection, and obedience. From the foregoing, and other premiſes, they infer and declare, that the coloniſts are not ſubjects to the people of England; and inſiſt on their own rights of legiſlation. They afterwards ſay, that they equally deplore, and behold with amazement, a plan, almoſt carried into execution, for reducing the colonies into the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery; and they ſupplicate the throne, and demand and claim from the ſovereign, as the guarantee of their juſt rights, that no laws ſhall be forced upon them, injurious to their rights, as coloniſts, or Engliſhmen; and that as the common parent of his people, his majeſty would become a mediator between his European and American ſubjects.

About the ſame time, a petition from the city of Waterford in Ireland was preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth the fatal conſequences that will reſult to that city in particular, and to the kingdom in general, from a continuance of the preſent unhappy differences between Great-Britain and the colonies; they ſtate, that in that caſe, they will be deprived of the only valuable branch of export which they are permitted to carry on with the colonies, that of their linen manufactures; a misfortune which they already begin too ſenſibly to feel.

The fiſhery-bill had ſcarcely cleared the March 9th. Houſe of Commons, when the miniſter brought in another, "To reſtrain

reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." As meaſures of this nature were now familiar, he only thought it neceſſary to obſerve, that as the ſouthern provinces had acceded to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, as well as the northern, it was conformable to reaſon and juſtice that they ſhould equally feel our reſentment, and experience the ſame degree of puniſhment.

Nothing that could be called a debate aroſe upon this motion. The ſtrange fluctuation and contradiction that appeared in our public councils, was, however, commented upon on both ſides of the Houſe, and lamented on one. It was ſaid, that only a few days before, they were mocked with conciliatory propoſitions, and nothing was to be heard but conceſſion and moderation; temptations were to be held out to the better diſpoſed colonies, to induce them to break the confederacy; the wheat was to be ſeparated from the chaff, the elect from the reprobate; but now we are told, that the only way to reſtore peace and harmony, to reconcile the Americans cordially to our government, and to ſave our commerce from that deſtruction which ſeems almoſt inevitable, is to lump them all indiſcriminately, without diſtinction of friend or foe, in one common puniſhment; and to drive the whole continent of America into deſpair, as a neceſſary preparative to their being reſtored to good temper.

During the time that this bill was in agitation, a long ſeries of important evidence in behalf of the Weſt-India merchants and planters, and in ſupport of the petition which they had lately preſented, was laid before the Houſe. The celebrated Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas, appeared as agent and manager for the petitioners upon this occaſion. This gentleman conducted the buſineſs with great ability, and gained much applauſe by the eloquence and vaſt extent of commercial knowledge he diſplayed, in a very long ſpeech which he delivered at the bar of the Houſe, upon ſumming up, combining and explaining the different parts of the evidence. In this ſpeech he ſtated, with uncommon preciſion, the immenſe value of the objects that were under conſideration; endeavoured to ſhew, that the ſpirit which had for ſome time been ſo prevalent, both within doors and without, for the extorting of pecuniary contributions from the colonies, was inconſiſtent with true policy, with a right knowledge of commerce, of their circumſtances, or of the benefits we already derived from them; and expatiated moſt pathetically upon the fatal conſequences which he apprehended from a perſeverance in the preſent meaſures.

It appeared by this evidence, that the ſugar colonies were to be conſidered as vaſt manufactories, with this peculiar diſtinction from others, that they were obliged to raiſe their own materials; that the cane was the raw material; ſugar, melaſſes, and rum, the manufacture; that the raiſing of proviſion was, and muſt neceſſarily continue to be a very ſecondary object; that if neceſſity ſhould at any time render it otherwiſe, the manufacture muſt

of courſe decline, in proportion to the attention paid to the other; but that the ſcarcity of land in the ſmall iſlands, the great value of cultivable land, for the purpoſe of raiſing the material in all, together with the exceſſive price of labour, and many inſurmountable natural impediments, rendered the raiſing of any thing near a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions utterly impracticable. That the middle colonies of North-America were the great ſources of ſupply to the Weſt-India iſlands, not only for proviſion, but for an article equally neceſſary, which is underſtood under the term of lumber, and by which is meant every kind of timber and wood that is uſed in building and the cooperage, excepting only ſome particular caſes, wherein great ſtrength and durability are required, and in which the hard woods peculiar to the tropical regions are preferable. It was alſo clearly ſhewn, that no other ſources of ſupply could be opened either in America or in Europe, which, with reſpect to time, quantity, and many other circumſtances, could prevent the dreadful effects of a famine in the ſugar iſlands; an event which would be rendered ſtill the more dreadful, by the vaſt ſuperiority of the negroes to the white people in number, and the horrible barbarities which muſt be expected from them, in circumſtances of calamity that would deſtroy all order and diſtinctions among the moſt civilized nations. And that if there were even a poſſibility of averting this fatal event, the iſlands would notwithſtanding be ruined, as their great ſtaple commodities of ſugar and rum would be uſeleſs for want of caſks to contain them; and they could not receive ſtaves from any part of Europe, upon ſuch terms as they were able to comply with.

This courſe of enquiry and evidence has been the means of rendering the vaſt importance and value of the ſugar colonies more generally underſtood, than they perhaps would otherwiſe have been, and they are matters which may well exerciſe the ſpeculations of the preſent, and the admiration of future ages. It appeared by a very moderate calculation, in which large allowances were made for every poſſible exceſs, that the capital in thoſe iſlands, conſiſting in cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and ſtock of all kinds, did not amount to leſs than the immenſe ſum of ſixty millions ſterling. That their exports of late years to Great-Britain run to about 190,000 hogſheads and puncheons of ſugar and rum annually; amounting in weight to near 95,000 tons, and in value to about 4,000,000l. exclu-ſive of a great number of ſmaller articles, and of their very great export to North-America. That their growth was ſo rapid, and improvement ſo great, that within a very few years, their export of ſugar to this kingdom was increaſed 40,000 hogſheads annually, amounting to about 800,000l. in value. It ſeems probable, though it could not be preciſely aſcertained, that more than one half of that vaſt capital of 60,000,000l. was either the immediate property, or was owing to perſons reſident in this country. It alſo appeared, that the revenue gained above 700,000 l. a year upon the direct Weſt-India trade, excluſive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade. It was fully ſhewn,

that

that this immenſe capital and trade, as well as the African, neither of which could ſubſiſt without the other, were from nature and circumſtance both totally dependent upon North-America. Such were the ſtakes which we were now ſetting at hazard.

In a few days after, March 22d. Mr. Burke made his conciliatory propoſitions with reſpect to the colonies. Theſe propoſitions were contained in a ſet of reſolutions, and were accompanied and elucidated by that celebrated ſpeech, which has been ſince publiſhed, and is in every body's hands.

He obſerved, that the queſtions on which they were that day to decide, were, Whether they ought to concede; and what that conceſſion ought to be; and that to enable them to determine both on the one and the other of thoſe great queſtions with a firm and preciſe judgment, it was neceſſary to conſider diſtinctly the true nature, and the peculiar circumſtances of the object before them; becauſe after all their ſtruggles, whether they would or not, he inſiſted, that they muſt govern America, according to that nature, and to thoſe circumſtances; and not according to their own imaginations; not according to abſtract ideas of right; nor by any means according to mere general theories of government.

Upon this principle he examined and explained, with the utmoſt minuteneſs and accuracy, the internal and external, the natural and accidental circumſtances of the colonies; he conſidered them with reſpect to ſituation, reſources, extent, numbers, amazing growth of population, rapid increaſe of commerce, fiſheries, and agriculture; from theſe he ſhewed their ſtrength and importance; he then enquired into that unconquerable ſpirit of freedom, by which they are diſtinguiſhed from all other people now exiſting in the known world; this violent paſſion for liberty he traced from the ſources of deſcent, education, manners, religious principles, forms of government, and diſtance from the original mover of government.

From all theſe circumſtances he deduced the line of policy which ſhould be purſued with regard to America. The detail was enriched and illuſtrated with a number of the moſt intereſting facts, and curious obſervations, tending to eſtabliſh the ideas of American government which he had laid down; to ſhew, that it muſt be adapted to the feelings, to the eſtabliſhed habits and received opinions of the people; and that all ſchemes of government which had been or ſhould be propoſed, without paying a due attention to theſe matters, would be found ineffectual, dangerous, or ruinous.

We ſhould deem it inexcuſable, to quit this part of the ſubject, without laying before our readers the aſtoniſhing growth of the colonies within a little more than half a century, and the prodigious ſhare they contributed to our greatneſs; a matter of the firſt importance to ourſelves; which perhaps cannot in any degree be paralleled in the hiſtory of mankind; and which will equally excite the admiration, and exerciſe the ſcepticiſm of future ages. This gentleman, in taking a comparative view of the trade of this country at different periods, made it appear, that the whole

exports

exports to North-America, the Weſt-Indies, and Africa, in the year 1704, amounted only in value to 569,930l. That in the year 1772, which was taken upon a medium, as being neither the higheſt nor the loweſt of thoſe which might have been applied to of late, the exports to the ſame places, (including thoſe from Scotland, which in the year 1704 had no exiſtence) amounted to no leſs than 6,024,171l. being in the proportion of nearly eleven to one. He alſo ſhewed, that the whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, amounted at the firſt period of 1704, only to 6,509,000l.—Thus the trade to the colonies alone, was at the latter period, within leſs than half a million of being equal to what this great commercial nation carried on at the beginning of the preſent century with the whole world. And ſtating the whole export commerce of this country at preſent, at ſixteen millions, that to the colonies, which in the firſt period conſtituted but one twelfth of the whole, was now very conſiderably more than one third.

However aſtoniſhing this general increaſe of the whole colonies may appear, the growth of the province of Penſylvania is ſtill more extraordinary. In the year 1704, the whole exports to that colony amounted only to 11,459,l. and in 1772, they were riſen to 507,909l. being nearly fifty times the original demand; and almoſt equal to the whole colony export at the firſt period.

The mover, before he ſtated his own propoſitions, examined and controverted the different ſchemes which had been either propoſed, or talked of for the government of America; particularly the idea of governing by force; a method, which being very eaſy and plauſible in theory, and requiring no ſkill nor ability in the deſign or comprehenſion, the groſs of mankind are fond of recurring to, in all caſes which perplex their underſtanding. This favourite idea he combated with great force, upon the different grounds of its temporary nature; its uncertainty; its deſtroying the object in the very endeavour to preſerve it; and that we have no ſort of experience in favour of force as an inſtrument in the rule of our colonies. That on the contrary, their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different.

He then laboured to prove, that without enquiring whether it was to be yielded as a matter of right, or granted as a matter of favour, the only method of governing the colonies with ſafety and advantage, was by admitting them to an *intereſt in our conſtitution*; and, by recording that admiſſion in the journals of parliament, to give them as ſtrong an aſſurance as the nature of the thing would admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that ſolemn declaration of ſyſtematic indulgence.

In the ſtating and proſecution of this ſubject, he diſclaimed all diſcuſſions of right; the queſtion being to be conſidered ſolely as a matter of policy; he was not enquiring whether they had a right to render their people miſerable; but whether it was not their intereſt to render them happy? they were not to take the opinion of a lawyer on what they *might* do; but they were to conſult reaſon, humanity, juſtice, and true policy, in what they

they *ought* to do. He likewiſe diſclaimed all manner of new projects whatever; profeſſing to derive the theoretic part of his propoſitions from the ancient conſtitutional policy of this kingdom with regard to repreſentation, as that policy has been declared in acts of parliament; and the practical, from plain matters of fact, acknowledged as ſuch in the journals of the Houſe; he would only bring them back to that road which an uniform experience had marked out as the beſt; and in which they had walked with ſecurity, advantage, and honour, until the year 1763; that other methods might be more ingenious; but in conſtitutional diſcuſſions, it was much more ſafe to attend to experience, and to the practice of their anceſtors, than to any ſpeculations however refined or plauſible. That thoſe anceſtors, who had left them ſuch ineſtimable legacies, and ſuch living monuments of their wiſdom, as that conſtitution, and thoſe colonies, were the ſafeſt guides they could follow in any thing that related to the preſervation of either.

He then went into an hiſtorical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Cheſter and Durham, into an intereſt in the conſtitution: The ſtate of things preceding that admiſſion, and the conſequences which followed. He ſhewed from all theſe inſtances, that this intereſt in the Britiſh conſtitution, was not only the cauſe of the internal happineſs of thoſe countries, but of their union with and obedience to the crown and ſupreme legiſlature.

From this experience, the communication to the members of an intereſt in the conſtitution, became the great ruling principle of Britiſh policy; the mode of applying it being varied according to circumſtances. Where the diſtricts could be taken into the conſtitution, they were united, as in the caſe of Wales, and the counties palatine. Where that was not the caſe, the conſtitution was ſent to them, as in Ireland. Similar conſtitutions, accommodated to their reſpective circumſtances, were given to the colonies; and as long as the ſpirit of theſe conſtitutions was preſerved, every thing went on happily. When it was violated, every thing fell into confuſion.

His whole plan therefore was to go back to our old policy; and to record it in the journals, as a ſettled ground of future parliamentary proceedings, in order to guard againſt the miſchiefs of our late inconſtancy. He made the doctrine, language, and mode of reaſoning, contained in the preambles to former acts of parliament, the models whereby to frame his reſolutions; and meant by them to eſtabliſh the equity and juſtice of a taxation of America, by *grant*, and not by *impoſition*. To mark the *legal competency* of the colony aſſemblies for the ſupport of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war. To acknowledge that this legal competency has had *a dutiful and beneficial exerciſe*; and that experience has ſhewn the *benefit of their grants*, and the *futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of ſupply*.

This was the ſubſtance of the ſix firſt reſolutions. To theſe were added ſome others relative to the ſettlement of an independent judicature; for regulating the court of admiralty; and for the repeal of the

the late coercive acts of parliament. The firſt reſolution upon which the debate began, was as follows.—"That the colonies and plantations of Great-Britain in North-America, conſiſting of fourteen ſeparate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and ſending any knights and burgeſſes, or others, to repreſent them in the high court of parliament."

On this motion, and on the whole matter, the debate was long and animated. It was objected, in general, that theſe reſolutions abandoned the whole object for which we were contending. That in words indeed they did not give up the right of taxing; but they did ſo in effect. The firſt reſolution, they ſaid, was artfully worded, as containing in appearance nothing but matters of fact; but if adopted, conſequences would follow highly prejudicial to the public good. That the mere truth of a propoſition did not of courſe make it neceſſary or proper to reſolve it. As they had frequently reſolved not to admit the unconſtitutional claims of the Americans, they could not admit reſolutions directly leading to them. They had no aſſurance, that if they ſhould adopt theſe propoſitions, the Americans would make any dutiful returns on their ſide; and thus the ſcheme, purſued through ſo many difficulties, of compelling that refractory people to contribute their fair proportion to the expences of the whole empire, would fall to the ground. The Houſe of Lords would not, they ſaid, permit another plan ſomewhat of the ſame kind, ſo much as to lie on their table; and the Houſe of Commons had in this ſeſſion already adopted one, which they judged to be conciliatory upon a ground more conſiſtent with the ſupremacy of parliament. It was aſſerted, that the American aſſemblies had made proviſion upon former occaſions—but this, they ſaid, was only when preſſed by their own immediate danger; and for their own local uſe. But if the diſpoſitions of the colonies had been as favourable as they were repreſented, ſtill it was denied, that the American aſſemblies ever had a legal power of granting a revenue to the crown. This they inſiſted to be the privilege of parliament only; and a privilege which could not be communicated to any other body whatſoever. In ſupport of this doctrine, they quoted the following clauſe from that palladium of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, commonly called the Bill, or Declaration of Rights; viz. that "Levying money for, or to the uſe of the crown, *by pretence of prerogative*, without grant of parliament, for a longer time, or in other manner, than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal"

This clauſe, they inſiſted, clearly enforced the excluſive right in parliament of taxing every part of the empire. And this right, they ſaid, was not only prudent, but neceſſary. The right of taxation muſt be inherent in the ſupreme power; and being the moſt eſſential of all others, was the moſt neceſſary, not only to be reſerved in theory, but exerciſed in practice; or it would, in effect, be loſt, and all other powers along with it. This principle

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was carried ſo far, that it was ſaid any miniſter ought to be impeached, who ſuffered the grant of any ſort of revenue from the colonies to the crown. That ſuch a practice in time of war, might poſſibly be tolerated from the neceſſity of the caſe; but that a revenue in time of peace could not be granted by any of the aſſemblies, without ſubverting the conſtitution. In the warmth of proſecuting this idea, it was aſſerted, by more than one gentleman on that ſide, that the eſtabliſhment of a parliament in Ireland, did not by any means preclude Great-Britain from taxing that kingdom whenever it was thought neceſſary. That, that right had always been maintained, and exerciſed too, whenever it was judged expedient; and that the Britiſh parliament had no other rule in that exerciſe, than its own diſcretion. That all inferior aſſemblies in this empire, were only like the corporate towns in England, which had a power, like them, of making bye-laws, for their own municipal government, and nothing more.

On the other ſide, it was urged, that the clauſe in the declaration of rights, ſo much relied on, was calculated merely to reſtrain the prerogative, from the raiſing of any money within the realm, without the conſent of parliament; but that it did not at all reach, nor was intended to interfere, with the taxes levied, or grants paſſed by legal aſſemblies out of the kingdom, for the public ſervice. On the contrary, parliament knew at the time of paſſing that law, that the Iriſh grants were ſubſiſting, and taxes conſtantly levied in conſequence of them, without their once thinking, either then or at any other time, of cenſuring the practice, or condemning the mode as unconſtitutional. It was alſo ſaid, that different parliaments at different periods, had not only recognized the right, but gratefully acknowledged the benefit which the public derived from the taxes levied, and the grants paſſed by the American aſſemblies. As to the diſtinction taken of a time of war and the neceſſity of the caſe—they ſaid it was frivolous and wholly groundleſs. The power of the ſubject in granting, or of the crown in receiving, no way differs in time of war, from the ſame powers in time of peace; nor is any diſtinction on ſuch a ſuppoſition made in the article of the Bill of Rights. They argued therefore, that this article of the Bill of Rights is confined to what it was always thought confined, the prerogative in this kingdom; and bound indeed the crown; but could not, in ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject in this kingdom, intend to annihilate them every where elſe. That as the conſtitution had permitted the Iriſh parliament and American aſſemblies to make grants to the crown; and that experience had ſhewn, that theſe grants had produced both ſatisfaction and revenue, it was abſurd to riſque all in favour of theories of ſupremacy, unity, ſovereign rights, and other names, which hitherto had led to nothing but confuſion and beggary on all ſides, and would continue to produce the ſame miſerable effects, as long as they were perſiſted in. That the mover had very wiſely avoided theſe ſpeculative queſtions, and confined himſelf to experience;

and

and it would be well if they could perſuade themſelves to follow that example.

The previous queſtion was moved on the firſt propoſition, and carried by 270 to 78.

The ill ſucceſs that had attended all conciliatory propoſitions hitherto, excepting thoſe which originated from government, did not deter another gentleman on the ſame ſide, (Mr. Hartley) within a very few days after, March 27th. from making a ſimilar attempt. This was regulated on the conciliatory propoſition moved by Lord North. It propoſed that a letter of requiſition ſhould be ſent to the colonies by a ſecretary of ſtate on a motion from that Houſe, for contribution to the expences of the whole empire. On his plan, the ineſtimable privilege of judging for themſelves of the expediency, fixing the amount, and determining the application of the grants, would ſtill be left in the aſſemblies. The compulſory threat would be left out. It removed the objection of a revenue raiſed without conſent of parliament, ſince this requiſition would be made at their expreſs deſire.—Other motions followed, not for the repeal, (as in the propoſitions lately negatived) but the ſuſpenſion of certain acts for three years.

As this motion bore ſome reſemblance to that rejected in the Houſe of Lords at the beginning of the ſeſſion, though ſupported and combated with ability, it is not neceſſary here to repeat the topics, to which the unhappy ſtate of the times has ſo often obliged us to recur. The motion was rejected without a diviſion.

During the progreſs of the ſecond reſtraining bill, an additional clauſe was moved for by the miniſter, whereby the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on Deleware, in North-America, were included in the prohibitions of that bill. This motion was carried without a diviſion; but was productive of ſome pointed obſervation on its being unprecedented and unknown in the annals of parliament, and on the injuſtice and cruelty of condemning people unheard, and even without enquiry. To theſe charges it was anſwered in general, that thoſe counties were equally culpable with the other provinces, and that the papers before the Houſe contained ſufficient information to juſtify the inſertion of that clauſe.

Upon the third reading of the Bill, conſiderable debates aroſe, and a young nobleman of the firſt rank and greateſt hopes was much diſtinguiſhed, not only by his oppoſition to the bill, and his total condemnation of the whole ſeries of American meaſures; but by the very pleaſing ſpecimen of modeſty and ability which he now exhibited in his firſt ſpeech. He however delivered his ſentiments with great reſolution and firmneſs; declared that he was glad a debate had taken place, as it afforded him an opportunity of avowing his political creed, and of making ſome open profeſſion of his ſentiments on ſo very important, and very ſerious a national queſtion. That from the fulleſt conviction of his ſoul, he diſclaimed every idea both of policy and right internally to tax America: he diſavowed the whole ſyſtem. It was commenced in iniquity; purſued in reſentment; and could terminate in nothing but blood.

April 5th.

blood. And he pledged himſelf, that under whatſoever ſhape in futurity it might be revived, by whomſoever produced and ſupported, it ſhould, from him, meet the moſt conſtant, determined, and invariable oppoſition. He predicted that this bill would immediately bring on a civil war.

From the other ſide it was anſwered, that his apprehenſions of a civil war were not grounded in any knowledge of the Americans, who would bluſter indeed, but never fight, or think of oppoſing General Gage, with arms; and as to the cruelty of this act, it was to be no longer ſevere than they were rebellious. The matter having been before amply diſcuſſed, the debate was not long, nor the attendance conſiderable on the part of the minority. The bill paſſed without difficulty.

During theſe tranſactions ſeveral petitions were received from manufacturing towns in Great-Britain and Ireland againſt the coercive acts. Some counter petitions were alſo received, calling for an enforcement of the laws of Great-Britain as the only means of preſerving a trade with the colonies, and aſſerting that the trade hitherto had ſuffered none, or an inconſiderable diminution by the combination of the Americans. Much altercation aroſe on the truth of facts alledged on both ſides, as well as on the manner of obtaining the ſignatures, and the quality of thoſe who ſigned. The minority inſiſted, that the moſt who ſigned theſe war petitions (as they called them) were perſons of none or a remoter intereſt in the American trade; but of that deſcription of warm and active party men commonly called Tories.

—And they entered into ſeveral examinations to prove the truth of the former part of their aſſertion. This produced many long and hot debates.

Other petitions were preſented to the crown and equally diſregarded. One from the Britiſh ſettlers in Canada againſt the Quebec bill, in which they ſtate, that upon the faith of the royal proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, they had ſettled in that province, purchaſed houſes and lands, and entered ſo extenſively into trade, commerce, and agriculture, that the value of land and the wealth of the inhabitants were thereby more than doubled; and after ſtating their dutiful behaviour to government, and the peace and amity in which they live with the new ſubjects, grievouſly complain, that they find themſelves, by the late act of parliament, deprived of the franchiſes which they inherit from their anceſtors, and cut off from the benefit and protection of the Engliſh laws; that in their ſtead they are to be governed by the laws of Canada, to which they are utter ſtrangers; and which they conſider to be diſgraceful to them as Britons; ruinous to their property, by taking away the invaluable privilege of trials by juries; and deſtructive to their perſonal liberty and ſecurity, as well by diſſolving the habeas corpus act, as by the extraordinary powers which are lodged in the hands of the governor and council.

The Quakers alſo preſented a petition, in which, beſides endeavouring to diffuſe the influence of that ſpirit of peace, which is the predominant principle in their religious ſyſtem, they liberally (without attempting to confine loyalty

loyalty to their own ſect) declare themſelves perſuaded, that there are not in his majeſty's extenſive dominions, ſubjects more loyal, and more zealouſly attached to his royal perſon, his family, and government, than in the provinces of America; and amongſt all religious denominations.

In this ſeaſon of public diſcontent, when all men's minds were agitated on one ſide or other, the city of London, not diſcouraged by the fate of all its applications for a number of years paſt, once more approached the throne, with an addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition; upon a ſubject, and in a manner, as little calculated to obtain a favourable reception as any of the preceding. In this remonſtrance, they recapitulated the whole catalogue of American grievances; declared their abhorrence of the meaſures which had been purſued, and were then purſuing, to the oppreſſion of their fellow-ſubjects in the colonies; that theſe meaſures were big with all the conſequences which could alarm a free and commercial people; a deep and perhaps fatal wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of the revenue, and conſequent increaſe of taxes; the alienation of the colonies; and the blood of his majeſty's ſubjects. But that they looked with leſs horror at the conſequences, than at the purpoſe of thoſe meaſures. Not deceived by the ſpecious artifice of calling deſpotiſm, dignity; they ſaid, they plainly perceived, that the real purpoſe was, to eſtabliſh arbitrary power over all America.

April 10th.

They juſtify the reſiſtance, to which, they ſay, his majeſty's faithful ſubjects have been driven by theſe grievances, upon the great principles of the conſtitution, actuated by which, at the glorious period of the revolution, our anceſtors transferred the imperial crown of theſe realms to the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick. They ſay, "Your petitioners are perſuaded, that theſe meaſures originated in the ſecret advice of men who are enemies equally to your majeſty's title and to the liberties of your people. That your majeſty's miniſters carry them into execution by the ſame fatal corruption which has enabled them to wound the peace and violate the conſtitution of this country—thus they poiſon the fountain of public ſecurity, and render that body which ſhould be the guardian of liberty a formidable inſtrument of arbitrary power."——"Your petitioners do therefore moſt earneſtly beſeech your majeſty, to diſmiſs immediately, and for ever, from your councils, thoſe miniſters and adviſers, as the firſt ſtep towards a redreſs of thoſe grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people. So ſhall peace and commerce be reſtored, and the confidence and affection of all your majeſty's ſubjects be the ſolid ſupporters of your throne."

As Mr. Wilkes was now Lord Mayor, he of courſe attended officially to preſent this remonſtrance, and was cautioned by the Lord in waiting, that his majeſty expected he ſhould not ſpeak to him. The following anſwer was delivered from the throne, "It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of

"encouraging

" encouraging the rebellious diſ-
" poſition which unhappily exiſts
" in ſome of my colonies in North
" America. Having entire con-
" fidence in the wiſdom of my
" parliament, the great council of
" the nation, I will ſteadily pur-
" ſue thoſe meaſures which they
" have recommended for the ſup-
" port of the conſtitutional rights
" of Great-Britain, and the pro-
" tection of the commercial in-
" tereſts of my kingdoms." This remonſtrance was productive of a particular mark of reſentment. In a few days after its being preſented, a letter was received by the Lord Mayor from the Lord Chamberlain, in which, as chief magiſtrate of the city of London, he acquainted him from his majeſty, that he would not receive on the throne any addreſs, remonſtrance, or petition, of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, but in their corporate capacity.

As the American fiſheries were now aboliſhed, it became neceſſary to think of ſome meaſures for ſupplying their place, and particularly to guard againſt the ruinous conſequences of the foreign markets either changing the courſe of conſumption, or falling into the hands of ſtrangers, and thoſe perhaps inimical to this country. The conſumption of fiſh oil, as a ſubſtitute for tallow, was now become ſo extenſive, as to render that alſo an object of great national concern; the city of London alone expending about 300,000l. annually in that commodity. Whatever preſent purpoſes the evidence lately before the Houſe might anſwer, in ſhewing that there was a ſufficient fund of money, ſhips, men, and inclination ready, for an immediate tranſfer of the fiſheries, not only without loſs, but with great gain and benefit, it ſoon became evident, that the miniſter did not chuſe to riſque matters of ſuch infinite importance upon the veracity of thoſe repreſentations.

It ſeemed alſo neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of public affairs, that the kingdom of Ireland ſhould be taken more notice of, and ſome greater conſideration paid to her intereſts, than had been the practice for many years. The queſtion between the colonies and parliament, particularly in the manner in which it had been lately argued, was not calculated to quiet that kingdom. The repoſe of all the parts ſtill at reſt was never more neceſſary. In the criſis to which matters were now evidently tending, little doubt remained, that even aſſiſtance would be requiſite from that country; beſides, her patience, her ſufferings, and her forbearance, were to be held up as a mirrour, and in contraſt to the colonies; and though theſe merits had long paſſed unregarded, this did not ſeem a fit reaſon to encourage an opinion, that a ſimilar conduct would never obtain any reward. The nature of the benefit was however to be conſidered, and nothing could ſeem better adapted than a donation which would be an advantage inſtead of a loſs to the giver. A ſhare in the firſt fruits of a ſpoil was alſo a lure of undoubted efficacy for enticing future ſervice. It was not, in itſelf, very conſiderable; but it was ſaid it might be conſidered as a beginning; and ſmall benefits carry weight with thoſe who had not been habituated to great favours.

It was ſhewn in the courſe of

the late evidence before the Houſe, that the exports from this country to Ireland amounted to 2,400,000l. annually; beſides her ſupporting a large and excellent ſtanding army, at all times ready for our defence; and the immenſe ſums of her ready caſh, which her numerous abſentees, penſioners, and placemen ſpend in this country. Yet from oppreſſive reſtrictions in trade, ſome of them highly impolitic and prejudicial to ourſelves, that country is cut off from the benefit of her great natural ſtaple commodity, as well as excluded in general from the advantages which ſhe might derive from her admirable ſituation, and her great number of excellent harbours.

The miniſter accordingly moved for a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fiſheries of Great-Britain and Ireland. This attention to Ireland was generally approved of, and after ſome converſation upon the hardſhips which that country ſuffered, it was propoſed by ſome gentlemen who were particularly attached to its intereſts to extend the motion, by adding the words *trade and commerce*, and thereby affording an opportunity of enquiring particularly into the ſtate of that kingdom, and of granting ſuch relief and indulgence in thoſe reſpects, as could be done without prejudice to ourſelves. The miniſter did not object to the reaſonableneſs or expediency of entering upon this ſubject at a proper time; but ſaid that the propoſed amendment would introduce a maſs of matter, much too weighty and extenſive for preſent conſideration; that he would therefore confine the motion to the immediate object of the fiſheries, leaving the other matter at large.

The committee in April 27th. its progreſs granted ſeveral bounties to the ſhips of Great-Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in proſecuting the Newfoundland fiſhery; and the miniſter went farther than his original avowal, by two reſolutions which he introduced and paſſed in favour of the latter kingdom. By the firſt of theſe it was rendered lawful to export from Ireland cloathes and accoutrements for ſuch regiments on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment as were employed abroad; and by the ſecond, a bounty of five ſhillings per barrel, was allowed on all flax-ſeed imported into Ireland. This laſt reſolution was paſſed to prevent the evils that were apprehended to that country, from the cutting off its great American ſource of ſupply in that article. Another reſolution was alſo paſſed, by which the Iriſh were allowed to export proviſions, hooks, lines, nets, tools and implements, for the purpoſes of the fiſhery. Some Gentlemen of Ireland however complained that clauſes were inſidiouſly ſtolen into the act to prevent its operating in any conſiderable extent, and to prevent the employment of Engliſh capitals in that kingdom. The committee, beſides, agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the whale-fiſhery, in thoſe ſeas that were to the ſouthward of the Greenland and Davis's ſtreights fiſheries; and upon the ſame principle took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone from Newfoundland, &c.

They

They also took off the duty that was payable on the importation of seal-skins.

Towards the close of the session Mr. Burke acquainted the House, that he had received a paper of great importance from the General Assembly of the province of New-York; a province which yielded to no part of his Majesty's dominions in its zeal for the prosperity and unity of the empire, and which had ever contributed, as much as any, in its proportion, to the defence and wealth of the whole. He observed, that it was a complaint, in the form of a remonstrance, of several acts of parliament, some of which, as they affirmed, had established principles, and others had made regulations, subversive of the rights of English subjects. That he did not know whether the House would approve of every opinion contained in that paper; but that as nothing could be more decent and respectful than the whole tenor and language of the remonstrance, a mere mistake in opinion, upon any one point, ought not to prevent their receiving it, and granting redress on such other matters as might be really grievous, and which were not necessarily connected with that erroneous opinion. He represented this direct application from America, and dutiful procedure of New-York, in the present critical juncture, as a most desirable and even fortunate circumstance; and strongly urged, that they never had before them so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the unhappy disputes with the colonies as at present; and he conjured them, in the most earnest manner, nor to let it escape, as possibly the like might never again return. May 15th.

He then moved, That the representation and remonstrance of the General Assembly of the colony of New-York, To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled, be brought up. The minister immediately moved an amendment, which was an indirect though effectual negative upon the motion, by inserting that the said Assembly claim to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by an act of the 6th of his present Majesty, entitled, &c. It was contended in opposition to the motion, that the honour of parliament required, that no paper should be received by that House, which tended to call in question its unlimited authority; that they had already relaxed in very essential points, but they could not hear any thing which tended to call in question their right of taxation; that the declaratory act must be repealed, before such a paper was admitted to be brought up; that the House never received even petitions of that nature; but that here the name of a petition was studiously avoided, lest any thing like an obedience to parliament should be acknowledged.

On the other side it was said, that without regard to any abstract questions upon the authority of parliament, or the rights of individuals, a particular consideration was due, in the present circumstances, to the temperate conduct and exemplary good behaviour of the province of New-York. In the midst of all the violence which overspread the continent, that colony preserved her

legiſlature and government entire; and when every thing ſeemed elſewhere tending to a civil war, ſhe dutifully ſubmitted her complaints to the juſtice and clemency of the mother country. That aſſembly which was now applying to them, in ſuch moderate and reſpectful terms, for a redreſs of grievances, was the ſame, which not long before had been ſo highly applauded by the miniſter, for refuſing to accede to the aſſociation of the general congreſs. Were the miniſters then determined, or did they think it could anſwer any uſeful purpoſe, to drive every part of America into an equal ſtate of deſperation? There were times and ſeaſons when wiſe men would avoid the diſcuſſion of odious queſtions. There were times in which it was highly prudent to let claims of right, however founded, lie dormant. New-York, it was ſaid, was already in bad odour with her ſiſter colonies from the coolneſs and temperance of her conduct; with what face can ſhe reſiſt their reproaches, or perſevere in that moderation, when it is known that ſhe is treated with a contempt and diſregard, which could not perhaps be juſtified with reſpect to the moſt contumacious? When it is known, that ſo far from obtaining a redreſs of grievances, her complaints of them will not even be heard? What anſwer, ſaid they, can be given by the friends of the authority of parliament to thoſe, who ſhall reproach them with their confidence in its declarations to ſuch as ſhould dutifully apply for redreſs of grievances? The predictions of thoſe who ſaid it would be vain to look for redreſs from parliament, are verified. Thoſe who promiſed better things are diſgraced. What reſource will New-York have, in ſuch circumſtances, but by endeavouring to regain the eſteem and confidence of the other colonies to exceed them in violence?

During the debates, the queſtion was repeatedly called for, and being at length put upon the miniſter's amendment, it was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 186 to 67; and the queſtion being then put upon the amended motion, it was rejected without a diviſion.

The aſſembly of New-York had alſo tranſmitted a memorial to the Lords, and a petition to the King. The Duke of Mancheſter brought in the memorial to the Lords, and moved for its being read. This motion brought on much diſcuſſion; but which ſerved ſufficiently to ſhew the general temper and complexion with reſpect to the ſubject. It was ſaid, that the title of the paper rendered it inadmiſſible, as the term *memorial* was only applicable to the repreſentations which paſſed between ſovereigns; that the noble mover had not ſufficiently explained the contents, and that it might contain ſome matter not fit to be heard. In the ſame ſpirit, ſome remedies were propoſed; that if the noble Duke did not chuſe to explain the contents, he might read the paper in his place, as a part of his ſpeech; or if that was thought too troubleſome, the clerk might ſtand by him, and read it for him.

To theſe objections it was anſwered, that the loweſt commiſſioned officer in the ſervice had an unqueſtioned right to preſent a memorial to his Majeſty, in any caſe of real or ſuppoſed grievance; ſo that the term in queſtion did not at all militate with their dignity; that

that the noble mover of the queſtion had ſufficiently explained the matter, by reading the prayer of the memorial, and ſhewing that it was for a redreſs of grievances; that for farther particulars he referred them to the original which he propoſed to be read; declining rendering himſelf reſponſible for the fate of the petition, by the explanations which he might give of the contents. The propoſed remedies were rejected with indignation, and an end at length put to this altercation by calling the queſtion, when, upon a diviſion, the motion for reading the memorial was rejected by a majority of 20, the numbers being 45 againſt, to 25, who ſupported the queſtion. Such was the fate of the applications made by the aſſembly of New-York for a redreſs of their ſuppoſed grievances. Nothing done in parliament ſeemed to be better calculated to widen the breach between Great-Britain and the colonies.

The day before this tranſaction, a petition to the Lords from the Britiſh inhabitants of the province of Quebec, was preſented to that Houſe by Lord Camden. This petition was founded upon the ſame principles with that which was lately preſented to the throne; and the petitioners, after ſtating the grievances which they ſuffered in conſequence of the late law, conclude by imploring their Lordſhips' favourable interpoſition, as the hereditary guardians of the rights of the people, that the ſaid act may be repealed or amended, and that the petitioners may enjoy their conſtitutional rights, privileges, and franchiſes.

Some endeavours were alſo ineffectually uſed to prevent the reading of this petition. It was aſked by what means it came into the noble Lord's hands? how they could be ſatisfied that it came really from the perſons to whom it was attributed? And the propriety of receiving any petition, which did not come through the hands of the Governor and Council, was called in queſtion. To theſe it was replied, that the firſt was a matter of very little conſequence; the petition had been for ſome time in town, and had been refuſed by every Lord in adminiſtration; as to the ſecond, the agent for the province would remove every doubt on that head; and as to the third, it was ſaid to be a new and dangerous doctrine, that petitions for the redreſs of grievances could only be tranſmitted through the hands of thoſe, whoſe intereſt it might be to ſuppreſs them totally, and who from ſituation were liable to be themſelves the authors of thoſe grievances.

The noble Lord who introduced the petition then obſerved, that upon the fulleſt examination of the late law, he found it ſo thoroughly impolitic, pernicious, and incompatible with the religion and conſtitution of this country, that no amendment, nor any thing ſhort of a total repeal, would be ſufficient. He arranged his objections to it under the following heads: viz. The extenſion of the limits of Quebec—the eſtabliſhment of Popery there—and the civil deſpotiſm in which the inhabitants of that immenſely extended province are to be perpetually bound, by being deprived of all ſhare in the legiſlative power, and ſubjected in life, freedom, and property, to the arbitrary ordinances of a Governor and Coun-

cil, appointed by, and dependant upon the crown.

The noble Lord expatiated upon theſe different ſubjects, and having brought a great number of facts and arguments to ſhew the impolicy, injuſtice, tyranny, and iniquity of that law, declared, that it deſerved to be reprobated by the unanimous voice of parliament, and that if there remained the ſmalleſt regard for liberty and the conſtitution in one part of the Houſe, or for the Proteſtant religion in the other, they muſt neceſſarily concur in their cenſure. He then propoſed a bill, which was read to the Houſe, for the repeal of the late act, and which was not to take effect until the 1ſt of May, 1776, thereby to afford time for the providing of a proper form of government for that province.

This meaſure was ſtrongly oppoſed by adminiſtration, and a motion was made by the nobleman who preſided at the head of the American department, that the bill ſhould be rejected. They contended on that ſide, that the French Canadians were rendered exceedingly happy by the late law; in ſupport of which aſſertion, they produced an addreſs to General Carleton the Governor, upon his arrival in that province, and another to the King, wherein they expreſſed their thanks and gratitude for being reſtored to their antient rights and privileges. Theſe, they ſaid, were indubitable proofs how much the people were pleaſed, and expected to be benefitted by the change, and removed every doubt of the utility of the preſent ſyſtem. They repreſented the Britiſh ſettlers, ſuppoſing them to have concurred unanimouſly in the matter of the petition, to be, comparatively, only a handful of people; and inſiſted, that upon no one principle of good policy, juſtice, or public faith, near an hundred thouſand peaceable loyal ſubjects ſhould be rendered unhappy and miſerable, merely to gratify the unreaſonable requeſt of two or three thouſand perſons, who wiſhed for what was impracticable, and thought themſelves deprived of what they had in poſſeſſion.

As much cenſure had been expreſſed or implied, both within doors and without, relative to the whole conduct of the biſhops in the Canada tranſactions, as if they had not only neglected, but abandoned the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion, the reverend Father of that venerable bench now ſtood up to juſtify the Quebec act, ſo far as it related to religious matters; which he did upon the principles of toleration, the faith of the capitulation, and the terms of the definitive treaty of peace. After long debates, in which much extraneous matter ſeemed to be purpoſely brought in, and a long law conteſt, between a learned Lord high in office and the noble framer of the bill, the motion for its rejection was carried upon a diviſion, at ten o'clock at night, by the majority of ſixty, the numbers being 88, who oppoſed, to 28 Lords only, who ſupported the bill. The two royal Dukes, and brothers, were in the minority upon this diviſion.

About the ſame time, another petition from the ſame inhabitants of Quebec was preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Sir George Saville, in which, beſides the matters they had ſtated in the two former, they repreſented, that a petition to his Majeſty, in 18th.

in the name of all the French inhabitants of that province, and upon which the late law had been avowedly founded, was not fairly obtained, and had neither received the concurrence, nor even been communicated to the people in general; on the contrary, that it had been carried about in a ſecret manner, and ſigned by a few of the nobleſſe, advocates, and others who were in their confidence, through the ſuggeſtions, and under the influence of the clergy; and they affirmed, that the inhabitants in general, the French freeholders, merchants, and traders, were as much alarmed as themſelves, at the introduction of the Canadian laws. They concluded by praying, that the ſaid act may be repealed or amended, and that they may have the benefit and protection of the Engliſh laws, in ſo far as relates to perſonal property; and that their liberty may be aſcertained, according to their antient conſtitutional rights and privileges.

The gentleman who introduced the petition, having exerciſed that acuteneſs of diſquiſition, and that livelineſs of imagery, by which among other eminent qualities he is diſtinguiſhed, in examining and laying open the weak or obnoxious parts of the Quebec act, and throwing a new light even upon thoſe which had already undergone the higheſt degree of colouring, concluded his ſpeech with a motion, for repealing the late act for the better government of the province of Quebec. Though this motion produced ſome conſiderable debates, the ſubject was already ſo much exhauſted, that they could not be very intereſting; excepting that the miniſter, in the courſe of them, avowed his intention, if it ſhould become neceſſary, of arming the Canadians againſt the other colonies. He, however, declared his firm perſuaſion, that the troubles in America would be ſettled ſpeedily, happily, and without bloodſhed. The motion was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 174 to 86.

The money-bills which received the royal aſſent, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, were accompanied with a ſpeech from the Speaker to his Majeſty, ſtating the heavineſs of the grants, which nothing but the particular exigencies of the times could juſtify in a ſeaſon of profound peace; he, however, gave an aſſurance, that if the Americans ſhould perſiſt in their reſolutions, and the ſword muſt be drawn, the Commons would do every thing in their power to maintain and ſupport the ſupremacy of this legiſlature. He beſides praiſed the late law for determining controverted elections, and concluded by expreſſing his confidence, that the money now granted would be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which it was appropriated.

In the ſpeech from the throne, the moſt perfect ſatisfaction in their conduct, during the courſe of this important ſeſſion, was expreſſed. It was ſaid, that they had maintained, with a firm and ſteady reſolution, the rights of the crown and the authority of parliament, which ſhould ever be conſidered as inſeparable; that they had protected and promoted the commercial intereſts of theſe kingdoms; and they had, at the ſame time, given convincing proofs of their readineſs May 26th.

(as far as the conſtitution would allow them) to gratify the wiſhes, and remove the apprehenſions of the ſubjects in America; and a perſuaſion was entertained, that the moſt ſalutary effects muſt, in the end, reſult from meaſures formed and conducted on ſuch principles. A favourable repreſentation was made of the pacific diſpoſition of other powers, and the uſual aſſurance given of endeavouring to ſecure the public tranquillity. Much concern was expreſſed, that the unhappy diſturbances, in ſome of the colonies, had occaſioned an augmentation of the land-forces, and prevented the intended reduction of the naval eſtabliſhment from being compleated; and great thanks were returned for the chearfulneſs and public ſpirit with which they had granted the ſupplies. It concluded with the uſual recommendation, to preſerve and cultivate, in their ſeveral counties, the ſame regard for public order, and the ſame diſcernment of their true intereſts, which have in theſe times diſtinguiſhed the character of his Majeſty's faithful and beloved people; and the continuance of which cannot fail to render them happy at home, and reſpected abroad.

CHAP. VIII.

State of affairs in America during the ſitting of parliament. Preparations. Ordnance ſeized in Rhode Iſland. A fort taken, and powder ſeized in New-Hampſhire. Reſolutions of the general congreſs approved of and confirmed in different places—rejected by the aſſembly of New-York. Proceedings of the new provincial congreſs in Maſſachuſett's Bay. Detachment ſent to ſeize on ſome cannon at Salem. Diſpute at a draw-bridge. Affair at Lexington and Concord. Loſs on both ſides. Province riſe in arms. Boſton inveſted by great bodies of the militia. Provincial congreſs addreſs the people of Great-Britain. Meaſures purſued for the array and ſupport of an army; pay of the officers and ſoldiers fixed, and rules for its regulation and government publiſhed. Capitulation with the inhabitants of Boſton not adhered to. Continental congreſs meet at Philadelphia. Reſolutions for the raiſing of an army, the eſtabliſhment of a paper currency, and to prevent the Britiſh fiſheries from being ſupplied with proviſions. Application from the people of New-York to the congreſs. Crown-Point and Ticonderoga ſurprized. Generals and troops arrive at Boſton. Engagements in the iſlands near Boſton. General congreſs reſolve that the compact between the crown and the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay is diſſolved. Erect a general poſt-office. Proclamation of rebellion by Gen. Gage. Action at Bunker's Hill. Light-houſe burnt. Conſequences of the Quebec act. Declaration of the general congreſs, in anſwer to the late proclamation. Addreſs to the inhabitants of Great-Britain——to the people of Ireland. Petition to the king. Georgia accedes to the general confederacy. Gen. Waſhington appointed commander in chief of all the American forces by the general congreſs.

DURING theſe tranſactions at home, affairs were every day becoming more dangerous in America. Whatever heſitation or doubt might before have operated with the timid, or principles of caution

caution and prudence with the moderate, they were now all removed by the determinations of the general congreſs. Theſe became immediately the political creed of the colonies, and a perfect compliance with their reſolutions was every where determined upon, as ſoon as the general ſenſe of the people could be obtained. The unanimity which prevailed throughout the continent was amazing. The ſame language was held by town and provincial meetings, by general aſſemblies, by judges in their charges, and by grand juries in their preſentments; and all their acts tended to the ſame point. It was a new and wonderful thing to ſee the inhabitants of rich and great commercial countries, who had acquired a long eſtabliſhed habitual reliſh for the ſuperfluities and luxuries of foreign nations, all at once determined to abandon thoſe captivating allurements, and to reſtrain themſelves to bare neceſſaries. It was ſcarcely an object of greater admiration, that the merchant ſhould forego the advantages of commerce, the farmer ſubmit to the loſs of the ſale of his products and the benefits of his induſtry, and the ſeaman, with the numberleſs other perſons dependant upon trade, contentedly reſign the very means of livelihood, and truſt to a precarious ſubſiſtence from the public ſpirit or charity of the opulent. Such however was the ſpectacle, which America at that time, and ſtill in ſome degree, exhibited to the world.

Great hopes were however placed on the ſucceſs of the petition from the continental congreſs to the throne. Nor was it ſuppoſed, that their general application to the people of England would have been unproductive of effect. A ſtill greater reliance was not unreaſonably placed upon the effect which the unanimity and determinations of the congreſs would produce, in influencing publick opinions and meaſures at home.

Theſe hopes and opinions had for a time a conſiderable effect in reſtraining thoſe violences which afterwards took place. But however well they might ſeem to be founded, and however general their operation, the principal leaders, and moſt experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made ſome preparation for the worſt that might happen. The ſouthern colonies began to arm as well as the northern, and to train and exerciſe their militia; and as ſoon as advice was received of the proclamation iſſued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, meaſures were ſpeedily taken to remedy the defect. For this purpoſe, and to render themſelves as independent as poſſible of foreigners for the ſupply of thoſe eſſential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and encouragement given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms of every ſort. Great difficulties however attended theſe beginnings; and the ſupply of powder, both from the home manufacture and the importation, was for a long time ſcanty and precarious.

The Governor's proclamation againſt the provincial congreſs in Maſſachuſett's Bay, had not the ſmalleſt effect, either upon the proceedings of that aſſembly, or the conduct of the people, who paid an implicit

implicit obedience to its determinations. As expreſſes continually paſſed between that body and the general congreſs, no doubt can be entertained, that its meaſures were regulated by their opinion. The critical ſituation of the capital was an object of much conſideration; nor was it eaſy to determine in what manner to provide for the ſafety of the inhabitants, and to prevent its becoming a ſore thorn in the ſide of the province, if matters ſhould proceed to extremity. From its natural advantages of ſituation, with the works thrown up on the Neck, Boſton was already become a very ſtrong hold; and was capable, with little difficulty, of being rendered a place of ſuch ſtrength, as, under the protection of a navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced. From the ſame cauſes it was liable to be converted, at the diſcretion of the Governor, into a ſecure priſon for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hoſtages for the conduct of the province at large.

Different propoſals were ſaid to be made to prevent or remedy theſe evils. One was, ſimply, to remove the inhabitants; another, to ſet a valuation upon their eſtates, burn the town, and reimburſe them for their loſſes. Both theſe ſchemes were found to be clogged with ſo many difficulties as rendered them impracticable. Force was the only expedient which could be applied with ſucceſs; but they did not as yet ſeem diſpoſed to proceed to that extremity. In the mean time, numbers of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the real or pretended apprehenſion of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and ſent to England, to ſtand trial for ſuppoſed offences.

The provincial congreſs, having done all the buſineſs that was thought proper or neceſſary for the preſent, diſſolved themſelves towards the end of November, having firſt appointed another meeting to be held in the enſuing month of February. This ceſſation afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyaliſts, as they now called themſelves, to ſhew themſelves in a few places; to try their ſtrength and numbers, and to endeavour to reſiſt the general current. Some aſſociations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and a refuſal was made, in a few towns, to comply with the reſolutions of the provincial congreſs; but the contrary ſpirit was ſo prevalent, that thoſe attempts were ſoon quelled. The diſſentients were overwhelmed by numbers. All theſe attempts came to nothing.

As ſoon as an account was received at Rhode Iſland, of the prohibition on the exportation of military ſtores from Great-Britain, the people ſeized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon ſome batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different ſizes. A captain of a man of war, having waited upon the governor to enquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed, with great frankneſs, that the people had ſeized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make uſe of them to defend themſelves againſt any power that ſhould offer to moleſt them. The aſſembly of that iſland

iſland alſo paſſed reſolutions for the procuring of arms and military ſtores, by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants.

The province of New Hampſhire had hitherto preſerved a greater degree of moderation than any other of the New-England governments. As ſoon, however, as intelligence arrived of the tranſactions at Rhode-Iſland, with a copy of their reſolutions, and of the royal proclamation which gave riſe to them, a ſimilar ſpirit operated upon that people. A body of men accordingly aſſembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a ſmall fort, called William and Mary, conſiderable only for being the object of the firſt movement in the province. This was eaſily taken, and ſupplied them with a quantity of powder, by which they were enabled to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence.

Dec. 14th, 1774.

No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter. A firm determination of reſiſtance was, however, univerſally ſpread, and grew the ſtronger by the arrival of the King's ſpeech, and the addreſſes of the new parliament; which ſeemed, in the opinion of the Americans, nearly to cut off all hopes of reconciliation. It is remarkable that all the acts and public declarations, which here were recommended as the means of pacifying, by intimidating that people, conſtantly produced the contrary effect. The more clearly a determination was ſhewn to enforce an high authority, the more ſtrenuouſly the coloniſts ſeemed determined to reſiſt it. The aſſembly of Pennſylvania, which met by adjournment towards the cloſe of the year, was the firſt legal convention which unanimouſly approved of and ratified all the acts of the general congreſs, and appointed delegates to repreſent them in the new congreſs, which was to be held in the enſuing month of May.

The proceedings were ſimilar in other places, whether tranſacted by the aſſemblies, or by provincial conventions of deputies. The convention of Maryland appointed a ſum of money for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention, which was held at Philadelphia in the latter end of January, paſſed a number of reſolutions for the encouragement of the moſt neceſſary manufactures within themſelves; among which, ſalt, gunpowder, ſaltpetre, and ſteel, were particularly recommended. They alſo paſſed a reſolution, in which they declared it to be their moſt earneſt wiſh and deſire to ſee harmony reſtored between Great-Britain and the colonies; and that they would exert their utmoſt endeavours for the attainment of that moſt deſirable object. But that if the humble and loyal petition of the congreſs to his Majeſty ſhould be diſregarded, and the Britiſh adminiſtration, inſtead of redreſſing their grievances, ſhould determine by force to effect a ſubmiſſion to the late arbitrary acts of parliament, in ſuch a ſituation they hold it their indiſpenſable duty to reſiſt ſuch force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America.

The aſſembly of New-York, which met in the beginning of the year, was, however, a ſingle exception to the

Jan. 10, 1775.

the reſt of the continent. In this aſſembly, after very conſiderable debates upon the queſtion of acceding to the reſolutions of the general congreſs, it was rejected upon a diviſion, though by a very ſmall majority. They afterwards proceeded to ſtate the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were much encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they preſaged the happieſt effects, flattering themſelves, that when all other means had failed of ſucceſs, they ſhould have the laſting honour of procuring a thorough reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies; a hope, however fruitleſs, which probably had a great effect in their late determination. It was alſo ſaid, that this method had been ſuggeſted to them from authority in England. They accordingly drew up that petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and repreſentation and remonſtrance to the commons, the inefficacy of which we have already ſeen.

Feb. 1. The new provincial congreſs, which met at Cambridge, in Maſſachuſett's Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predeceſſors. Among other reſolutions they publiſhed one, to inform the people, that from the preſent diſpoſition of the Britiſh miniſtry and parliament, there was real cauſe to fear, that the reaſonable and juſt applications of that continent to Great-Britain for peace, liberty, and ſafety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that colony, the tenor of intelligence from Great-Britain, and general appearances, they have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſudden deſtruction of that colony in particular was intended, for refuſing, with the other American colonies, tamely to ſubmit to, what they termed, the moſt ignominious ſlavery.

They therefore urged, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the militia in general, and the *minute men* in particular, to ſpare neither time, pains, nor expence, at ſo critical a juncture, in perfecting themſelves forthwith in military diſcipline. They paſſed other reſolutions for the providing and making of fire-arms and bayonets; and renewed more ſtrictly the prohibition of their predeceſſors, againſt ſupplying the troops at Boſton with any of thoſe neceſſaries which are peculiarly requiſite for the military ſervice; the markets at Boſton being ſtill open to the ſupply of proviſions. As we have made uſe of a term which has hitherto been unknown in military tranſactions, it may require ſome explanation. By *minute men* are to be underſtood a ſelect number of the militia, who undertake to hold themſelves, upon all occaſions, and at the ſhorteſt notice, in readineſs for actual ſervice. By their alertneſs they have ſince ſhewn that the name was not miſapplied.

A circular letter from the ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, forbidding, in the king's name, and under pain of his diſpleaſure, the election of deputies for the enſuing general congreſs, was productive of no manner of effect; the elections every where took place, even in the province of New-York, notwithſtanding the late reſolution in their aſſembly.

Things

Things continued very quiet at Boſton. To which the injunctions of the different congreſſes perhaps contributed as much, as the ſhips of war that crowded the harbour, or the force that was ſtationed in the town. The calm was however precarious and fallacious on both ſides. Combuſtible matter had been gathered in abundance. More was in preparation, and the leaſt ſpark was likely to kindle a general conflagration.

Governor Gage having received intelligence that ſome braſs cannon were depoſited in the town of Salem, ſent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, on board a tranſport, Feb. 26. in order to ſeize upon and bring them to Boſton. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were diſappointed as to finding the cannon; but having ſome reaſon to imagine they had been only removed that morning in conſequence of their approach, it induced them to march further into the country in hopes of overtaking them. In this purſuit they arrived at a draw-bridge over a ſmall river, where a number of the country people were aſſembled, and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide had taken up the bridge to prevent their paſſage. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refuſed, ſaying, that it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a paſſage that way. For to the laſt moment the language of peace was preſerved, and until the ſword was deciſively drawn, all reſiſtance was carried on upon ſome legal ground. Upon this refuſal, the officer determined to make uſe of a boat, thereby to gain poſſeſſion of the bridge; but the country people perceiving his intention, ſeveral of them jumped into the boat with axes, and cut holes thro' her bottom, which occaſioned ſome ſcuffle between them and the ſoldiers in and about the boat. Things were now tending to extremities, as the commander ſeemed determined to force his paſſage, and the others as reſolutely bent to prevent it. In this ſituation, a neighbouring clergyman, who had attended the whole tranſaction, remonſtrated with the lieutenant-colonel, upon the fatal conſequences which would inevitably attend his making uſe of force. And finding that the point of military honour, with reſpect to making good his paſſage, was the principal object with that gentleman, it being then too late in the evening to proſecute his original deſign, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge, which the troops took poſſeſſion of; and the colonel having puſhed a detachment a little way into the country, in exerciſe of the right which he aſſumed, they immediately after returned, without moleſtation, on board the tranſport. Thus ended this firſt expedition, without effect, and happily without miſchief. Enough appeared to ſhew upon what a ſlender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the leaſt exertion of the military would certainly bring things to extremities. The people, ſince the acts for caſting away their charter, and for protecting the ſoldiery from any trial in the province, conſidered themſelves as put under military government. Every motion of that body became ſuſpected, and was in their eyes an exertion of

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the moſt odious and moſt dreadful tyranny.

This appearance of reſiſtance ſeems, on the other ſide, to have greatly irritated the military, for from this time they appear to have lived upon worſe terms with the inhabitants of Boſton than they had hitherto done; ſome general and wanton inſults, as well as particular outrages having been complained of. But the criſis was now faſt approaching, in which all leſſer evils and calamities were to be loſt and forgotten in the contemplation of thoſe of a great and ſerious nature.

The provincials having collected a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores at the town of Concord, where the provincial congreſs was alſo held, General Gage thought it expedient to detach the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn of the marines, in order to deſtroy them. It is ſaid and believed, that this expedition had another object in view, which was to ſeize on the perſons of Meſſrs. Hancock and Adams, thoſe great and obnoxious leaders of the faction which oppoſed the new ſyſtem of government. The detachment, which was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of about 900 men, embarked in boats at Boſton on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, from whence they proceeded with great ſilence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horſeback in the mean time ſcoured the roads, and ſecured ſuch country people as they chanced to meet with at that early time. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they diſcovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to aſſemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light.

Upon their arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia, belonging to that town, aſſembled on a green near the road; upon which an officer in the van called out, *Diſperſe, you rebels; throw down your arms, and diſperſe:* the ſoldiers at the ſame time running up with loud huzzas, ſome ſcattering ſhots were firſt fired, and immediately ſucceeded by a general diſcharge, by which eight of the militia were killed and ſeveral wounded.

Thus was the firſt blood drawn in this unhappy civil conteſt. Great pains were taken on each ſide to ſhew the other to have been the aggreſſor upon this occaſion. A matter of little conſequence, in a political view, as things were now too far advanced to leave room for a probable hope of any other than ſuch a final iſſue. It was ſaid in the Gazette, that the troops were firſt fired upon from ſome neighbouring houſes. There is ſome obſcurity in this buſineſs, for it appears, from the general tenor of the evidence, as well of ſome of our own people who were taken priſoners, as of a great number of the provincials, all whoſe diſpoſitions were regularly taken and atteſted by proper magiſtrates, that the firing both at Lexington and Concord was commenced by the troops. Indeed it ſeems evident, that a ſingle company of militia, ſtanding, as it may be ſaid, under the muzzles of our ſoldiers guns, would have been ſufficient pledges to prevent any

outrage from their friends and neighbours in the adjoining houſes.

After this execution, the detachment proceeded to Concord, the commanding officer having previouſly diſpatched ſix companies of light infantry to poſſeſs two bridges which lay at ſome diſtance beyond the town, probably with a view of preventing any of the ſtores from being carried off that way; or, if he had orders about the ſeizure of perſons, to prevent the eſcape of thoſe whom it was his object to ſecure. A body of militia, who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the approach of the troops, and paſſed over one of thoſe bridges, which was immediately after taken poſſeſſion of by the light infantry. The main body having arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commiſſion, by rendering three pieces of iron cannon unſerviceable, deſtroying ſome gun and other carriages, and throwing ſeveral barrels of flour, gunpowder, and muſket ball into the river. In the mean time, the militia which retired from the hill, ſeeing ſeveral fires in the town which they apprehended to be of houſes in flames, returned towards the bridge which they had lately paſſed, and which lay in their way thither. Upon this movement, the light infantry retired on the Concord ſide of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; but upon the near approach of the militia, (who ſeemed ſtudiouſly to have avoided all appearance of beginning the attack, and made as if they only wanted to paſs as common travellers) the ſoldiers immediately fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a ſkirmiſh enſued at the bridge, in which the former ſeem to have been under ſome diſadvantage, and were forced to retreat, having ſeveral men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and ſome others taken.

About this time the country roſe upon them. The troops were attacked on all quarters; ſkirmiſh ſucceeded upon ſkirmiſh; and a continued, though ſcattering and irregular fire, was ſupported through the whole of a long and very hot day. In the march back of ſix miles to Lexington, the troops were exceedingly annoyed, not only by the purſuers, but by the fire from houſes, walls, and other coverts, all of which were filled or lined with armed men.

It happened fortunately, that General Gage, apprehenſive of the danger of the ſervice, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to ſupport Colonel Smith's detachment, and that they were arrived at Lexington, by the time the others had returned from Concord. This circumſtance was the more fortunate, as it is reported the firſt detachment had by that time expended all their ammunition; but if that even had not been the caſe, it ſcarcely ſeems poſſible that they could have eſcaped being cut off or taken in the long ſubſequent retreat of fifteen miles.

This powerful ſupport, eſpecially the cannon, afforded a breathing-time to the firſt detachment at Lexington, which they already much wanted. The field pieces obliged the provincials to keep their diſtance. But as ſoon as the troops reſumed their march, the attacks, as the country people became more numerous, grew in proportion more violent, and the danger was continually

tinually augmenting, until they arrived about ſun-ſet at Charleſtown; from whence they paſſed over directly to Boſton, under the protection (as the provincials ſay) of the guns of the Somerſet man of war; the troops being entirely ſpent and worn down, by the exceſſive fatigues they had undergone. They had marched that day near 35 miles.

The loſs was not ſo great on either ſide, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement might ſeem to indicate; which may be attributed to the provincials not being at firſt powerful in number, and to their being afterwards kept at ſome diſtance by the field pieces. The king's troops, as may be expected, were the greater ſufferers, having loſt, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, 273 men, of which 65 were killed, 2 lieutenants, and above 20 private men taken priſoners, and Colonel Smith, with another lieutenant-colonel and ſeveral officers, wounded. By the provincial account, which gives the names and places of abode of thoſe who fell on their ſide, their loſs in killed and wounded (including thoſe who fell by the firſt fire in the morning at Lexington) amounted only to about ſixty, of which near two thirds were killed.

By the neareſt calculation that can be made, there were from 1800 to 2000 of the beſt troops in the ſervice (being about half the force that was then ſtationed at Boſton) employed upon this expedition. The event ſufficiently ſhewed how ill informed thoſe were who had ſo often aſſerted at home, that a regiment or two could force their way through any part of the continent, and that the very ſight of a grenadier's cap would be ſufficient to put an American army to flight.

Upon this occaſion, each ſide charged the other with the moſt inhuman cruelties. Civil wars produce many ſuch charges; but we have good reaſon, and ſome authority for believing, that theſe accounts, if at all true on either ſide, were much exaggerated. On one ſide it is certain, that an officer and ſome of the ſoldiers who were wounded and priſoners, gave public teſtimonials of the humanity with which they were treated; and that the provincial commanders ſent an offer to General Gage, to admit his ſurgeons to come and dreſs the wounded.

Although, on the other ſide, the regulars were charged with killing the old, the infirm, the unarmed, and the wounded, without mercy; with burning ſeveral houſes, and plundering every thing that came in their way; we have had too conſtant and uniform an experience of the honour of our officers, and the humanity of our ſoldiers, not to conſider this account as equally exaggerated.

This affair immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a ſufficient number were ſpeedily aſſembled effectually to inveſt the king's troops in Boſton, it was with difficulty that the crowds who were haſtily marching from different parts, could be prevailed upon to return to their reſpective homes. The body of militia which ſurrounded Boſton, amounted, as it was ſaid, to above 20,000 men, under the command of the Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas, who for the preſent acted as generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed

formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Myſtick, the diſtance between the points being about thirty miles. This line they ſtrengthened with artillery. They were ſpeedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired experience and reputation in the two laſt wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut troops in ſuch a poſition, as to be readily able to ſupport thoſe who were before the town.

In the mean time the provincial congreſs, which was now removed to Watertown, drew up an addreſs to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, in which they ſtated the moſt material particulars, relative to the late engagement, and took pains to ſhew, that hoſtilities were firſt commenced, and blood drawn, both at Lexington and Concord, by the regulars. They complain of the ravages committed by them in their retreat; place much dependence on the honour, wiſdom, and valour of Britons, from which they hope their interference in preventing the proſecution of meaſures, which, they repreſent, as equally ruinous to the mother country and the colonies; they make great profeſſions of loyalty; but declare, that they will not tamely ſubmit to the perſecution and tyranny of a cruel miniſtry, and (appealing to Heaven for the juſtice of their cauſe) that they are determined to die or be free.

The provincial congreſs alſo paſſed a vote for the array and ſupport of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and ſoldiers, and publiſhed rules and orders for its regulation and government. To provide for the military expence, they paſſed a vote for the iſſuing of a conſiderable ſum in paper currency, which was to be received in all caſes as money, and the faith of the province pledged for its payment. As the term for which they were choſen was to expire on the 30th of May, they gave notice for the election of a new congreſs, to meet on the 31ſt of that month at the ſame place, and to be continued for ſix months, and no longer. They May 5th. alſo paſſed a reſolution, that General Gage had, by the late tranſactions, and many other means, utterly diſqualified himſelf from ſerving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity, and that therefore no obedience was in future due to him; but that on the contrary he ought to be conſidered and guarded againſt, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.

The affair at Lexington (though ſome ſuch event muſt have been long foreſeen and expected) excited the greateſt indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerneſs and diſpatch as if an enemy had already appeared at each of their doors. The bravery ſhewn by the militia in this their firſt eſſay, and the ſuppoſed advantages they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation; while thoſe who fell in the action were regretted with the deepeſt concern, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cauſe of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjuſtly founded, produced a great effect, and increaſed the public fever.

In ſome places the magazines were ſeized, and in New-Jerſey the treaſury;

treaſury; a conſiderable ſum of money in which was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raiſing. At the ſame time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a ſtop was almoſt every where put to the exportation of proviſions; and in ſome places all exportation was ſtopt, till the opinion of the general congreſs upon that ſubject was known. Lord North's conciliatory plan, or the reſolution founded upon it, was totally rejected by the aſſemblies of Penſylvania and New-Jerſey; nor was it received any where.

In the mean time, the governor and forces at Boſton, as well as the inhabitants, continued cloſely blocked up by land; and being ſhut out from all ſupplies of freſh proviſions and vegetables, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded by ſea, they began to experience thoſe inconveniences which afterwards amounted to real diſtreſs. As the inhabitants had now no other reſource for their ſubſiſtance than the king's ſtores, the provincials were the more ſtrict in preventing all ſupplies, hoping that the want of proviſions would lay the governor under a neceſſity of conſenting to their departure from the town; or at leaſt that the women and children would be ſuffered to depart, which was repeatedly applied for. It is probable that the governor conſidered the inhabitants as neceſſary hoſtages for the ſecurity of the town, at leaſt, if not of the troops. However it was, he at length entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their other effects. The inhabitants accordingly delivered up their arms; but to their utter diſmay and aſtoniſhment, the governor refuſed to fulfil the conditions on his ſide. This breach of faith, and the conſequences that attended it, were much complained of. Many, however, both then, and at different times after, obtained permiſſion to quit the town; but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; ſo that thoſe who had hitherto lived in eaſe and affluence, were at once reduced to the extremity of indigence and miſery. The general congreſs ranked amongſt their bittereſt complaints, the ſufferings of the inhabitants in this reſpect. They ſay that paſſports were granted or retained in ſuch a manner, that families were broken and the deareſt connections ſeparated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part retained againſt their will. This, by far the moſt diſhonourable to government, we are obliged in fairneſs to ſtate according to the provincial narrative, no other having appeared to contradict or qualify it. The poor and the helpleſs were all ſent out.

The continental congreſs having met at the time appointed at Philadelphia, ſoon adopted ſuch meaſures as confirmed the people in their reſolution and conduct. Among their firſt acts were reſolutions for the raiſing of an army, and the eſtabliſhment of a large paper currency for its payment; the "*United Colonies*" (by which appellation they reſolved that they ſhould be known and diſtinguiſhed for the future) being ſecurities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. They alſo ſtrictly prohibited the ſupplying of May 10th.

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the Britiſh fiſheries with any kind of proviſion; and to render this order the more effectual, ſtopt all exportation to thoſe colonies, iſlands, and places, which ſtill retained their obedience. This meaſure, which does not ſeem to have been expected, or even apprehended at home, occaſioned no ſmall diſtreſs to the people at Newfoundland, and to all thoſe employed in the fiſheries; inſomuch that to prevent an abſolute famine, ſeveral ſhips were under a neceſſity of returning light from that ſtation, to carry out cargoes of proviſions from Ireland.

The city and province of New-York, notwithſtanding their former moderation, ſeemed, upon receiving an account of the late action, to receive alſo a plentiful portion of that ſpirit which operated in the other colonies. A moſt numerous aſſociation was accordingly formed, and a provincial congreſs elected. But as ſome regiments from Ireland were expected ſpeedily to arrive there, and that capital, beſides, lies open to the ſea, its ſituation became very critical. In theſe circumſtances, a body of Connecticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, avowedly for its protection, and probably alſo to ſupport the preſent diſpoſition of the people. Their ſtrength was not, however, ſufficient to afford an effectual protection; nor, if it had been greater, would it have availed againſt an attack by ſea. The city accordingly applied, through its delegates, to the continental congreſs for inſtructions how to act upon the arrival of the troops. The congreſs adviſed them for the preſent, to act defenſively with reſpect to the troops, ſo far as it could be done conſiſtently with their own ſecurity;—to ſuffer them to occupy their barracks, ſo long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to ſuffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hoſtilities, that they ſhould defend themſelves, and repel force by force. They alſo recommended to them to provide for the worſt that might happen, by ſecuring places of retreat for the women and children; by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a ſufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general. The departure of ſo many helpleſs objects from the places of their habitation, was a very affecting ſpectacle. That once flouriſhing commercial city was now become almoſt a deſart. It was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames. It happened, perhaps happily for New-York, that the troops being more wanted at Boſton, were not landed there.

In the mean time, ſeveral private perſons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Maſſachuſett's, and New-York, undertook at their own riſque, and without any public command or participation, an expedition of the utmoſt importance, and which not only in its conſequences moſt materially affected the intereſt and power of government in the colonies; but had brought the queſtion to the critical nicety of a point, and the deciſion to depend merely upon accident, whether we ſhould have a ſingle poſſeſſion left in North-America. This was the ſurprize of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and other fortreſſes, ſituated upon the great lakes, and command-

ing the paſſes between the Britiſh colonies and Canada. It ſeems that ſome of thoſe who were among the firſt that formed this deſign, and had ſet out with the greateſt privacy in its proſecution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the ſame project; ſo extenſive was that ſpirit of enterprize which theſe unhappy conteſts called into action. Theſe adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, under the command of a Colonel Eaſton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen, with great perſeverance and addreſs, ſurprized the ſmall garriſons of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. Theſe fortreſſes were taken without the loſs of a man on either ſide. They found in the forts a conſiderable artillery, amounting, as they ſaid, to above 200 pieces of cannon, beſides ſome mortars, howits, and quantities of various ſtores, which were to them highly valuable; they alſo took two veſſels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the building and equipping of others.

May 25th. During theſe tranſactions the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boſton from England, together with a conſiderable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to ſupply the vacancies there. Theſe were ſoon followed by ſeveral regiments from Ireland, ſo that the force at Boſton, with reſpect to number, the goodneſs of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become very reſpectable; and it was generally believed, that matters could not continue much longer in their then ſituation.

Nothing remarkable had yet happened ſince the commencement of the blockade, except two ſmall engagements which aroſe from the attempts of either party to carry off the ſtock of ſome of thoſe ſmall iſlands, with which the Bay of Boſton is interſperſed, and which afforded the mixed ſpectacle of ſhips, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both theſe ſkirmiſhes (each of which continued for many hours) the king's troops were foiled, with ſome loſs; and in the laſt, which happened at Hogg and Noddle's-Iſlands, an armed ſchooner being left by the tide, the people, after ſtanding a ſevere fire of ſmall arms, and two pieces of artillery from the ſhore, were at length obliged to abandon her, and ſhe was burnt by the provincials.

Notwithſtanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the moſt active character, the troops continued for ſome time very quiet at Boſton. On the other ſide, it is probable that an attempt would have been made to ſtorm that town, while the people were hot in blood after the affair of Lexington, if a concern for the preſervation of the inhabitants had not prevailed over every other conſideration. It muſt however be allowed, that from the number of veſſels of war, which nearly ſurrounded the peninſula, as well as the vaſt artillery by which it was protected, and the excellency of the troops, that ſuch an attempt muſt have been attended with great difficulty and danger, and that the deſtruction of the town muſt have been laid down as an inevitable conſequence. There were other matters alſo of conſideration. A repulſe to new troops, or the carnage that would even attend

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ſucceſs in ſo arduous a conflict, might have been attended with fatal conſequences; the people were not only new to war, but they were in a new and ſtrange ſtate and ſituation; they were entering into an untried, unthought of, and unnatural conteſt, loaded with the moſt fatal conſequences, without experience to guide, or precedent to direct them; they had not yet in general renounced all hopes of an accommodation, and thoſe who had not, would totally condemn any violence which ſhut them out from ſo deſirable an event; in ſuch a wavering ſtate of hope, fear, and uncertainty, much caution was to be uſed, as any untoward event, might ſuddenly damp the ardour of the people, diſſolve their reſolutions, and ſhake all their confederacies to pieces.

June 8th. In the mean time the continental congreſs reſolved, that the compact between the crown and the people of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, was diſſolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary; and therefore recommended to the people of that province, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of a new government, by electing a governor, aſſiſtants, and houſe of aſſembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter. They paſſed another reſolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents, or contractors, ſhould be received or negociated, or any money ſupplied to them by any perſon; and prohibited the ſupplying of the army, navy, or ſhips employed in the tranſport ſervice, with proviſions or neceſſaries of any kind. They alſo erected a general poſt-office at Philadelphia, which extended through all the united colonies; and ſome time after, placed Dr. Franklin, who had been diſgraced and removed from that office in England, at the head of it. Thus had they, in effect, though only under the name of recommendation and counſel, aſſumed all the powers of a ſupreme government.

About the ſame time June 12th. General Gage iſſued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all thoſe who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their reſpective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of the pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whoſe offences were ſaid to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other conſideration than that of condign puniſhment. All thoſe who did not accept of the proffered mercy, or who ſhould protect, aſſiſt, ſupply, conceal, or correſpond with them, to be treated as rebels and traitors. It alſo declared, that as a ſtop was put to the due courſe of juſtice, martial law ſhould take place till the laws were reſtored to their due efficacy. It is needleſs to obſerve, that this proclamation had as little effect as any of thoſe that preceded it. Hancock was about that time choſen preſident of the continental congreſs.

This proclamation was looked upon as the preliminary to immediate action. Accordingly, from that moment both ſides held themſelves in readineſs for it. The poſt of Charleſtown had hitherto been neglected by both the parties. The provincials thought it neceſſary for them, whether they ſhould chuſe to act on the defenſive or offenſive.

They accordingly made the neceſſary preparations, and ſent a body of men thither at night with the greateſt privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies juſt within the iſthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninſula to the continent. This peninſula is very ſimilar to that on which Boſton ſtands, excepting that the iſthmus is conſiderably wider, and that Bunker's-Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only ſeparated by Charles-River, which in that part is only about the breadth of the Thames between London and Southwark; ſo that Charleſtown ſeemed to hold the ſame connection with Boſton, that the Borough does with that city.

The party that was ſent upon this ſervice, carried on their works with ſuch extraordinary order and ſilence, that though the peninſula was ſurrounded with ſhips of war, they were not heard during the night, and uſed ſuch incredible diſpatch in the execution, that they had a ſmall but ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable entrenchments, and a breaſt-work, that was in ſome parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion by break of day. The ſight of the works, was the firſt notice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a fight, which ſeemed little leſs than a prodigy.

June 17th.

A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ſhips, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boſton. Such a great and inceſſant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmneſs of old ſoldiers, and muſt undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however ſaid, that they bore this ſevere fire with wonderful firmneſs, and ſeemed to go on with their buſineſs as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the ſervice.

About noon, General Gage cauſed a conſiderable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot, to drive the provincials from their works. This detachment conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without oppoſition, under the fire of the ſhips of war. The two generals found the enemy ſo numerous, and in ſuch a poſture of defence, that they thought it neceſſary to ſend back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by ſome companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the firſt battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, as repreſented by General Gage's letter, to ſomething more than 2000 men.

The attack was begun by a moſt ſevere fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very ſlowly towards the enemy, and halted ſeveral times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the provincials into confuſion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, ſituation, or countenance of the enemy, or from all together, the king's forces ſeem to have been unuſually ſtaggered in this

this attack. The provincials threw ſome men into the houſes of Charleſtown, which covered their right flank, by which means, General Pigot, who commanded our left wing, and to whoſe activity, bravery, and firmneſs, much of this day's ſucceſs was owing, was at once engaged with the lines, and with thoſe in the houſes. In this conflict, Charleſtown, whether by carcaſſes thrown from the ſhips, or by the troops, is uncertain, was unfortunately ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burnt to the ground. The provincials ſtood this ſevere and continual fire of ſmall arms and artillery, with a reſolution and perſeverance, which would not have done diſcredit to old troops. They did not return a ſhot, until the king's forces had approached almoſt to the works, when a moſt dreadful fire took place, by which a number of our braveſt men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had ſerved in the moſt diſtinguiſhed actions of the laſt war, declared, that for the time it laſted, it was the hotteſt engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under ſo heavy and deſtructive a fire, our troops were thrown into ſome diſorder. It is ſaid, that General Howe, was for a few ſeconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that moſt of the officers near his perſon, were either killed or wounded. His coolneſs, firmneſs, and preſence of mind on this occaſion cannot be too much applauded. It fully anſwered all the ideas ſo generaly entertained of the courage of his family. It is ſaid, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boſton during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre rallied the troops almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and brought them again to the charge. However that was, their uſual intrepidity now produced its uſual effects; they attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and irreſtible fury, and forced them in every quarter. Though many of the provincials were diſtitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought deſperately within the works, and were not drove from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charleſtown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glaſgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They ſuffered but little loſs from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented ſome regiments who were ordered to ſupport them from fulfilling their duty.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's-Hill, in which we had more men and Officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The whole loſs in killed and wounded, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of theſe, 19 were commiſſioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among thoſe who were more generally regretted upon this occaſion, were Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, and the brave Major Pitcairne of the marines. The majors Williams and Spendlove, the laſt of whom died of his wounds ſome time after the action, had alſo ſealed their lives with ſuch diſtinguiſhed honour, as to render their loſs the more ſenſibly felt. The event ſufficiently ſhewed the bravery of the king's troops. There was

ſcarcely a ſingle officer who had not ſome opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf; the generals and field officers uſed the moſt extraordinary exertions. All theſe circumſtances concur in ſhewing the hard and dangerous ſervice in which they were engaged. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vaſtneſs of the conſequences of which it was productive, was not ſo deſtructive to our officers, as this affair of a retrenchment caſt up in a few hours. It was a matter of grievous reflection, that thoſe brave men, many of whom had nobly contributed their ſhare, when engaged againſt her natural enemies, to extend the military glory of their country into every quarter of the globe, ſhould now have ſuffered ſo ſeverely, in only a prelude to this unhappy civil conteſt.

The fate of Charleſtown was alſo a matter of melancholy contemplation to the ſerious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the firſt ſettlement made in the colony, and was conſidered as the mother of Boſton, that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charleſtown was large, handſome, and well built, both in reſpect to its public and private edifices; it contained about 400 houſes, and had the greateſt trade of any port in the province except Boſton. It is ſaid, that the two ports cleared out a thouſand veſſels annually for a foreign trade, excluſive of an infinite number of coaſters. It is now buried in its ruins. Such is the termination of human labour, induſtry, and wiſdom; and ſuch are the fatal fruits of civil diſſentions.

The king's troops took five pieces of cannon out of ſix, which the provincials brought into the peninſula; and they left about 30 wounded behind them. No other priſoners were taken. Their loſs, according to an account publiſhed by the provincial congreſs, was comparatively ſmall, amounting to about 450 killed, wounded, miſſing, and priſoners. On our ſide they are confident, that the ſlaughter was much more conſiderable; but of this we had no particulars, as the account ſaid, that the provincials buried a great number of their dead during the engagement. This is an extraordinary circumſtance. But the loſs they lamented moſt, was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occaſion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of the lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conſpicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the firſt general, and was at this time preſident of the provincial congreſs; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profeſſion as a phyſician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family ſatisfactions, he ſhewed himſelf equally calculated for the field, as for public buſineſs or private ſtudy, and ſhed his blood gallantly in, what he deemed, the ſervice of his country. They loſt ſome other officers of name, one of whom, a lieutenant-colonel, died of his wounds in the priſon at Boſton.

Both ſides claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having, it was ſaid, beaten three times their own number out of a ſtrongly fortified poſt, and under various other diſadvantages. On the other ſide, they repreſented

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the regulars as amounting to 3000 men, and rated their own number only at 1500; and pretended, that this ſmall body not only withſtood their attack, and repeatedly repulſed them with great loſs, notwithſtanding the powerful artillery they had brought with them, but that they had at the ſame time, and for ſeveral hours before, ſuſtained a moſt intolerable fire, from the ſhips of war, floating batteries, and fixed battery at Boſton, which prevented them from being able in any degree to finiſh their works. What their exact number was cannot be eaſily known. It was not probably ſo large as it was made in the Gazette account; nor ſo ſmall as in that given by the Americans. However, the provincials were by no means diſpirited by the event of this engagement. They had ſhewn a great degree of activity and ſkill in the conſtruction of their works; and of conſtancy, in maintaining them under many diſadvantages. They ſaid, that though they had loſt a poſt, they had almoſt all the effects of the moſt compleat victory; as they entirely put a ſtop to the offenſive operations of a large army ſent to ſubdue them; and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town. They now exulted, that their actions had thoroughly refuted thoſe aſperſions which had been thrown upon them in England, of a deficiency in ſpirit and reſolution.

From this time, the troops kept poſſeſſion of the peninſula, and fortified Bunker's-Hill and the entrance; ſo that the force at Boſton was now divided into two diſtinct parts, and had two garriſons to maintain. In one ſenſe, this was uſeful to the troops, as it enlarged their quarters; they having been before much incommoded by the ſtreightneſs in which they were confined in Boſton, during the exceſſive heats that always prevail there at that ſeaſon of the year; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Their ſituation was irkſome and degrading. They were ſurrounded and inſulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to deſpiſe. They were cut off from freſh proviſions, and all thoſe refreſhments of which they ſtood in the greateſt need, and which the neighbouring countries afforded in the greateſt plenty. Thus their wants were continual and aggravating remembrancers of the circumſtances of their ſituation. Bad and ſalt proviſions, with confinement and the heat of the climate, naturally filled the hoſpitals; and the number of ſick and wounded was now ſaid to amount to 1600. Under theſe circumſtances it was rather wonderful that the number was not greater. But few in compariſon died.

The provincials, after the action at Bunker's-Hill, immediately threw up works upon another hill oppoſite to it on their ſide of Charleſtown neck; ſo that the troops were as cloſely inveſted in that peninſula as they had been in Boſton. They were alſo indefatigable in ſecuring the moſt expoſed poſts of their lines with ſtrong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works cloſe to the fortifications on Boſton neck; where, with equal boldneſs and addreſs, they burnt an advanced guard houſe belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furniſhed with all manner of military ſtores and artillery, they were not

not ſparing in throwing ſhells, and ſupporting a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials, which had little other effect than to inure them to that ſort of ſervice, and to wear off the dread of thoſe noiſy meſſengers of fate. On the other ſide, they ſeem to have been cautious in expending their powder.

A regiment of light cavalry which arrived at Boſton from Ireland, and which were never able to ſet foot beyond that garriſon, ſerved only to create new wants, and to increaſe the incommodities of the people, as well as of the army. The hay which grew upon the iſlands in the bay, became now an object of neceſſary attention, as well as the ſheep and cattle which they contained; but the provincials having procured a number of whaling-boats, and being maſters of the ſhore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithſtanding the vigilance and number of the ſhips of war and armed veſſels, too ſucceſsful in burning, deſtroying, or carrying away, thoſe eſſential articles of ſupply. Theſe enterprizes brought on ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and they grew at length ſo daring, that they burnt the light-houſe, which was ſituated on an iſland at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and ſome carpenters being afterwards ſent, under the protection of a ſmall party of marines, to erect a temporary light-houſe, they killed or carried off the whole detachment.

During theſe tranſactions a kind of predatory war commenced, and has ſince continued, between the ſhips of war, and the inhabitants on different parts of the coaſts. The former, being refuſed the ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries which they wanted for themſelves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in theſe attempts were frequently oppoſed, and ſometimes repulſed with loſs by the country people. The ſeizing of ſhips in conformity to the new laws, or to the commands of the admiral, was alſo a continual ſource of animoſity and violence, the proprietors naturally hazarding all dangers in the defence, or for the recovery of their property. Theſe conteſts drew the vengeance of the men of war upon ſeveral of the ſmall towns upon the ſea coaſts, ſome of which underwent a ſevere chaſtiſement.

The pernicious conſequences of the late Quebec-act, with reſpect to the very purpoſes for which it was framed, were now diſplayed in a degree, which its moſt ſanguine opponents could ſcarcely have expected. Inſtead of gaining the French Canadians to the intereſt of government by that law, the great body of the inhabitants were found as adverſe to it, and as much diſguſted at its operation, as even the Britiſh ſettlers. General Carleton, the governor of that province, who had placed much confidence in the raiſing of a conſiderable army of Canadians, and being enabled to march at their head to the relief of General Gage, (a matter which was ſo much relied upon at home, that 20,000 ſtands of arms, and a great quantity of other military ſtores had been ſent out for that purpoſe) found himſelf now totally diſappointed. The people ſaid that they were now under the Britiſh government; that they could not pretend to underſtand the cauſes of the preſent diſputes, nor the juſtice of

of the claims on either ſide; that they did, and would ſhew themſelves dutiful ſubjects, by a quiet and peaceable demeanor, and due obedience to the government under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconſiſtent with their ſtate and condition, to interfere, or in any degree to render themſelves parties, in the conteſts that might ariſe between that government and its ancient ſubjects. It was in vain that the governor iſſued a proclamation for aſſembling the militia, and for the execution of martial law; they ſaid they would defend the province if it was attacked; but they abſolutely refuſed to march out of it, or to commence hoſtilities with their neighbours. The governor, as the laſt reſort, applied to the Biſhop of Quebec, to uſe his ſpiritual influence and authority with the people towards diſpoſing them to the adoption of this favourite meaſure, and particularly that he would iſſue an epiſcopal mandate for that purpoſe, to be read by the pariſh prieſts in the time of divine ſervice; but the biſhop excuſed himſelf from a compliance with this propoſition, by repreſenting, that an epiſcopal mandate on ſuch a ſubject, would be contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic church. The eccleſiaſtics, in the place of this, iſſued other letters, which were however pretty generally diſregarded. The nobleſſe alone, who were chiefly conſidered in the Quebec-act, ſhewed a zeal againſt the Engliſh coloniſts. But, ſeparated as they were from the great body of the people, they exhibited no formidable degree of ſtrength.

Other endeavours which were uſed to involve the colonies in domeſtic troubles proved equally abortive. Conſiderable pains were taken, by the means of ſeveral agents who had influence on them, to engage thoſe numerous tribes of Indians that ſtretch along the backs of the colonies, to cauſe a diverſion, by attacking them in thoſe weak and tender parts. But neither preſents, nor perſuaſions, were capable of producing the deſired effect. From whatever chance or fortune it proceeded, thoſe ſavage warriors, who had at other times been ſo ready to take up the hatchet without ſupport or encouragement, now turned a deaf ear to all propoſals of that nature, and declared for a neutrality. They uſed much the ſame reaſons for this conduct that the Canadians had done; they did not underſtand the ſubject; were very ſorry for the preſent unfortunate diſputes; but it was not fit nor becoming for them, to take any part in quarrels between Engliſhmen, for all of whom, on both ſides of the water, they had the higheſt affection. This was an object of too much importance to be overlooked by the congreſs. They accordingly employed proper perſons to cultivate favourable diſpoſitions in the Indians; and by degrees took ſuch meaſures as obliged the agents for government to provide for their own ſafety. It is ſaid, that ſome of the Indians made propoſals to take up arms on their ſide; but that they were only requeſted to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality.

General Gage's late proclamation increaſed the animoſity, indignation, and rage, which were already ſo generally prevalent, and brought out a declaration from the general congreſs, July 6th. which, in the nature of thoſe general appeals

appeals that are made to mankind, as well as to heaven, in a declaration of war, ſet forth the cauſes and neceſſity of their taking up arms. Among the long liſt of thoſe ſuppoſed cauſes, beſides the late hoſtilities, they ſtate the endeavours uſed to inſtigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them, and ſeverely reproach General Gage, for, what they call, perfidy, cruelty, and breach of faith, in breaking the conditions which he had entered into with the inhabitants of Boſton; they are not leſs free in their cenſure of the army, whom they charge with the burning of Charleſtown, wantonly and unneceſſarily.

In ſtating their reſources, they reckon upon foreign aſſiſtance as undoubtedly attainable, if neceſſary. They, however, afterwards ſay, that, leſt this declaration ſhould diſquiet the minds of their friends and fellow-ſubjects in any part of the empire, they aſſure them, that they mean not to diſſolve that union which has ſo long and happily ſubſiſted between them, and which they ſincerely wiſh to ſee reſtored; that neceſſity has not yet driven them to that deſperate meaſure, or induced them to excite any other nation to war againſt them; they have not raiſed armies with ambitious deſigns of ſeparating from Great-Britain, and eſtabliſhing independent ſtates; they fight not for glory or for conqueſt.—This declaration was read with great, ſerious, and even religious ſolemnity, to the different bodies of the army who were encamped around Boſton, and was received by them with loud acclamations of approbation.

This declaration was followed by an addreſs to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the king. All theſe writings were drawn up in a very maſterly manner; and are, in reſpect to art, addreſs, and execution, equal to any public declarations made by any powers upon the greateſt occaſions.

The congreſs had in their declaration, without naming it, reprobated the principles of Lord North's conciliatory propoſition, which they call an inſidious manœuvre adopted by parliament. They, however, afterwards took the reſolution more formally into conſideration. It had been communicated to them by direction, or at leaſt permiſſion from that miniſter, in the hand-writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the two principal ſecretaries of the treaſury. In the courſe of a long and argumentative diſcuſſion, they condemn it, as unreaſonable and inſidious; that it is unreaſonable, becauſe, if they declare they will accede to it, they declare, without reſervation, that they will purchaſe the favour of parliament, not knowing at the ſame time at what price they will pleaſe to eſtimate their favour; that it is inſidious, becauſe individual colonies, having bid, and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the ſeller too great for all their powers to ſatisfy, are then to return into oppoſition, divided from their ſiſter colonies, whom the miniſter will have previouſly detached by a grant of eaſier terms, or by an artful procraſtination of a definitive anſwer. They conclude upon the whole, that the propoſition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in diſpute but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that parliament having

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now been ſo good as to give up that, the colonies muſt be unreaſonable in the higheſt degree if they were not perfectly ſatisfied.

The colony of Georgia at length joined in the general alliance. A provincial congreſs having aſſembled in the beginning of the month of July, they ſpeedily agreed to all the reſolutions of the two general congreſſes in their utmoſt extent, and appointed five delegates to attend the preſent. As it were to make amends for the delay, they at once entered into all the ſpirit of the reſolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted ſimilar; and declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppreſſive acts lately paſſed againſt America, they conſidered that circumſtance as an inſult rather than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They alſo addreſſed a petition, under the title of an humble addreſs and repreſentation, to his majeſty; which, however threadbare the ſubject had already been worn, was not deficient in a certain freſhneſs of colouring, which gave it the appearance of novelty. From this acceſſion to the confederacy, they henceforward aſſumed the appellation of the *Thirteen United Colonies*.

In the mean time the general congreſs, in compliance with the wiſhes of the people in general, and the particular application of the New-England provinces, appointed George Waſhington, Eſq; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and who had acquired conſiderable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the laſt war, to be general and commander in chief of all the American forces. They alſo appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, Eſqrs. to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, Eſq; adjutant-general. Of theſe general officers, Lee and Gates were Engliſh gentlemen, who had acquired honour in the laſt war; and who from diſguſt or principle now joined the Americans. Ward and Putnam were of Maſſachuſet's-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York. The congreſs alſo fixed and aſſigned the pay of both officers and ſoldiers; the latter of whom were much better provided for than thoſe upon our eſtabliſhment.

The Generals Waſhington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boſton in the beginning of July. They were treated with the higheſt honours in every place through which they paſſed; were eſcorted by large detachments of volunteers, compoſed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and received public addreſſes from the provincial congreſſes of New-York and Maſſachuſett's-Bay. The military ſpirit was now ſo high and ſo general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and the minds of all orders of people throughout the continent. Perſons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered chearfully as private men, and ſerved with alacrity in the ranks. Even many of the younger quakers forgot their paſſive principles of forbearance and non-reſiſtance, and taking up arms, formed themſelves into companies at Philadelphia, and applied with the greateſt labour and aſſiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exerciſes and diſcipline. It was ſaid, (but no computation of that

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ſort can be aſcertained) that no leſs than 200,000 men were in arms and training throughout the continent.

The blockade of Boſton, was continued with little variety, throughout the year, and during a conſiderable part of the enſuing. The troops, as well as the remaining inhabitants, ſuffered much from fevers, fluxes, and the ſcurvy, which were brought on through confinement, heat of weather, and badneſs of proviſions. Other matters which originated in this ſeaſon, particularly the proceedings on the ſide of Canada, being extended in their principal conſequences into the enſuing year, will with more propriety find a place in its hiſtory.

CHAP. IX.

Spain. Preparations againſt Algiers. Siege of Melille raiſed. Spaniſh armament effect a landing near Algiers; engagement with the Moors; Spaniards repulſed, and obliged to retire to their ſhips. War continued with Morocco. Italy. Cardinal Braſchi elected Pope. Character and conduct of the new pontiff. Inquiſition aboliſhed in Milan. Scarcity of corn, and diſtreſſes of the people in France; great diſturbances; coronation at Rheims. Inſurrection and devaſtations of the peaſants in Bohemia. Grand commiſſion appointed. Edict from the court of Vienna in favour of the peaſants, puts an end to the troubles. Poland. Treaty of commerce with the King of Pruſſia. Regulations in favour of the Diſſidents. Ruſſia. Execution of Pugatſcheff. Taxes laid on for the ſupport of the late war taken off. Various other regulations for the benefit of the people. Trade on the black ſea. Turky. Death of Mehemet Aboudaab. Death of the Chick Daher. Siege of Baſſora.

EUROPE has not for a long time, been ſo deſtitute of matter for political ſpeculation, as in the year of which we treat. The keeping up of vaſt ſtanding armies, and an avidity for increaſing them equal to what the moſt immediate danger could excite, are now become ſo common, as neither to produce ſurprize or apprehenſion. Reviews, encampments, with the continual marching and manœuvring of troops, are grown equally familiar; they are conſidered as common occurrences, and paſſed over without notice or obſervation. The ſmall princes find other amuſements to call off their attention from military and political affairs; matters in which, in the preſent ſtate of a few overgrown powers, they are indeed but little concerned. The great powers are ſo nearly poized, as neither wantonly to ſeek, nor much to dread a rupture. Thus a general diſtribution of ſtrength is capable of producing the ſame effects, which a general imbecility has often done. Europe, however, has the ſeeds of contention at all times plentifully lodged in her boſom, and her fertile ſoil, in a favourable ſeaſon, makes them ſhoot with wonderful luxuriance. A ſmall change in the circumſtances of any of the leading parties, would ſoon involve the reſt in its conſequences, and might, without the concurrence of

of any improbable, or even very extraordinary events, give a new face to the preſent political ſyſtem.

It was reſerved for the Spaniſh monarch, to attract this year the general attention. The vaſt preparations he made for chaſtizing the ſtates of Barbary, ſeemed ſo much beyond their object, that the tribe of politicians, who are generally apt to refine upon the ſimpleſt things, and to ſuſpect ſome myſtery in the moſt obvious, predicted danger to more than one of his neighbours. Indeed theſe preparations were ſo mighty, that they might well alarm any of thoſe who ſuppoſed themſelves liable to be their object; and it is not improbable that ſome apprehenſions were raiſed, which were only removed when their ultimate deſtination was aſcertained by the event.

The ſtate of Algiers, however, expected and prepared for this attack. Their preſent Dey is a man of ability; and has taken certain meaſures which render it ſuſpected, that he has formed a deſign of perpetuating that government in his family. He left nothing undone to render the place ſecure; and procured ſome Chriſtian engineers to conſtruct new batteries, and ſtrengthen the old works. Though the fortifications are conſiderable, and covered by an enormous artillery, an enemy has ſtill greater obſtacles to encounter in the nature of the climate, and of the adjoining country; the heat of the weather, with the ſcarcity of water, and the lightneſs and ſandineſs of the ſoil, rendering the ſubſiſtence and operations of an army extremely difficult. To theſe obſtructions may be added a ſtill greater in the dangerous nature of a moſt turbulent ſea, and of an open inhoſpitable coaſt, which for a long extent affords no ſhelter to the fleet, which muſt indiſpenſibly cover and ſupport an army in ſuch an enterprize. The Algerines are not, however, deſtitute of a bold and daring militia; but have a ſtill much greater reſource, in the courage and numbers of the native moors, and numerous tribes of Arabs, who overſpread their extenſive territories; and who, however they may ſtand affected to the ſtate of Algiers, are always ready, from the mortal averſion they bear the Spaniards, to engage in any oppoſition or enterprize againſt them.

The former have at all times been peculiarly unfortunate in their attempts upon Africa. It would ſeem as if Providence intended, upon thoſe occaſions, to puniſh them, for the cruelty and injuſtice which they practiſed upon the Moors in Spain. The fatal expedition of Charles the Vth to Algiers, in which he loſt the fineſt army, and ruined the moſt powerful navy then in Europe, is well known. Neither have the attempts of other European powers upon that city been attended with much honour or advantage. Theſe circumſtances, however, were not ſufficient to deter the preſent king of Spain, from going to an immenſe expence, and fitting out a prodigious armament by ſea and land for the deſtruction of that piratical city and ſtate.

The ſiege of Melille, was unſucceſsfully continued by the Emperor of Morocco till the middle of March, and then diſgracefully abandoned; his troops being ſo much diſpirited by their continual loſſes, and the bravery and perſeverance of

of the garriſon, that he did not venture to make uſe of the ſcaling ladders, and other materials which he had prepared for a general aſſault. His attempts upon Penon de Velez were equally fruitleſs. In a word, no prince ever entered into a war more wantonly, or conducted it more ſhamefully. Yet in theſe circumſtances, and under the terrors of a Spaniſh invaſion, he refuſed all propoſals of accommodation with the Dutch; with whom he perſiſted in carrying on a war, which was as ill-founded, and as ineffectually ſupported as the former. So wild and unaccountable are the politics of ignorant and deſpotic princes.

In the mean time, all Spain ſeemed to be in motion. The ports were all crowded and in action; tranſports of all nations collected; great bodies of troops arriving every day in the borders of the Mediterranean; and every kind of military machine for defence or deſtruction, were plentifully ſtored on board the different fleets at Carthagena, Cadiz, and Barcelona. The tranſports were ballaſted with bricks, which evidenced an intention of conſtructing fortifications and works; and a number of carpenters, ſmiths, bricklayers, and artificers neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe, were accordingly ſhipped.

The whole force aſſembled at length at Carthagena, and is ſaid to have conſiſted of 7 ſail of the line, of 74 guns each; 8 of 40 guns; 32 frigates from 20 to 36 guns; and about 20 ſmaller armed veſſels of different conſtructions; with 400 tranſports, and 19,000 ſeamen and marines. On board this navy was an infantry of 22,000 men, and 4000 cavalry, all compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments and beſt troops in Spain, with a prodigious artillery, ſaid to amount in the whole, for the field and for battery, to 400 pieces, and 2000 men belonging to the train. This formidable force was provided with ſuch immenſe quantities of ſtores, proviſions, and neceſſaries, as ſeemed calculated for the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of a great and numerous colony. Several men of war were alſo equipped and in readineſs in different ports, to ſupport this armament in any emergency. The marine was commanded by Don Pedro Caſtejon, and the land forces by Count O'Reily, who had for ſome time ſtood very high in eſtimation in the Spaniſh ſervice. Such a force, in its modern ſtate of barbariſm and imbecility, ſeemed ſufficient to overwhelm all Africa.

The fleet being detained near a month by contrary winds, did not arrive in the bay of Algiers till the beginning of July, where the commanders found every appearance of a reſolute and vigorous defence. They ſeem to have been undetermined for ſome time, in what manner to effect a debarkation; at length, a part of the fleet was employed to divert the attention of the enemy by a falſe attack upon ſome forts near the town, while the remainder were drawn off to cover the troops in their landing. The ſhips that attacked the forts ſeem to have conducted their buſineſs very badly, and ſuffered accordingly; but more through miſconduct, than any deſign of approaching too cloſely to the enemy. In the mean time, the firſt debarkation of the troops was ſucceſsfully effected; about 8000 men being landed by 4 o'clock in the morning, and the remainder following with great

great expedition. The falſe attacks had not deceived the Algerines, and the Spaniards found all the neighbouring hills covered with great bodies of Moors, who, though not drawn up in much military order, ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs to engage them.

The general's intention was to take poſſeſſion of a hill which commanded the landing-place, and immediately to throw up ſuch works as would have rendered it a ſecure place of arms. By this means a ſafe communication would have been eſtabliſhed with the fleet, their artillery would have kept the enemy at a proper diſtance, and the preparations for the ſiege would have been conducted with due leiſure, and the arrangements accordingly properly laid. To inſure ſucceſs to his deſign, the general had ordered the troops of the firſt diviſion to form immediately upon the beach, and ſtrictly forbid their advancing upon the enemy until the ſecond debarkation was effected, and the whole army ſupported by its artillery, drawn up in order of battle. This ſcheme, however well laid, was overthrown by that inherent averſion which ſubſiſts between the Spaniards and Moors; an averſion in its effects that ſeems to equal that natural antipathy, which is ſuppoſed to render certain animals incapable of enduring each other's ſight, without inſtantaneous efforts of mutual deſtruction.

The firſt diviſion, with a temerity and contempt of command that diſgraced all diſcipline, and in which the commanders were equally culpable, and much more to be condemned than the ſoldiers, quitted the ſecurity which their ſtation under the guns of the fleet afforded, and diſdaining to wait for their fellows, ruſhed on to the attack, and found themſelves in a few minutes moſt deſperately engaged with the Moors, who equally eager for the encounter, gave them a reception which they little expected. The conſequences of this unfortunate act could not be retrieved. The ſucceeding troops, as faſt as they landed, ran of neceſſity to the ſuccour of their friends; who they ſaw overborne, by the ſuperior numbers and deſperate courage of the enemy; and were themſelves ſoon involved in ſimilar circumſtances, and equally in want of ſupport. The engagement laſted with the greateſt fury on both ſides for 13 hours, when the Spaniards were at length obliged to retire with great loſs under the cover of their ſhips; and notwithſtanding the exceſſive fatigues they had undergone in the courſe of the day, found it neceſſary to take the immediate advantage of the night for a re-embarkation.

It muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing, according to the ideas which we generally form of the nature, diſcipline, and arms of Mooriſh troops, that almoſt any ſuperiority in number which we can well ſuppoſe, ſhould enable them for ſo long a time to withſtand and repel the aſſaults of ſo regular, powerful, and well-appointed a force; for though the Spaniards, through their raſhneſs and intemperance, gave up ſome of thoſe advantages which they derived from military ſkill, arms, and diſcipline, they ſtill retained ſo many others, as, it would ſeem, might have more than counterballanced that difference. It is reported, that the national pride was much wounded, and jealouſy excited,

cited, by the appointment of a foreigner to the ſupreme command, in an expedition of ſuch importance, and from which ſo much glory was expected; and that they particularly thought, as the conteſt was purely Spaniſh, and a point of rivalſhip with their hereditary enemies, Spaniards alone ſhould bear the palm of victory. The ſame accounts ſay, that the general met with a violent oppoſition in the final council of war, and that his opponents there were among the foremoſt of thoſe, who by their raſhneſs and diſobedience counteracted his deſigns.

Upon a medium of the Spaniſh accounts, (which are extremely defective) their loſs appears to have been from ſix to 800 ſlain, and about 2000 wounded. Some foreign accounts ſtate the loſs at double that number, which, conſidering the length of the engagement, the fury of the combatants, and the number of officers of rank who were killed or wounded, does not appear improbable. Theſe accounts recite many other particulars, on the veracity of which we have no authority to decide. They repreſent, that the Spaniards had landed their proviſions, and many of their other ſtores, the loſs of which occaſioned the ſudden and unexpected return of the fleet and army, without attempting any further ſervice; this meaſure might however have been juſtified by the great number of ſick and wounded, without recurring to any other cauſe. They likewiſe ſay, that the Spaniſh marine behaved very badly; that their dread of falling by any accident into the hands of the Moors, had ſo powerful an operation, as to render them too cautious in approaching the ſhore, and that all the eſſential ſervice in that reſpect had been performed by two Malteſe men of war, who behaved with their uſual bravery. As the character of the Spaniards has ever been clear in the point of valour, this account muſt be received with caution and limitation. However theſe matters may be, this expedition muſt be ranked amongſt the moſt diſgraceful in its event, as well as the moſt formidable in its preparations, of any in the preſent age.

The clamours of the people, in which they were ſupported by ſome of the great families, were outrageous againſt the general. They were deſirous of offering him as a ſacrifice to the national honour, and to the manes of their deceaſed friends. This is the uſual ebullition of national vanity, which will ever ſeek ſome foreign object of reſentment, on which, if poſſible, to heap its own diſgrace. The king, on the contrary, did not ſeem at all diſſatisfied with the conduct of the general. He, however, complied ſo far with the opinions or prejudices of the people, as to remove him from the military department, and to afford him a very honourable retirement, in the important government of the province of Andaluſia.

Other expeditions were threatened, and a continued, and expenſive courſe of preparation was carried on during the year, which, as nothing was undertaken, cannot well be accounted for. The emperor of Morocco was ſo much alarmed by the late preparations, and diſpirited by his ill ſucceſs, that he ſolicited for peace with great earneſtneſs; and at length obtained leave to ſend a miniſter for that purpoſe to Madrid.

drid. The Spaniſh court was very haughty in its demands, and inſiſted, beſides other conditions, on the payment of four millions of dollars, for the expences of the war, the ceſſion of a conſiderable territory round each of the Spaniſh fortreſſes in Africa; and that he ſhould alſo cede to Spain the port of Tetuan, and the iſland of Mogador. This affair was in agitation at the time of the failure of the late expedition; an event, which poſſibly had ſome influence in directing the emperor's anſwer; though it is alſo probable, that a compliance with the payment of the great ſum of money demanded, was much beyond his ability; and the ceſſion of Tetuan and Mogador could only be expected, if a Spaniſh army was advancing to his capital. However it was, he totally rejected the propoſed conditions. The war has been ſince confined to ſeveral ſevere engagements between the Barbary cruizers and the Spaniſh ſhips of war, in which the former always fought with great obſtinacy, and were generally great ſufferers.

The intrigues of the conclave were at length terminated by the election of a ſovereign pontiff; who owed his elevation more to the colluſion, artifices, and refinement in fineſſe of the different parties, than to any weight of his own, or intention of theirs. The zealots are ſaid to have carried the point by a fortunate ſtroke, and the exact timing of a critical opportunity; and the event is ſaid, in the public papers, but we are not clear upon what authority, to have been ſo unexpected, that, without any particular exception to the object of choice, the aſtoniſhment of the people prevented their ſhewing the uſual marks of joy upon the publication of the election.

Feb. 14th.

John Angelo Braſchi, the preſent pope, and who, upon his election to the pontifical chair, aſſumed the name of Pius the VIth, was born at Ceſena, near Ravenna, in the Romagna, on the 27th of December, 1717. He is of one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families in that province, and is ſaid to have a fine perſon, with a great ſhare of ſenſe, vivacity, and knowledge. He was greatly eſteemed by Benedict the XIVth, who employed him in tranſacting many affairs of importance, upon which occaſions he was always diſtinguiſhed by his diſintereſtedneſs, zeal, and ability. He was likewiſe in favour with the late pope, from whom in 1773 he obtained a cardinal's hat, and was ſoon after appointed treaſurer of the apoſtolic chamber. Though poſſeſſed of only a moderate fortune, he is ſaid to have managed it in ſuch a manner, as to have given frequent and undoubted proofs, both of the generoſity of his heart, and the magnificence of his diſpoſition. In a word, if he really poſſeſſes the qualities which are aſcribed to him, the electors could not, perhaps, have better diſpoſed of their ſuffrages.

He eaſily found means, in the opening of his government, to acquire that popularity which ſeemed wanting at his acceſſion. Among other meaſures for this purpoſe, he conſiderably lowered the price of butchers meat, and privately reimburſed the butchers the loſs which they ſuſtained. Such little ſtratagems, however trifling they appear, are equally laudable and neceſſary

to gain the affections of a people. By what hitherto appears of it, his reign promiſes to be proſperous, and his government ſuch as will render his people happy. He ſeems liberal in diſpoſition and manners, eaſy of acceſs, unconnected with parties, and ſo totally free from bigotry, as to appear even a friend to toleration. We are however aware of the common error, of expecting too much from the virtues of new princes.

The new pontiff iſſued an ordinance for the better regulation of the clergy in Rome, by which they are forbidden, under the moſt rigorous penalties, from appearing in the habits of the laity, from entering coffee or gaming-houſes, from walking in the evenings with the other ſex, and from entertaining any female domeſtics under 40 years of age. He alſo cauſed a ſtrict ſcrutiny to be made into the report which had been induſtriouſly raiſed of the late pope's being diſpatched by poiſon; by which it appeared, from incontrovertible evidence, that the whole was a falſehood, which owed its birth and circulation, as it is ſaid, to the malice of F. Martinelli, conſultor of the holy office, and ſome other minor conventual friars of the order of St. Francis.

Italy has afforded little other matter of attention. A new law has been paſſed in the Grand Dutchy of Tuſcany, which regulates the age, terms, and manner of admiſſion, of perſons of either ſex into the monaſtic orders. This law lays ſuch wholeſome reſtrictions with reſpect to age, public examination, and many other particulars, obliges ſuch a length of time to be taken in the deliberation, and affords ſo unbounded a liberty to the agent in the determination, as will effectually cure the crying evils that aroſe from the unnatural violence and intereſted views of parents and relations, in compelling or circumventing thoſe under their care, to embrace a mode of life for which they were not ordained by nature. It will alſo in its conſequences, by degrees, wear away and reduce to nothing thoſe religious orders; a meaſure which now ſeems to be a primary object with almoſt all the Roman Catholic ſovereigns in Europe.

The regency of Milan has given a late inſtance of that general diſpoſition to reduce the powers of the church, by aboliſhing for ever the tribunal of the inquiſition in that dutchy, and appropriating its eſtates to the ſupport of an hoſpital for orphans. The republic of Venice alſo ſtill continues inflexible in its oppoſition to the claims of the court of Rome; and the king of Naples has ordered the biſhops, under heavy penalties, to fill up the vacancies of thoſe numerous benefices in his dominions, which had hitherto been conſidered as the property, and were in the ſole gift of the holy ſee. The marriage between the prince of Piedmont and the princeſs Clotilda of France, can ſcarcely be conſidered as an object of political attention, the ties of affinity between the two families having been already ſo cloſely drawn, as to require no additional cement of union.

The diſtreſſes of the people, owing to the ſcarcity and dearneſs of corn in France, threw that kingdom into an uncommon ſtate of diſturbance and commotion during a great part of the ſpring and ſummer.

mer. It ſeems probable, that other cauſes or motives than thoſe ariſing merely from the dearth, combined to aggravate thoſe diſorders. Parties have grown to a great height in that kingdom ſince the acceſſion of the preſent monarch, and are ſaid not only to pervade the innermoſt neceſſes of the palace, but to extend their influence to the provinces. The conduct of the rioters, in many inſtances, would indicate, that they had been influenced in thoſe caſes by other motives than want. The elevation of Monſ. Turgot to the chief direction of the finances had, as it is ſaid, given great offence to the powerful body of the farmers general. With theſe, certain political combinations choſe to act on this occaſion. Turgot appears to be a perſon of the greateſt probity, and of very enlarged notions in matters of trade and political œconomy. He had done a great deal towards freeing the commerce of grain from many injudicious reſtrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation. This ſcarcity happening to coincide with the time of his regulations, was factiouſly attributed to them; and it is not improbable, that every proper precaution on the introduction of ſo new and critical a meaſure was not taken.

It is certain, that the diſtreſſes of the people were not only great, but in many caſes intolerable. Bread, in ſeveral places, could not be procured for money; and the beggars are ſaid to have refuſed the latter, whilſt they rent the air with cries for the former; ſo that gold was no longer a ſecurity againſt want. This diſtreſs was the more irremediable, as other nations were not abundantly ſupplied. The ſcarcity of corn in England not only cut off that reſource, but diverted a ſtill greater, by the immenſe quantities which it drew from the American colonies. Mankind will bear the extreme of want with wonderful patience, while they ſuppoſe it to ariſe from a natural and inevitable neceſſity; but if they imagine it to proceed from any fault in their rulers, or think that relief is attainable if proper means were purſued for the purpoſe, however broken down they may be by the harſhneſs of government, or the weight of laws, they will take fire at an inſtant, and no bounds can be preſcribed to their violence.

Such was the caſe in France. The idea of hoarding and monopoly, of a combination of the rich to grind the faces of the poor, and even to ſuck the laſt remains of their vital blood, was every where ſpread. The people aſſembled in different parts of the kingdom, and were guilty of the greateſt outrages. In the commiſſion of theſe violences they counteracted, as uſual, their avowed intention, and by deſtroying vaſt quantities of corn and flour, cut off the ſources of that relief which was their apparent object. They alſo further increaſed the diſtreſſes of the people, by deterring the proprietors of proviſions from venturing to bring them to market. In general, vengeance and deſtruction, not pillage, were their object. What appears very ſurpriſing, and ſeemed as if ſome, at leaſt, of theſe riots had been excited only to diſtreſs government, was, that in ſeveral places, they left money to pay for the miſchiefs they had done.

The insurrection at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, was attended with more fatal consequences than any other we have heard of. The inhabitants of that city, finding that the market was not supplied with corn sufficient for their sustenance, assembled in a considerable body on Easter Tuesday, and marched to a neighbouring farmer's, who had a large stock of corn on hand, which he refused to sell under a very advanced price. His house they burnt, and destroyed every thing about it; after that exploit, they sacked the house of the intendant, who thought himself very fortunate in escaping from their fury. The army being at length brought to quell the riot, seized upon a considerable number of the ringleaders, which so exasperated the people, that a terrible fray ensued, in which, it is said, that 500 persons were killed or wounded.

In the mean time, no means were left untried by the government, either to quell these disturbances, or to alleviate their cause. Troops were stationed to protect the markets, and the roads and rivers by which they were supplied; great companies of the burghers were armed in different places for the same purpose. Some examples were made, and in a few instances, where extraordinary acts of outrage had been committed, summary justice was executed without any form of trial, by hanging the offenders on the spot. These instances were however rare, and the punishments of any sort not numerous. The king granted a considerable bounty on the importation of corn, and obtained a particular permission from the states of the Austrian Netherlands for the exportation of that commodity to France, contrary to a general prohibition which they had previously issued. The public disorders, notwithstanding all these measures, increased to so alarming a degree, as at length to excite apprehensions of a general insurrection, and to make it appear necessary to call in the troops from the frontiers to the centre of the kingdom; so that the isle of France, with some others of the interior provinces, were in a manner surrounded and intersected with lines of armed men. It was reported, that persons of high rank, and of all conditions, both clergy and laity, had a share in those disturbances, and some were sent to the Bastile upon suspicion; but a critical enquiry into these matters was wisely avoided. The king proclaimed a general pardon to all those who would return peaceably to their respective homes, except the ringleaders; though this proclamation appeared ambiguous, and the distinction dangerous, yet as it was soon found that no farther enquiry was made or intended, all apprehension ceased. Whatever was the nature, or secret cause of these tumults, incendiary letters were still written, and threats used to burn the standing corn. It at length pleased Providence, that a most plentiful harvest removed the distresses of the people both in France and most other parts of Europe. The government acted with great prudence and moderation through the whole of this troublesome affair.

The pageantry and splendor of the coronation at Rheims, perhaps, contributed June 11th.

buted to allay the ferment in the minds of the people. Notwithſtanding the ſchemes of œconomy that had been adopted, and Mr. Turgot's abilities in finance, the court ſtill continued poor, and was under a neceſſity of anticipating the growing revenues, ſo that a free gift of 20 millions of livres, which was granted by the aſſembly of the clergy, was a very acceptable douceur. This aſſembly continued their ſittings longer than uſual, and it was much hoped that ſome favourable conceſſions in regard to the proteſtants, particularly in reſpect to their marriages, would have been obtained from them. This ſubject indeed occupied much of their time, and as it is a matter which the court and nation in general ſeem of late to be much intereſted in, great expectations were accordingly formed. It, however, requires time, and even a familiarity of thinking on the ſubject, to wear away antient prejudices; and the aſſembly, after much debate upon it, broke up without coming to any concluſion.

The inſurrection and devaſtations of the peaſants in Bohemia and Moravia, have this year diſturbed the repoſe of the court of Vienna, and been productive of much miſchief in thoſe countries. It would ſeem as if there were certain ſeaſons, in which great bodies of mankind are particularly diſpoſed to oppoſe and reſent thoſe oppreſſions and injuries, which for a long ſeries of time they had endured with patience, or which at moſt produced no other effect than ſilent grudge or private murmur. The ſtate of the peaſants, in that kingdom, has at all times been extremely ſervile and miſerable, and the oppreſſions of their lords nearly inſupportable. Yet, except when religious diſputes were the primary object, and civil liberty accidentally included, we do not know of any attempts they had hitherto made to better their condition. On the contrary, they entirely overlooked the favourable opportunities which were preſented by ſome late wars, of profiting by the ſituation of public affairs.

The inſurrection this year did not appear to have been a ſudden and tumultuary proceeding, ariſing from any of thoſe immediate and glaring acts of violence or cruelty, which will ſometimes catch the paſſions of a whole people, and excite them even to madneſs. It ſeemed rather the reſult of a cool and ſerious reflection, long brooding over its injuries, and ſeeking revenge, in a certain degree, as well as redreſs; it alſo carried marks of concert and deſign, which ſeldom appear in that order of mankind, except they act under the influence of ſome great leaders. It is however to be obſerved, that the remains of the antient Huſſites, as well as the modern Moravian brethren, were either principals or auxiliaries in this inſurrection; and that this appearance of order and union might have ariſen from that diſcipline and intelligence between the parts, neceſſarily eſtabliſhed in thoſe religious ſects, which are either trained under the immediate terrors of perſecution, or the doubt and apprehenſion of an uncertain toleration. It is reported, that they ſent deputies to intreat the protection of a great neighbouring prince, and that he totally refuſed to interfere in any manner; but recommended to them

to apply to their natural ſovereigns for redreſs. If this report be true, which from later circumſtances appears doubtful, it would ſeem, as if theſe troubles were not entirely clear from religious motives.

The firſt notice of this inſurrection was about the ſeaſon of the ſeed-ſowing in ſpring, which rendered it feared that the miſeries of a famine, which had been ſo lately experienced in that country, would again be renewed. The peaſants aſſembled in great bodies, and in various parts of the kingdom at the ſame time, to the amount, it was ſaid, of 80,000 men, and committed great violences in many places, upon the caſtles, towns, and palaces of the great lords. They demanded the aboliſhment of the ſervitude to which by the corvees they were bound to their lords, and which preſſed ſo ſeverely upon the loweſt and moſt numerous order of the peaſants, that they were obliged to labour for them ſix days in the week, and allowed only the ſabbath for raiſing their own proviſions. The emperor had already taken conſiderable pains to remedy thoſe grievances, and it was ſome time ago ſaid, that he had iſſued an ordinance for that purpoſe; but however that was, the ſtrong oppoſition of the nobility rendered his general intentions fruitleſs. The impatience of the people was probably increaſed by this knowledge of the emperor's diſpoſition; and the inſurgents, to colour their violences, pretended that a patent in their favour had been paſſed, and was concealed by the nobility.

The court of Vienna was leſs alarmed at this inſurrection than might have been expected, and ſhewed the greateſt moderation, lenity, and tenderneſs, in its conduct towards the inſurgents. Great bodies of troops were however detached from different quarters to Bohemia; and Count Collowrath, the great chancellor of that kingdom, was immediately diſpatched to enquire into the grievances of the peaſants. A high commiſſion was afterwards appointed for the ſame purpoſe, conſiſting of perſons of the firſt rank and character, and wholly unintereſted in the matter of diſpute, who were alſo to conſider of ſuch equitable regulations between the lords and their vaſſals, and to aſcertain the rights of the one, and the duties of the other in ſo clear a manner, as would prevent any future diſturbances of the ſame nature.

In the beginning, tranquillity was immediately reſtored wherever the troops appeared; the moſt notorious leaders fled to the mountains, and the bulk of the people were found peaceably in their habitations; the troops were employed rather to prevent miſchief than to inflict puniſhment; and though many examples were neceſſarily made, they bore no proportion to the number or enormity of the exceſſes. In the mean time, the outrages were continued in all other places, and immediately renewed upon the departure of the troops from any particular diſtrict. At length, the dread of puniſhment ariſing from a continued repetition of offences, induced many thouſands of the peaſants totally to abandon their habitations, and to ſeek refuge in the vaſt mountains and woods that ſurround that kingdom. Theſe having now no meaſures to

keep, grew more daring and cruel in their exceſſes, and at length arrived at ſuch a degree of boldneſs, as to venture to encounter detachments of the troops, and to ſtand and return their fire with incredible obſtinacy, and contempt of life, declaring, that it was a matter of indifference to them, whether they periſhed by fire, ſword, the hangman, or the miſeries which had driven them into their preſent ſtate of deſperation.

By theſe outrages, Bohemia preſented a melancholy ſpectacle of ruin and deſolation; for though the nobility, their bailiffs, ſervants, and officers, were the immediate ſufferers, all orders of mankind, by degrees, partook in the common calamity. At length, the grand commiſſion having made their report to the court of Vienna, a patent was founded upon it in the month of September, which at once reſtored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom, and ſecurity and happineſs to the peaſants. Though the corvees were not entirely aboliſhed, they were regulated in ſuch a manner, as to render the burthen comparatively light to the vaſſals, and to afford them a reaſonable time for attending to domeſtic affairs, and the providing of a neceſſary proviſion for their families. Inſtead of the whole week, the loweſt order of peaſants are now to appropriate only three days to the ſervice of their lords; whilſt thoſe of the ſecond claſs, and who contribute a certain proportion to the exigencies of the ſtate, are ſubjected by the corvees to two days in the week; and the upper claſs, or real farmers, to one only; thoſe two orders being alſo ſubject to a certain fixed ſervice of horſes or oxen.

A change was alſo made with reſpect to the raiſing of the public revenues, which was much in favour of the lower orders; their burthens being very conſiderably leſſened, to the amount it is ſaid of a million of florins annually, and new duties laid upon commodities which are chiefly conſumed by the rich, to ſupply the deficiency. Theſe regulations cauſed the greateſt joy among the lower orders of the people; but, as may be expected, were far from being pleaſing to the nobility. It is not impoſſible, conſidering the emperor's character, and the endeavours he had before uſed in the buſineſs, that however he might regret the temporary miſchiefs with which it was attended, he was not ſorry that ſo fair an opportunity was preſented, for affording relief to the bulk of the people in that country.

No material change has taken place in the circumſtances of Poland, ſince the concluſion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Peterſburg directs all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a ſway, as it does thoſe of its domeſtic provinces. It is true, that the nobility are ſtill as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever in that country; but fortunately for themſelves and the people, the power which overawes and controuls them, is of ſo ſuperior a ſtrength and magnitude, as effectually to reſtrain them from thoſe deſperate efforts, which have, of late, ſo repeatedly heaped ruin upon themſelves and the republic. Under the order preſerved by that ſtrong graſp, the country is beginning

ning to recover from the effects of thoſe dreadful calamities which it has ſo long endured; and its extenſive plains once more to ſmile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Peterſburg has alſo produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers; they both having deſiſted from ſeveral of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic. The unfortunate city of Dantzick has, however, found no alleviation to its ſufferings; and ſeems a victim abandoned to its fate. In the mean time, the Ruſſian troops are ſtill detained in Poland; and it is probable, that cauſes or motives will never be wanting, for their keeping a ſtrong force in that country.

March 18th. A treaty of commerce which has been concluded between the Republic and the king of Pruſſia, as it is very advantageous to the latter, may probably be a means of prolonging harmony in that quarter. The unfortunate Dantzickers are ſufferers in this as in every thing elſe. While meaſures ſeem to be taking by the permanent council and government to encourage foreigners to repeople the deſolated provinces of that kingdom, which they will find a work of long time and much expence, before any conſiderable benefit is received, they are continually harraſſing the Jews, (who form a great body of the people, and are the moſt induſtrious of its inhabitants) in ſuch a manner, by additional poll taxes, and partial oppreſſive reſtrictions, as will probably oblige them totally to abandon the country. Such is the boaſted policy of ſtateſmen and nations; and ſo prevalent will the force of prejudice and error ever continue.

The Diſſidents have been at length remembered by the court of Ruſſia; and their privileges are now aſcertained and ſecured. They are particularly ſecured in the public profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion, and are allowed churches and ſchools even at Warſaw; but are reſtrained from the uſe of bells in the former. Some other regulations have taken place in their favour, particularly a right of appeal in all caſes of grievance to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion are to be admitted as aſſeſſors. They are, however, ſtill debarred from ſitting in the ſenate, and from occupying any office in the departments of adminiſtration.

Ruſſia enjoys her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and ſplendid magnificence. All her affairs are conducted upon a great and extenſive ſyſtem, and all her acts are in a grand ſtyle. She ſits ſupreme between Europe and Aſia, and looks as if ſhe intended to dictate to both. We ſee in her a great but ſtill growing empire, which not having reached the ſummit of her deſtined power, feels life and vigour glowing in every part. The ſucceſſes and conſequences of the late war, have enlarged the ſpirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In ſuch a ſtate, every thing is bold and maſculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

The impoſtor Pugatſcheff, with four of his Jan. 21ſt. accom-

accomplices, were publicly executed at Moſcow in the beginning of the year. Pugatſcheff, with his principal aſſociate, named Perſilief, were beheaded; the three others were hanged, and eighteen more underwent the knout, and were ſent to Siberia. If the ſentence had been fulfilled, Pugatſcheff's hands and feet would have been firſt out off and expoſed to the people, before the final operation took place; but through ſome ſingular miſtake, the executioner cut off his head firſt; an error, for which it is ſuppoſed he ſuffered a ſeverer puniſhment than that which he inflicted. Pugatſcheff met his fate with the moſt undaunted reſolution; but was induced to acknowledge the juſtice of his ſentence, the deception he had uſed, with his true name and condition; all of which agree in the material parts with the account which we have already given of him. If a hiſtory of his life, which is ſaid to have been publiſhed by authority at Moſcow, can be relied on, he went through a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary adventures of any man living, even excluſive of the conſequences of the late impoſture; but this account is of ſo romantic a caſt, and recites matters of ſo exceedingly improbable a nature, that its authority ſeems very doubtful. It is, however, certain, that he was, even by birth, of the firſt rank and condition among the Coſſacks, and that through his uncommon abilities, as well as the ſtrange viciſſitudes of his life, he had acquired a degree of knowledge and learning, which would not have been thought deſpicable in the moſt polite nations. It is ſaid, that an obſervation made ſeveral years ago by the celebrated Count Tottleben, of the ſtriking reſemblance which he bore to the late Emperor Peter the IIId, took ſuch poſſeſſion of his mind, as to have been the operating cauſe of that calamity and ruin, in which he involved with himſelf a great part of the empire.

The heavy burthen of the late war has not prevented the empreſs from already taking off moſt of the taxes which were laid for its ſupport; and as if the ſtrength and riches of government in that country, increaſed with its expence, ſhe has alſo aboliſhed a number of the ancient taxes, which were either conſidered as diſcouraging to manufactures and agriculture, or burdenſome and oppreſſive to particular provinces, or orders of the people. In the ſame ſpirit of beneficence and good policy, ſhe has lent great ſums of money, intereſt free, and for a ſpecified term of years, to thoſe provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and to crown a general pardon, has ſtrictly forbidden any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches uſed on its account, but condemns all matters relative to it, to perpetual ſilence and oblivion.

She has alſo eſtabliſhed a number of other regulations, all tending to the ſecurity, advantage, and happineſs of her ſubjects; to aboliſh pernicious diſtinctions, deſtroy ruinous monopolies, reſtrain the cruelty of puniſhment, remove oppreſſive or impolitic reſtrictions and prohibitions, and to reſtore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in thoſe different ranks which they fill in ſociety. A pardon was alſo paſſed to thoſe criminals, who had already

already undergone a long degree of ſuffering for their crimes; and an ordinance iſſued to prevent any future criminal proſecution from being admitted, unleſs it was commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was ſhewn with reſpect to impriſoned debtors, who under certain limitations, and in certain circumſtances, were releaſed from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were diſcharged from their obligations.

Nothing could be more flattering, than the ſplendid preparations which were made at Moſcow by the empreſs and great duke for the reception of Marſhal Romanzow, upon his return from that war which he had ſo gloriouſly conducted, and happily concluded. An arch was erected upon the occaſion, and every thing prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the antients. This honour, however, the general, either through wiſdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumſtance did not leſſen the intended ſplendor and magnificence in other reſpects, nor the public honours paid to the general. Re-
July 21ſt. wards and honours were moſt liberally diſtributed to the great actors in the war, while their value was doubled by the manner in which they were conferred, and the public teſtimonial of their merit and ſervices, thus given in the face of their country. Beſides a large eſtate, a great ſum of money, and magnificent preſents in plate and jewels, which were beſtowed upon Marſhal Romanzow, he was alſo preſented with a diploma, by which the addition of Sadounaiſky was made to his ſurname, a word which is ſaid to ſignify *The ultra Danubian*. The ſurname of Cheſme (beſides great pecuniary rewards) was alſo granted to Count Alexis Orlow, alluding to the name of the port in the Leſſer Aſia, in which he had deſtroyed the Turkiſh fleet.

The greateſt apparent harmony ſubſiſts between the late contending powers of Ruſſia and the Porte. Nor has this good neighbourhood been at all interrupted by ſome diſturbances in the Crimea, where the Tartars depoſed their Chan, Sabib Gueray, who had always aſſiſted the Ruſſians, and was accordingly eſtabliſhed by them, and reſtored their warlike chief Cowlet Guerai, who had as conſtantly oppoſed their enterprizes. It ſeems as if both powers, to avoid all foundation for diſputes, had reſolved for the preſent not to interfere in the cabals of theſe people, with reſpect to the choice or ſucceſſion of their princes. In the mean time, Ruſſia is by no means indifferent to the vaſt ſources of wealth and power which are opened to her by the occupancy of the Black-Sea. She has long ſtruggled with the inſurmountable obſtacles which nature threw in her way in the Baltick; and which would for ever prevent her eſtabliſhing an extenſive and advantageous commerce, or becoming a great maritime power on that ſide. A ſea ſhut up and unnavigable for near two thirds of the year, and incumbered with numberleſs impediments at all times, could never anſwer thoſe purpoſes in any degree ſuitable to the ambition and views of ſuch an empire as Ruſſia. She accordingly

cordingly omits nothing that may contribute to the opening and eſtabliſhment of a great trade on the Black-Sea, and for that purpoſe, the empreſs has furniſhed ſome particular merchants with the uſe of ſhips free from any charge for freight, and has promiſed to indemnify them for any loſſes they may ſuſtain in the outſet.

There has been a conſiderable appearance of vigour with reſpect to internal government, in the councils of the Porte ſince the concluſion of peace. The ſtate of weakneſs and diſorder which ſo long prevailed in that empire, had enabled the governors of provinces to acquire ſuch wealth and power, and to fortify themſelves ſo ſtrongly in their governments, that they nearly forgot all dependence on the ſtate, and being under no apprehenſion of enquiry or controul, the people were ruined by their cruelty and oppreſſion. Thus, as their power increaſed in proportion to the extent of their enormities, ſo did the difficulty and danger of removing them from their commands. Upon the reſtoration of peace, the people took that opportunity, in almoſt all quarters, to ſend their complaints to the Porte, and to repreſent the intolerable tyranny under which they languiſhed. Theſe complaints were favourably attended to, and the remedy of that evil became the principal object of policy with that government during the preſent year. Some addreſs and ſtratagem were neceſſary for the accompliſhment of this purpoſe. The moſt powerful baſha's were allured from their governments, under the appearance of thorough ſatisfaction in their conduct, and a pretence of promotion to greater; but as ſoon as they were thus circumvented out of their ſtrength and faſtneſſes, they were immediately ſtrangled, and the immenſe riches they had acquired by their oppreſſion forfeited to the ſtate. Thoſe of leſs power were treated with leſs ceremony; and different means leading to the ſame end were uſed with ſome others.

This year has proved fatal to the brave, and very old Chiek Daher. Mehemet Aboudaab, being tempted by the fame of his riches, ſet out at the head of a great army from Egypt, to gratify his avarice by his deſtruction. The force was ſo diſproportioned, that the chiek could make no effectual reſiſtance in the field, and his garriſons were ſoon ſubdued. Gaza ſurrendered immediately; but Joppa ſtood a long ſiege, which ſo enraged Aboudaab, that he was guilty of the moſt horrible cruelties when he took the place. Theſe ſtruck ſo general a terror in the people, that Dacre and other places ſubmitted without reſiſtance. There was, however, ſtill an appearance, that the chiek's ancient fortune would not have entirely abandoned him, by the ſudden death of Aboudaab, in the midſt of his ſucceſſes and cruelties. This appearance was fallacious. The captain baſha arrived at that critical time, upon the coaſt of Syria, with a very conſiderable force, to which the Egyptians being added, under the command of ſo active an officer, rendered the Chiek Daher's fate inevitable. His head was ſent to Conſtantinople, and his treaſures ſeized.

The Perſians have beſieged the

the city of Baſſora, during the greater part, if not the whole of the year. Though they have met with frequent repulſes and loſſes, they notwithſtanding continued the ſiege with ſuch obſtinacy, and the means of relief were ſo remote, that it does not ſeem improbable but the place may by this time be in their hands. We ſhall obſerve to the honour of the preſent Grand Signior, that he ſhews the ſame favourable diſpoſition to the Chriſtians in his dominions, by which his brother was ſo much diſtinguiſhed.

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JANUARY.

1st. BEING new year's day, was obſerved at court as uſual. Particularly the forty boys, educated for the ſea; in mathematics, &c. in Chriſt hoſpital, were, according to annual cuſtom, preſented to his Majeſty by their preſident.

In the year 1680 a regular eſtimate was made of the annual amount of the poor rates in England, which was 665,362l. and the laſt year, 1774, it was 3,000,000l.

It appears by an exact calculation, that 94,000 head of black cattle, and about 800,000 ſheep and lambs, were ſold in Smithfield-market during the courſe of laſt year.

In the ſame period, 3720 veſſels were cleared from the port of Newcaſtle, coaſtwiſe; and 386, overſea; making in all 4106.

The neat duties received at the Cuſtom-houſe of Dublin, for goods imported and exported there, from the 3d of January 1774, to the 3d of January of this year, 1775, both days included, amounted to 360,260l. of which 352,309l. was on goods imported, and 2,951l. on goods exported.

2d. One Robert Wilds was committed to Dover-caſtle, for infuſing into the liquor given to ſome women at a country hop, drops of a poiſonous quality, by which ſome were thrown into convulſions, others ſeized with a giddineſs and ſtupor, and all were more or leſs affected. We inſert this by way of caution to our readers, to diſcountenance tricks of ſo dangerous a nature.

4th. About ſeven o'clock a ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Leghorn, and another about eleven o'clock; but happily neither of them did any damage.

The difference between the height of the liquor in the thermometer this morning and the 2d, was above ſix degrees and a half; which is a more remarkable change in the temperature of the atmoſphere, than has happened in ſo ſhort a time for many years paſt.

The Earl of Dartmouth, by the king's orders, wrote a circular letter to the governors of his majeſty's colonies in America, requiring them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the holding of any more congreſſes. But, conſidering the nature of the unhappy quarrel between the mother country and theſe colonies,

colonies, the conſequences of theſe orders, if any, and indeed every other circumſtance relating to this quarrel, muſt be too intereſting not to deſerve an able pen, and a more conſpicuous place in this work than the preſent. Accordingly, the reader may expect to find all theſe particulars in the hiſtorical part of it.

A boat was overſet coming up the river, below Cuckold's point, by which accident five paſſengers, and the waterman, were drowned. None of theſe unhappy perſons would, in all probability, have periſhed, had they been in cork jackets. But, as the lugging about of cork-jackets, and even the bare putting of them on, would prove too troubleſome to people not conſtantly uſing the water, what ſhould hinder the watermen from providing themſelves with cork belts, and cork collars, for their occaſional paſſengers, who might hold theſe things in their hands, till there was occaſion to uſe them, and then ſlip them on in the twinkling of an eye? Perhaps, a ſmall premium to the firſt waterman who ſhould adopt this practice would in a ſhort time introduce it; and then their own intereſt would ſoon render it univerſal. Beſides, they might be allowed a reaſonable recompence for the uſe of theſe preſervatives.

Mr. Brower, print-cutter, near Alderſgate-ſtreet, was attacked on the road to Enfield by a ſingle highwayman, whom he recollected to be a tradeſman in the city; he accordingly called him by his name, when the robber ſhot himſelf through the head.

The Chriſtians in the Crimea are fled to the Ruſſians, and the empreſs has given orders to build a large town for their reception between Kerch and Janicale.

The houſe of Mrs. Staples, a widow Lady at Reading, in Berkſhire, was, during her abſence to drink tea in the neighbourhood, broke open, and robbed of effects to the amount of 700l. the maid-ſervant being gone to ſee a puppet-ſhow. 5th.

Though twelfth-day, there was no court or drawing-room. But the Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain to his Majeſty's houſehold, made the uſual offering at the chapel royal, in the abſence of their Majeſties. 6th.

A plan is agreed on for building on the ground belonging to the Temple, which has been taken from the river, a range of buildings like the front of the Adelphi, with a commodious terrace-walk next the river.

A woman applied to a reſolver of lawful queſtions, in a court in Fleet-ſtreet, to be ſatisfied in relation to ſome future events; but, while poor Albumazer was conſulting the ſtars in his chamber in order to reſolve her doubts, he ſeems to have been entirely ignorant of his own preſent fortune; for ſome thieves (ſuppoſed to be the enquirer's confederates) ſtripped his other apartments of every thing that was conveniently portable. 7th.

Two ſerjeants of the Surry militia, and two other men, in coming from Kingſton towards London, meeting a fiſh-man of about 70, with part of a field-gate on his back, aſked him if he came honeſtly by it; and, on his ſeeming confuſed, one of them attempted to ſecure him; but, before he could effect it, the fellow pulled out a large knife, 9th.

knife, and ſtabbed him in the breaſt, who immediately cried out he had received his death's wound; then, the others endeavouring to ſecure him, he ſtabbed a ſecond in the belly, a third in the arm, and the fourth in the groin. At length, ſeveral people coming up, he was overpowered, and conducted to the New Gaol. One of them died the next morning, and two of the others ſoon after. Of ſuch fatal efficacy is any weapon in deſperate hands againſt naked, though far ſuperior ſtrength and numbers!

Laſt week her Majeſty received a preſent of ſable ſkins from the Empreſs of Ruſſia, which are ſaid to be the grandeſt ever ſeen in England.

An order has lately been iſſued at Hamburgh, to prevent the merchants of that republic, from ſupplying the piratical ſtates of Barbary with cannon and other warlike ſtores.

10th. Six Criminals were executed at Tyburn; four for houſe breaking; one for ſtealing a bank-note out of a letter in the general poſt-office; and one for ſtealing money and bank-notes in a houſe in the Tower. The criminal executed for ſtealing the bank-note, confeſſed to the ſtealing of three more. He, who ſuffered for the theft in the Tower, had been formerly capitally condemned for another crime; but being pardoned on condition of tranſportation, unhappily for himſelf, broke Jail before he could be ſhipped off; and took to his old courſes again.

A well-dreſſed man knocked at a millener's, in Pallmall, under pretence of wanting ſome ruffles; and being let in by the miſtreſs, immediately locked the door on the inſide, pulled out a piſtol, and with horrid imprecations threatened to deſtroy her if ſhe ſpoke a word; he then tied a bandage over her eyes, bound her, and ſtripped the ſhop near of 80l. worth of lace and linen.

11th. The keeper of an ale-houſe in Biſhopſgate ward, was complained of before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, at Guild-hall, for harbouring the watchmen of that ward during their hours of duty; and, being convicted upon the ſtatute of the 21ſt of King James, for ſuffering tipling in his houſe, paid the penalty of ten ſhillings, beſides being diſabled by the ſame ſtatute from keeping an ale-houſe for the ſpace of three years.

Laſt week a ſerge-maker, on the information of one of his poor weavers, before two of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, being convicted of paying a woman her wages, not in money, but by note, was fined for the ſame, purſuant to ſeveral ſtatutes made for the relief of the woollen manufacturers.

16th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey; when the court paſſed ſentence of death on eight convicts; ſentence of tranſportation for ſeven years, on forty-three; and for 14 years, on three more. Three were ordered to be branded in the hand, and four to be privately whipt. And on the 15th of February, four of the capital convicts were executed at Tyburn. The fifth was pardoned on condition of tranſportation for his natural life. One of thoſe who ſuffered, was for robbing a farmer's boy of ſix-pence.

18th. Being obſerved as her Majeſty's birth-day, the court at St. James's was exceedingly numerous and ſplendid.

The Lord Mayor has at length eſtabliſhed the juſt forms of proceeding in all cauſes before the court of Aldermen.

A few days ſince a moſt daring robbery was committed by nine men, in diſguiſe, in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Liney, at Fyfield, near Marlborough. After getting in at the window, one of them went to the bed where Mr. and Mrs. Liney were, and held a piſtol to the former's head, threatening his life, if he ſtirred, while the others commanded Mrs. Liney to ſhew them where their money was; which being done, they took upwards of fifty pounds in caſh, ſome tea-ſpoons and other valuable effects, the buckles from Mrs. Liney's ſhoes, and eight pounds from the maid-ſervant; after this they made a fire, and regaled themſelves with bread, cheeſe, ſtrong beer, &c. They then deſired Mrs. Liney to ſay, if any perſon elſe came to rob the houſe, that 'George had been there;' and commanded her to go to bed, ſwearing if the family did not lie in bed till nine o'clock, they would kill them before they were nine days older.

The King of France, in one of the councils lately held in his preſence, determined, that for the future the puniſhment of deſerters ſhould not be death; but to work, as ſlaves, on the public roads

The following is a compleat liſt of the Emperor of Morocco's navy; at Laracha, two frigates of 30 guns, and 200 men, each; three, of 24 guns, and 150 men, each; two, of 20 guns, and 130 men, each; and one galliot of 22 oars, 12 guns, and 90 men, all ready to put to ſea. At Tetuan, two xebecs of 30 oars, 20 guns, and 200 men, each. One galliot of 32 oars, 16 guns, and 100 men; three, of 24 oars, 10 guns, and 90 men, each; and one of 16 oars, 8 guns, and 70 men; all ready for ſailing. There are alſo ready for launching, one xebec of 26 oars, pierced for 16 guns; and two galliots of 22 oars, pierced for 12 guns, each. At Sallee, one veſſel of 24 guns, and 180 men. One xebec of 20 oars, 18 guns, and 120 men; and three galliots of 30 oars, 10 guns, 130 men each, ready to be launched. At Tangier, one galliot of 36 oars, 20 guns, and 160 men, beſides ſeveral others very forward on the ſtocks.

The court of Peterſburgh has conſented to the Grand Signior's ſending the inveſtiture of the ſword and aigrette, as caliph, to the Khan of the Tartars, who is, notwithſtanding, to be entirely independent in his temporal concerns. The Grand Signior has conferred the titles of Prince of Moldavia, and cabinet counſellor, on the drugoman of the Porte, who attended the Reis Effendi in this negociation.

Turnbull's and Latimer's inſtrument for taking the diſtance of the moon from the ſun, was tried and proved upon Gateſhead Fell, near Newcaſtle, by Mr. William Hope, an experienced mariner, who declared, that by means of that inſtrument, the longitude may be determined at ſea, as often as ſuch an obſervation can be made, with the greateſt exactneſs.

A hackney coachman was ſummoned before the Lord Mayor for groſsly abuſing a lady, and violently ſhoving the coach-door a-

gainſt

gainſt her, as ſhe was getting in, becauſe there were already four in the coach; and for then refuſing to carry them. The Lord Mayor told the coachman, that, according to law, he had a right, before the lady got in, to inſiſt upon ſixpence more than the fare for the fifth perſon; but, as he made no ſuch agreement, he was obliged to drive them where he was ordered; that the fine for his offence, was 20s. but he ſhould this time pay only ten; at the ſame time his lordſhip cautioned him, not to be guilty again of the like offence, as, if he did, he ſhould pay the whole fine.

21ſt. The rebel Pugatſchef, who had a long time maintained a rebellion in the extreme parts of Ruſſia, was executed at Moſcow, when, by a miſtake, his head was firſt ſevered from his body, and then his hands and feet; theſe were then ſhewn to the ſpectators, and afterwards his head. He ſuffered with undaunted reſolution, as did likewiſe three others, companions in his treaſon. It is generally believed the executioner will loſe his tongue for miſtaking his orders, and cutting off the rebel's head, before he cut off his limbs. Pugatſchef was thus puniſhed, merely for the murders, robberies, and devaſtations committed by him and his followers; the Empreſs of Ruſſia having previouſly remitted the crime of treaſon againſt herſelf.

The canal between Cheſter and the Aqueduct-bridge, near Huxley-mill, is now open, and a veſſel of 70 tons, with coals, &c. went up it the 16th inſt.

Sir William Browne having directed his executors to procure a die for annually ſtriking off two medals of gold, of five guineas value each, to be ſent to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge about the beginning of January, to be given by him, at the following commencement, to two under-graduates, one for the beſt Greek ode in imitation of Sappho, the other for the beſt Latin ode in imitation of Horace, on a ſubject to be appointed by the Vice-chancellor; alſo one other gold medal, of like value, to be given by him to the under-graduate who ſhall produce the beſt Greek epigram after the model of the Anthologia, and the beſt Latin epigram after the model of Martial: the Deputy Vice-chancellor has appointed for the ſubject of the odes for the preſent year,

In memoriam Gulielmi Brown, equitis, M. D. And of the Epigrams,

De præmiorum ad doctrinam promovendum utilitate.

23d. By his majeſty's order in council of this date, a former order of the 28th of October laſt (directing that no horned cattle, nor any hides, ſkins, horns, hoofs, or other part of any horned cattle or beaſt, nor any hay, ſtraw, litter, fodder, or other things which have been employed about infected cattle, or the hides, or any other part of ſuch cattle, or have been in or near the places where any ſuch infection hath been, and are liable to retain the ſame, ſhould be imported from any ports or other places on the coaſt of France, within the diſtricts of Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne, Poictou, Guienne, and Gaſcoine, into Great-Britain, or Ireland, or any of the dominions thereto belonging) is extended to Languedoc and Provence, in conſequence

ſequence of information having been received, that the diſtemper among the horned cattle in Gaſcoine hath ſpread itſelf into the firſt of theſe provinces. And this, by another account, it is ſaid to have done in a perſon's clothes.

A petition from the American merchants, relative to the preſent diſturbances in North-America, was preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Hayley, one of the city members, and referred to a committee of the whole Houſe. Mr. Hayley deſired it might be referred to the ſame committee to which the conſideration of the American papers was referred; but his motion was over-ruled.

The States General publiſhed a declaration ſetting forth, that, as the Emperor of Morocco had broken the peace concluded with them in 1752, ordering, that all veſſels belonging to the republic ſhould be ſeized as lawful prize from the firſt day of the ſame month, their high mightineſſes have given the neceſſary orders for the equipment of divers ſhips of war; and for the better encouragement of their ſailors and marines, have declared, that all prizes taken from the enemy, ſhould become the entire property of the captors, beſides other advantages.

Moſt of the ſchools in the kingdom of Poland are in a deplorable ſituation for want of maſters, or of funds for their ſupport. The king knows this, and laments that the exhauſted ſtate of his coffers deprives him of the power of making proviſion for them as he is deſirous of doing; however, the prince biſhop of Plocko, his brother, hath ſupplied thoſe in his dioceſe to the utmoſt of his ability; and following the example of the good ſhepherd, who feeds, not devours, his flock, he retrenches his own neceſſary expences, and diſtributes for that ſole object, worthy of his zeal, 12,000 florins a quarter. The general prince Adam Czartoriſki gives an equal example of generoſity in the palatinate of Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiow, where he hath the general inſpection of learning, in quality of commiſſary of the national education.

It ſeems, that, when the Jeſuits, who were formerly the chief teachers in Poland, as in all other Roman Catholic countries, were ſuppreſſed; not only they were left without bread, but little or nothing of what was taken from them, was reſerved for the noble and neceſſary purpoſes, for which it had been originally beſtowed.

A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when the two meal-weighers went through an examination, which laſted three hours; but no diſcovery was made of any bad practices being carried on in the corn-market, in Mark-lane, to advance the price of corn. 24th.

Bamber Gaſcoigne, Eſq; moved, that the ſpeaker's chaplain ſhould preach the 30th of January ſermon before the Houſe; when it was obſerved, that the preaching before the Houſe on that day, was not only a mockery of religion, but a direct attack upon the revolution, and an inſult to the royal family upon the throne; and that therefore that ſolemnity ought to be aboliſhed. But the act of Parliament was inſiſted on, and the motion agreed to, by 112 againſt 83; and accordingly the anniverſary ſermon on the martyrdom of K. Char. I. was preached before the 26th.

Houſe.

House of Commons by the Rev. Mr. Onslow, at St. Margaret's; as was that before the House of Lords by the Bishop of Worcester, at Westminster Abbey.

The archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury in convocation assembled, waited on his majesty with a most humble address, in which they own with concern, that a strange licentiousness both of sentiment and conduct, with a spirit of frivolous dissipation and ruinous profusion, of disrespect to superiors, and of contempt of lawful authority, have made an alarming progress in this nation, and present a gloomy prospect to every serious and considerate mind.

The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given two gold and two silver medals, engraved by Mr. Pingo, viz. to Sir Alexander Dick, Bart. for specimens of British rhubarb, 1774, a gold medal; to Mr. William Tadman, for turneps cultivated among beans, 1774, a gold medal; to Mr. Michael Calender, for specimens of British rhubarb, second premium, 1774, a silver medal; to Mr. John Delamotte, for children taught to weave black lace, 1774, a silver medal.

On this occasion, we cannot help recommending to the society's attention, the surprising tree called *Garofero*, &c. described in the second part of this volume, p. 92. Perhaps it might thrive in some parts of Great-Britain or Ireland; particularly in the southern declivities of our southern mountains.

The present winter has been uncommonly severe in several of the southern as well as northern parts of Europe. In the neighbourhood of Bologna, in particular, the roads were so covered with snow the latter end of October, as to stop the courier best used to them. Yet no such weather was felt in the British islands, owing, no doubt, to their being surrounded by the sea. Several of the great and rich, however, behaved with their usual goodness to the poor. Her majesty ordered 500l. to be distributed among poor objects in the cities of London and Westminster. The archbishop of Canterbury's lady ordered 100 guineas to be distributed in coals, bread and meat, to the poor inhabitants of Lambeth; and his grace, 100l. to the same, in money. The Duke of Dorset ordered 1000 weight of beef, the same quantity of bread, and 50 cords of wood, to be distributed among the poor inhabitants contiguous to his estate at Sevenoaks, in Kent. The Duke of Marlborough gave 150l. to the poor of the city of Oxford. The Earl of Sandwich and Lord Hinchinbrook ordered 300l. to be distributed to the poor in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon.

DIED, the 12th instant, near Chapel of Seggat, in the parish of Auchterless, North-Britain, Peter Garden, at the extraordinary age of 131. He retained his memory and senses till near the last. He had lived under ten sovereigns, viz. Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell, Charles II. James II. William and Mary, Anne, and George I, II, and III. He remembered to have been sent, when a boy, to the wood to cut boughs for spears, in the time of the civil wars. 28th.

And much about the same time, a man of 103 years of age died in the parish of Marykirk.

FEBRUARY.

1st. A moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain did incredible damage in and about London, and on the river Thames. The people about Deptford and Greenwich had been alarmed with the reveries of a crazy prophet, who had predicted that on this day theſe towns were to be ſwallowed up by an earthquake; and on the breaking out of the ſtorm, it is ſaid, ſome of the inhabitants were weak enough to leave their houſes, and to fly to London.—At Portſmouth, the tide being attended with a hard gale from the ſouth, roſe higher than ever was remembered by the oldeſt man living. All the houſes in the point had from one to two feet water in their lower rooms, and boats were rowed from the Beach up to the Point-bridge. The iſland on which the town ſtands, was in a manner laid under water; ſeveral hundreds of cattle, ſheep, &c. were drowned, and much damage done to the fields ſowed with corn. A whole row of houſes were entirely ſwept away by the ſea, from the back of the Point; but happily no lives, that we hear of, were loſt. Great damage was likewiſe done by the ſame ſtorm at Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, where two men were drowned in the ſtore-houſes, in endeavouring to ſave ſome goods.

2d. At night, upwards of five hundred of the ſoldiers garriſoned in Dublin, paraded in regular form to the gaol of Newgate in that city, and with ſledges threatened to break open the priſon door, unleſs ſome of their brethren, who were there confined for outrages againſt the peace of the city, were that moment ſet at liberty. Prudence in the gaoler, and the dreadful remembrance of what paſſed on a ſimilar occaſion in the mayoralty of Alderman Geale, made him comply with their requeſt. He opened the priſon-doors, and delivered up the culprits to thoſe who demanded them.

3d. Came on to be argued, before the judges of appeal, in Serjeant's Inn, Chancery-Lane, the long depending cauſe relative to the diſfranchiſement of Alderman Plumbe, brought by writ of error before their lordſhips, when Mr. Mansfield, as counſel for the plaintiff in error, endeavoured to prove that his client, as a citizen of London, was not ſubject to diſfranchiſement for not obeying the lord mayor's precept, to ſummon, as chief warden of the Goldſmiths company, the livery of the ſaid company to attend in Guildhall, to hear his majeſty's anſwer to the humble addreſs and remonſtrance of the corporation of London; as the only legal buſineſs of convening the livery, he ſaid, was for them to elect their members of parliament, magiſtrates, and other officers; all other corporate buſineſs of the city coming under the cognizance of the common-council; and he recited many law reports to confirm his argument. Mr. Davenport, as counſel for the defendant in error, obſerved, that it was the duty of the plaintiff to obey the lord-mayor's precept, and that he was obliged to do ſo by his oath as a freeman; that it was impoſſible to know the ſenſe of the citizens but by ſuch meetings; that no perſon was ſo proper to call them together as the mayor or chief magiſtrate,

magiſtrate, and he enforced his arguments by many law caſes. The judges then adjourned the further arguing of this cauſe till ſome day next term.

A moſt daring and deſperate aſſault was made about ten at night, upon the watch-houſe in Moorfields, where a priſoner was kept in charge, by above 40 ruffians armed with cutlaſſes, piſtols, and other offenſive weapons, who wounded the watchmen, reſcued the priſoner, almoſt demoliſhed the watch-houſe, robbed the conſtables, committed other almoſt unparalleled outrages, and then went off in triumph. Some of them were ſoon after apprehended, but the gang was too numerous to be ſoon ſubdued.

Three months before the death of the late King Lewis the XVth of France, his majeſty propoſed to the marquis of Brunois, to buy his chateau de Brunois, for the Count de Provence his grandſon, and brother to the preſent king. The marquis refuſed to ſell it; the death of the king ſtopped any further proceeding in the affair at that time. Since the preſent king came to the throne, his majeſty has declared that he has adopted the intentions of his grandfather; and the marquis ſtill perſiſts in his refuſal, claiming to have his right and pretenſions decided by juſtice, againſt the ſovereign authority. This queſtion will form one of the moſt intereſting cauſes that has ever happened ſince the foundation of the French monarchy.

The Daniſh government has declared the trade to Bengal free, on paying a duty of 8 per cent. a regulation which greatly affects their Eaſt-India company, who have now no longer an excluſive privilege; and a large ſhip was already preparing at Copenhagen to take advantage of the above licence.

In the courſe of the evi- 4th.
dence given before the ſelect committee, appointed to try and determine the Hindon election, the following circumſtance came out. On a day previous to the election, a man, diſguiſed in a fantaſtic female habit, went about the town for two ſucceſſive days, to canvaſs for two of the candidates. This figure, which was called the dancing Punch, called at the door of almoſt every elector, and gave each five or ten guineas; and ſent for ſuch as had not been canvaſſed at their own houſes, to an inn in the town, and there diſtributed its favours in the ſame manner. Some others, in the oppoſite intereſt, attended in an outer apartment of the houſe, where their friends ſat in an inner room, and there oblig'd the electors to ſign an acknowledgment for a certain ſum of money; which being done, a paper, containing ten or fifteen guineas, was handed out to every elector by ſome unknown perſon, thro' a hole in the door juſt large enough for that purpoſe. It appeared likewiſe, by the hearſay evidence of the perſons who proved theſe facts, that there had been a meeting in the intereſt of the two other gentlemen at a malthouſe in the ſaid town, where ſums of money were diſtributed among the electors, not by a dancing Punch, nor through a hole in the door, but by a perſon in propria perſona, and in the face of upwards of fourſcore perſons.

Upon this the committee came to the following reſolutions:

That Richard Smith, and Thomas Brand Hollis, Eſqrs. by their agents,

agents, have been guilty of notorious bribery, in procuring themſelves to be elected and returned burgeſſes to ſerve in this preſent parliament, for the borough of Hindon, in the county of Wilts.

That James Calthorpe, Eſq; by his agents, has been guilty of notorious bribery, in endeavouring to procure himſelf to be elected and returned a burgeſs, to ſerve in this preſent parliament for the ſaid borough of Hindon.

That Richard Beckford, Eſq; has, by his agent, endeavoured, by promiſe of money, to procure himſelf to be elected and returned a burgeſs, to ſerve in this preſent parliament, for the ſaid borough of Hindon.

That the Rev. John Nairn, of Hindon; Faſham Nairn, Eſq; late of Bury-ſtreet, St. James's; Francis Ward, of Sherborne-lane, London; —— Stevens, a butcher at Saliſbury, commonly called Jobber Stevens; Francis Mead, John Hart, William Lucas, Thomas Howell, John Becket, baker, William Penny, William Bye, ſen. William Becket, and Wm. Burnett, of Hindon, have acted as agents, and been acceſſary to, and concerned in, the notorious acts of bribery and corruption that have been practiſed at the laſt election for the ſaid borough of Hindon.

That the Houſe be moved for leave to bring in a bill to diſfranchiſe the ſaid borough of Hindon, in the ſaid county of Wilts.

And the above reſolutions were confirmed by the Houſe of Commons on the 24th inſtant; when it was likewiſe reſolved, that no writ ſhould be iſſued for a future election, for one month.

The weather ſuddenly changed in Saxony and other parts of Germany, from ſevere froſt to inceſſant rain for two days and two nights: and there being a deep ſnow on the ground, the rivers in conſequence ſwelled to an immoderate height, and every-where overflowed their banks, inſomuch that it was feared the grain ſtored on both ſides of them, would be entirely carried away. But in Hungary the damage ſuſtained is almoſt incredible. Among other dreadful relations, it is ſaid, that, of the inhabitants of ſeventeen villages in the iſland of Raczkover, ſurrounded by the Danube, only one perſon eſcaped; and the citizens of Peſt had nearly ſhared the ſame fate, the whole of their ſuburb having been deſtroyed, ſeveral ſtreets reduced to ruins, and not a houſe eſcaping without injury.

This morning, by a high tide, immenſe damage was 5th. done at the wharfs below bridge; the water on many of them being near three feet deep ——— A large ſhip laden with ſugars, &c. broke away from a wharf near London-bridge, and was loſt on the ſtarlings. The following day, the water was more than a foot deep in Weſtminſter-hall.

The grand cauſe between the county of Dublin, which 6th. had preſented a late grant of 35 acres of the Phœnix park from his majeſty to Sir John Blaquiere, Knt. of the Bath, came on in the court of King's Bench, before Lord Annaly and the Juſtices Robinſon and Henn; when, after a trial which laſted near eleven hours, the jury withdrew for about ten minutes, and brought in a verdict in favour of the crown for Sir John Blaquiere.

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An order having been iſ-
7th. ſued by the Houſe of Lords, directing an officer of that houſe to take into cuſtody the printer of a morning paper, the officer called at the offending printer's office the ſame evening and the following morning, when he was told that the printer was not then at home, but would give him (the officer) a meeting on Saturday morning at eleven o'clock. In expectation therefore of his coming, the printer attended at his office from eleven o'clock till half an hour paſt one, when he was adviſed by his friends to diſpatch a letter to the officer, informing him of his long attendance, with directions to the bearer of his letter to wait for an anſwer. In the mean time, it is ſaid, that ſeveral peace-officers, &c. were in waiting near the printer's houſe, to take into cuſtody any perſons that might offer violence to him; but no perſon came to take him into cuſtody, nor was any anſwer returned to his letter.

9th. Both Houſes of Parliament waited on his majeſty, with a joint addreſs relative to the preſent diſturbances in North America; which, with his Majeſty's anſwer, the next day, to the Houſe of Commons, and ſome reſolutions of theirs in conſequence thereof, will be given in our article of State Papers.

10th. At a court of common council, that court came to the following reſolution:

"That the thanks of this court be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, for having offered to the Houſe of Lords a plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately ſubſiſt between the adminiſtration in this country and its American colonies; and to all thoſe who ſupported that noble Lord in ſo humane and conſtitutional a meaſure." And at a court of common-council held the 13th, the town-clerk acquainted the court, that he had waited on the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham with theſe their thanks, and that his Lordſhip returned the following anſwer:

"Lord Chatham deſires the favour of Mr. Town-clerk to offer to my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Commons, in Common-council aſſembled, his moſt reſpectful and grateful acknowledgments for the ſignal honour they have been pleaſed to confer on the mere diſcharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity. Under deep impreſſions of former marks of favourable conſtruction of his conduct during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himſelf too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured, and ſtrengthened by the greateſt corporate body of the kingdom."

Between four and five
12th. o'clock, all the inhabitants of St. Columb, in Cornwall, were alarmed by an uncommon clap of thunder, attended by lightning, acting with ſuch extraordinary violence, that the eaſtern pinnacle of the tower (a ſtrong and well-built ſtructure) was torn and ſhattered to pieces, and the timber, &c. of the church much damaged. Some of the ſtones of the pinnacle, of above 300 weight, were thrown upwards of 300 yards on every ſide of the tower; and others of an inferior ſize to a much greater diſtance.

Laſt week an oak in Langley wood, the property of the biſhop

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of Salisbury, near Downton, Wilts, supposed to be a thousand years growth, was sold for 40l. It measured 6 feet 2 inches diameter, and contained about ten ton of timber.

14th. Cardinal John Angelo Braschi was unanimously elected pope, and assumed the name of Pius VI. and on the 22d he was anointed and crowned in the Vatican church with the usual ceremonies. John Angelo Braschi was born at Cesena the 27th of December 1717; his family is one of the noblest of the province of Romania, and have in their arms the eagle and the fleur de lis. He is a very fine person, has a great share of sense, vivacity, and knowledge. Benedict XIV. who esteemed him much, confided several important employments to him, in which he always distinguished himself by his disinterestedness and exactitude. Though he never possessed but a small fortune, he knew how to find opportunities to shew the generosity of his heart, and his taste for magnificence; besides these great qualifications, he is extremely pious and public-spirited, of which he has not ceased to give proofs since his advancement, particularly by keeping his nearest relations at a due distance, and by lowering the price of meat four farthings per pound, without prejudice to the butchers, to whom he makes good the difference out of his own private purse.

17th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

A bill for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax for the service of the year 1775.

The bill for better regulating his Majesty's marine forces while on shore.

The bill to explain, amend, and render more effectual an act for prohibiting the exportation of utensils made use of in the woollen, linen, and other manufactures.

21st. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when three criminals for house-breaking, one for highway robbery, and two for returning from transportation, received sentence of death; and, on the 21st of April, one of those condemned for house-breaking, and one of those condemned for returning from transportation, were executed at Tyburn. At the same sessions 31 were sentenced to be transported for 7 years, 6 to be branded in the hand, 2 of whom are to be imprisoned 6 months, 13 to be whipt, and 30 delivered on proclamation.

A large body of the White Boys in Ireland made a most desperate attack on the house of Robert Butler, Esq; in the town of Ballyragget, in consequence of an association entered into by that gentleman, and the other inhabitants of Ballyragget, to suppress them. But Mr. Butler, having had timely notice of their wicked designs, assembled his neighbours, &c. and gave them so warm a reception, that they were glad to make off with the loss of two killed on the spot, and several wounded.

The recorder and common serjeant have lately delivered in their opinion to the committee of the city lands with regard to the city marshals and their men, on a point which has been depending upwards of two years, that the places of head marshal and under marshal should, according to ancient records, be given away; for then the court of aldermen, or the lord mayor, upon any complaint of their ill behaviour, would have a right to dismiss

miſs them immediately; whereas, when places are bought, they are ſuppoſed to be a ſecurity for life, whatever miſdemeanor the purchaſers may be guilty of.

The late Dr. Smith's prizes of 25l. each, for the beſt proficient in mathematical learning, at Cambridge, have been this year adjudged to Mr. Vince, A. B. of Caius college, and Mr. Coulthurſt, A. B. of St. John's college.

22d. The lord mayor moved in the houſe of commons, that the proceedings of that houſe of the 17th of February, 1769, might be read; which being done, ſome other extracts which his lordſhip called for, were likewiſe read. He then made a ſpeech upon what he called proceedings unjuſtifiable, illegal, and unwarrantable; and moved, that the reſolution of the 17th of Feb. 1769, which declares, "That John Wilkes, Eſq; having been this preſent ſeſſion of parliament expelled this houſe, *was, and is incapable* of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament," be expunged from the journals of this houſe, as ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. Mr. Serjeant Glyn ſeconded the motion, and then a general debate enſued, in which Lord North, the Hon. Charles Fox, Col. Fitzroy, Sir George Saville, the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, Col. Barré, Mr Burke, Mr. Wallace, the two Mr. Grenvilles, Mr. Onſlow, Mr. Adair, Capt. Luttrell, and ſeveral others, were ſpeakers. The arguments were warm, and to the point. The queſtion was repeatedly attempted to be put, but was as often prevented by new ſpeakers riſing. At length, a little after 12, after about eight hours debate, "the queſtion, the queſtion," was ſo far the prevailing call, that it was put, and the houſe divided, when the numbers were, for the motion 171, and 239 againſt it.

A petition was preſented 24th. to the Houſe of Commons from the Corporation of London againſt the bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of Maſſachuſet's Bay and New Hampſhire, and the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantation, in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, on the ground of its being an unjuſt, cruel, partial, and oppreſſive bill, injurious to the trade of Great-Britain, and tending to increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of her rivals and enemies.

By advice over land from 24th. Bencoolen, the Soolooans, an Aſiatic nation, this day took the Eaſt-India company's new-eſtabliſhed ſettlement at Ballambangan, and in it effects to the amount of 926,000 Spaniſh dollars and upwards, the garriſon and other ſervants of the company retiring to Laboan, another ſettlement, with effects to the amount of 240,000 dollars. However, thirteen of the garriſon were miſſing. By the ſame advice it appears, that in a great ſtorm, on the coaſt of Surat, thirty ſhips of different nations were totally loſt.

The above iſland of Ballambangan, concerning the ſettlement of which a diſpute has been for ſome time paſt ſubſiſting between England, Spain, and Holland, is ſituated in the Eaſt-Indies, at the north point of Borneo, and lately belonged

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ed to the king of Sooloo, who, in 1762, made a ceſſion of it to the Engliſh. In 1763 Mr. Dalrymple took poſſeſſion of it for the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag there; ſince which a proper force was ſent over, and a regular ſettlement made on the iſland, under the direction of Mr. Harbord, one of the council of Bencoolen, who was appointed governor. This gave umbrage to the Spaniards and Dutch, who are extremely jealous of our fixing a trading ſtation ſo near to the Philippines and Moluccas; and accordingly the laſt advices previous to that of its being taken, as above, by the Soolooans, mentioned, that the Spaniſh governor of Manilla had peremptorily required the Engliſh to evacuate the iſland; but with this demand Mr. Harbord did not think proper immediately to comply; and, when the intelligence came away, he was preparing to defend himſelf, though with little proſpect of ſucceſs, againſt ſo ſuperior a force. According to the treaty of Munſter, in 1648, the only treaty ſubſiſting between the Engliſh and Spaniards, which explains and regulates the rights and limits of the latter, in the Eaſt-Indies, the Spaniards have no right to extend their Eaſt-Indian navigation farther than they had at that time carried it. Conſequently they can have no claim to Balambangan.

Lord Effingham complained in the Houſe of Lords of the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and produced a pamphlet, entituled, "The Preſent Criſis with reſpect to America conſidered," publiſhed by T. Becket, which his Lordſhip declared to be a moſt daring inſult on the King: and moved, that the houſe would come to reſolutions to the following effect:

That the ſaid pamphlet is a falſe, malicious, and dangerous libel, ſubverſive of the principles of the glorious revolution, to which we owe our preſent invaluable conſtitution; and of the rights of the people.

That one of the ſaid pamphlets be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Old Palace-yard; and another, at the Royal Exchange.

That theſe reſolutions be communicated to the Houſe of Commons at a conference, and that the concurrence of that houſe be deſired. Which reſolutions being read, were unanimouſly agreed to.

Purſuant to the above reſolutions, a conference was held on the 27th, between the two Houſes of Parliament, when the Commons concurred with the reſolutions of the Lords on the 24th, and the pamphlet was unanimouſly ordered to be burnt accordingly.

A ſecond conference now enſued, ariſing from a complaint of the Earl of Radnor in the Upper Houſe, and of Lord Chewton in the Lower Houſe, againſt a periodical paper, called The Criſis, No. 3. publiſhed for T. Shaw, &c. In the Lower Houſe, this paper in queſtion had been voted a falſe, malicious, and ſeditious libel; in the Upper Houſe, the word *treaſonable* was added; but, upon re-conſidering the matter, that was omitted: but it was, like the other, unanimouſly ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The principles of theſe offenſive publications were diametrically oppoſite to each other. The pamphlet aſſerted a right in the

ſovereign to levy taxes without conſent of parliament, provided that conſent was with-held. In obedience to the above orders, theſe pieces were burnt, on the 6th of March following, by the common hangman, at Weſtminſter-hall gate.

In the mean time, the Lord Mayor had iſſued his precepts, for ſummoning the conſtables of nine of the wards of the city, to attend a ſimilar execution of them, at twelve o'clock the next day at the Royal Exchange. The concourſe of people on this occaſion was prodigious. Some of them were at firſt very riotous: they ſeized and threw about the firſt bruſh faggots which were brought, and treated the city marſhal and the hangman very ill: but more faggots being brought, and dipt in turpentine, they immediately took fire, and ſoon conſumed the publications in queſtion. But ſoon after the ſheriffs and other officers had quitted the place of execution, a man of decent appearance burnt, at the ſame place, a copy of the late addreſs upon the American affairs, and the Birmingham petition.

The Houſe of Peers heard counſel in a cauſe brought before their Lordſhips by appeal from the high court of chancery. The caſe was remarkably curious, the queſtion to be decided being, Whether Thomas Sanſam, to whom an eſtate was bequeathed as ſoon as he ſhould arrive at the full age of twenty-one, did accompliſh that age, or not, being born between the hours of five and ſix in the morning of the 16th of Auguſt, 1725, and dying about the 11th in the forenoon of the 15th of Auguſt, 1746, when he was killed by a fall from a waggon? The heir at law to Thomas Sanſam claimed upon the preſumption that he had attained to the full age, according to the will of the teſtator; and Lord Cambden had ſo decreed. But the family that was to inherit, in caſe the ſaid Thomas did not arrive at the full age of twenty-one, appealed from this decree, inſiſting that more than ſixteen hours were wanting to complete the full term: but that plea was over-ruled by their lordſhips, and the decree affirmed, becauſe he was living on the day that completed the period.

A cauſe of Macklin againſt Clarke, Aldys, Lee, James, and Miles, came on to be tried by way of indictment in the court of King's Bench, before Mr. Juſtice Aſton and a ſpecial jury. The indictment conſiſted of two counts; the firſt ſpecifying, that, on the 18th of November, 1773, the defendants had been guilty of a riot; the other, that they had been guilty of a conſpiracy; both in order to cauſe Mr. Macklin to be diſmiſſed from their ſtage by the patentees of Covent-Garden theatre. The judge, after hearing the evidence, and ſumming it up with accuracy and impartiality, deſired the jury to exerciſe their judgment; and if they thought the defendants guilty of both counts, they were to find a verdict generally; if only of one count, they ſhould find accordingly. The jury then withdrew, and in about twenty minutes brought Clarke in guilty of the riot, and the others of the conſpiracy. But judgment was deferred till next term.

Another remarkable trial came on before Lord Mansfield at Guildhall, wherein a notorious Jew ſwindler was plaintiff, and a ſilverſmith

defendant.

defendant. The action was brought to recover a penalty of 180l. of the defendant, for selling to the plaintiff's brother a parcel of silver buckles, the same not being of the standard, and not having the marks prescribed by act of parliament. In the course of the evidence it appeared, that some time ago the defendant had caused the plaintiff's brother to be apprehended upon a warrant, for defrauding the defendant of the very buckles, for the selling of which this action was commenced. The persons examined on the part of the plaintiff were, his brother, and the assay-master of Goldsmiths-hall; the former, stimulated by a motive of revenge, had forgot the commission of the fraud he had exercised upon the defendant, and also some very material circumstances, which, if he had chosen to recollect, would have rendered it unnecessary for the defendant to have called a single witness; the buckles being produced in court, both the assay-master, who was called on behalf of the plaintiff, and the defendant's foreman proved, to the satisfaction of the court and jury, that they were not buckles manufactured by the defendant, but had been made with the above defect for the purpose of loading the defendant with this action. Upon this, the plaintiff was nonsuited; and his brother immediately, by direction of the court, taken into custody for perjury.

26th. As some persons were going through Moorfields, a dog belonging to one of them was observed to scratch at a particular place; and his master not being able to get him from it, they had the ground opened; when the body of an infant just buried was found, with its legs cut off, and lying by the body.

28th. In the course of this month, the last, and next, several petitions, &c. besides those already mentioned, were presented to the several branches of the legislature against the measures in agitation against the revolted provinces in North-America; particularly by the West-India and North-America merchants of London; the people called Quakers; and the merchants of Waterford, in Ireland. On the other hand, the people of Pool thought proper to address and petition in favour of the same measures. We shall give in the subsequent sheets of this volume as many of these pieces, and such others as shall be hereafter presented, in the course of the year, as our bounds will admit of.

Births. On the 20th instant, the wife of Mr. Lewin, cheesemonger in Fenchurch-street, was delivered of twins.—This is the fifth time she has had two at a birth; and they are all living.

Died, the 3d of this month, at Paris, Monsieur Belloy, author of the Siege of Calais, and several other pieces which did him great honour.

The 16th, at his apartments at Mr. Carr's, sadler in the Fleet-market, London, the Chevalier Descaseaux, well known in London by the name of the French poet. He has left a great personage a curious sword, a valuable gold medal, and a curious picture.

10. At Burrowstounness, Janet Nimmo, aged 102.

12. At New Reay, in Caithness, Mr. Francis Tait, school-master at that place, aged 102.

18. Rev.

18. Rev. Joſeph Goodwin, fifty years vicar of Shipton under Whichwood, Oxfordſhire.

20. Mr. Tullius Baker, aged 81, worth 40,000l. moſt of which he has left to charitable uſes; among the reſt, 5000 l. in marriage portions to any ten young women whom his executors may think moſt deſerving.

MARCH.

1ſt. Being St. David's Day, the ſociety of Antient Britons held their anniverſary feſtival; when the collection amounted to 562 l. 19 s. 9 d.

2d. The Houſe of Peers heard an appeal, brought by James Nicol and Thomas Davis, Eſqrs. againſt Governor Vereliſt, for cruel treatment in India. The appellants had ſued the Governor in his Majeſty's court of Common Pleas; but the proceedings were ſtopt by an injunction from Chancery, on the ground of appointing a commiſſion from that court to examine witneſſes in India, in juſtification of the Governor's proceedings; to remove which injunction the preſent appeal was lodged. But their Lordſhips, after hearing counſel on both ſides, were pleaſed to affirm the injunction.

Mr. Nuthall, Solicitor to the Treaſury, on his return from Bath, was attacked by a ſingle highwayman on Hounſlow-heath; who, on his demands not being readily complied with, fired into the carriage, in which were Mr. Nuthall, a young lady, and a little boy, who happily received no other injury than being much frightened. Mr. Nuthall returned the highwayman's fire, and, it is thought, wounded him ſorely, as he rode off precipitately. When they arrived at the inn at Hounſlow, Mr. Nuthall wrote a deſcription of the fellow to Sir John Fielding; but he had ſcarce cloſed his letter, when he ſuddenly expired.

3d. Came on, before Judge Aſton, in the court of King's Bench, a cauſe, in which the Maſter of a ſloop was plaintiff, and the Maſter of a collier defendant. The action was brought againſt the collier for running down the ſloop, by which two men were drowned, and 448 quarters of wheat were loſt. After examining ſeveral witneſſes on both ſides, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff.

8th. An appeal to the Houſe of Peers, in one of the moſt important tythe cauſes that ever came before any court, was heard by their lordſhips. Mr. Chaplin, of Ryſom, in Lincolnſhire, being in poſſeſſion of an old monaſtical eſtate, which, for 174 years before the induction of the preſent rector, had paid a modus of 15 l. a year in lieu of tythes, had tendered the ſaid ſum to the preſent incumbent Mr. Bree. But Mr. Bree refuſed to accept of the ſame, and inſiſted on tythes in kind, as by law intitled. On this a law-ſuit commenced, and the cauſe was heard before Judge Blackſtone, and a verdict given in favour of the defendant, Mr. Chaplin. But the Judge being diſſatisfied with that verdict, and making his report accordingly, the court of Exchequer ordered a new trial; to prevent which the preſent appeal was made to the Houſe of Peers; when, notwithſtanding there was no church at Ryſom, that the rector neither preached nor prayed there, and ſeldom or never was ſeen in the pa-

riſh; that the dead might bury the dead, and the inhabitants baptize and marry one another; yet the Law-lords being of opinion, that, by law, the tythes were the rector's maintenance, and muſt be paid; the Lords, as it was a law-caſe, affirmed the order of the court of Exchequer for a new trial.

At the ſale of coins at Langford's, an Aquitain halfpenny of Richard I. ſold for 4l. 8s. and an Aquitain penny of Edward the Black Prince, for 10l. 15s.

A few days ago, as a farmer at Morton-Banks, near Bingley, tenant to Henry Wickham, of Cottingley-hall, Eſq; was making a drain in a field, he fortunately diſcovered a copper cheſt, about 20 inches below the ſurface, containing near 100 weight of Roman ſilver pieces, coined at 15 different periods, ſome of them of ſo early a date as Julius Cæſar. They are about the ſize, but nearly three times the thickneſs, of a ſixpence, and the impreſſions are very perfect. There was alſo in the cheſt a ſilver image, about ſix inches long.

14th. Robert Rous, one of the turnkeys of the New Gaol, Southwark, ſeeing a priſoner, who was committed there for different highway robberies, with rags tied round his fetters, ordered him to take them off; and, on his refuſing to do it, he immediately cut them off; when, finding both his irons ſawed through, he ſecured him, and then ſent up two of his aſſiſtants to overlook a great number of priſoners who were in the ſtrong room. Upon this the priſoners immediately ſecured one of the aſſiſtants in the room, and all fell on him with their irons, which they had knocked off. Rous hearing of it, went up with a horſe-piſtol, and extricated his fellow-turnkey from their fury, and then locked the door. All the turnkeys, as well as conſtables, now ſurrounded the door and the yard; and the priſoners fired ſeveral piſtols loaded with powder and ball at two of the conſtables; when, the balls going thro' their hats, and the outrages continuing, one of the conſtables, who had a blunderbuſs loaded with ſhot, fired through the iron grates at the window, and dangerouſly wounded one fellow committed for a burglary in the Mint. At length a party of ſoldiers, which had been ſent for to the Tower, being arrived, and having loaded their muſkets, the room was open'd, and the priſoners were all ſecured and yoked, and 21 of them chained down to the floor in the condemned room. Some of the people belonging to the priſon were wounded.

The ſheriffs of the city of London, attended by the city remembrancer and other officers, preſented to the Houſe of Lords a petition from the court of common council, concerning a bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons, to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, &c. in America.

A petition of the American merchants againſt the 15th. bill for reſtraining the trade of New-England, &c. was preſented to the Houſe of Lords.

Died the Princeſs Carolina Auguſta Maria, youngeſt daughter of their Royal Highneſſes the Duke and Ducheſs of Glouceſter, aged 8 months; and on the 22d her remains were carried out of town, and interred in the royal chapel at Windſor, in a vault provided there by

by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter for himſelf and family.

16th. The people called Quakers preſented a petition to his Majeſty in favour of the Americans; and ſoon after ſome of that perſuaſion were invited to a conference with Lord Dartmouth.

The Supporters of the Bill of Rights have voted 500 l. for the preſent relief of the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, and of the poor diſtreſſed fiſhermen of New-England.

17th. The Rev. Mr. Newnham, one of the minor canons of Briſtol cathedral, in company with another gentleman and his own ſiſter, having the curioſity to ſee Pen-park-hole, a remarkable cavern, about four miles from that city, went all together to the place; and Mr. Newnham having a deſire, if poſſible, to meaſure the depth of it, as there was no account of its ever having been fathomed before, advanced to a declivity at the mouth of the hole; but, as he was preparing to let down his line, all on a ſudden the ground gave way, and though he had the agility to catch a bough which hung over the hole, yet that too giving way, he ſlipt down, and was ingulphed in the ſight of his friends, who could only bewail his untimely fate, without being able to afford him relief. His body, however, was, after five weeks fruitleſs attempts, found floating on the water at the bottom of the hole, by a man who ſuffered himſelf to be let down into it for that purpoſe.

18th. About one in the morning, a terrible fire broke out, at Mr. Hopkins's, hoſier, the corner of Warwick-lane, Newgate-ſtreet. The fire had made conſiderable progreſs before it was diſcovered, but not enough to prevent Mrs. Hopkins nearly reaching the ſtreet-door; when, recollecting that ſhe had left her children behind, ſhe went again up ſtairs, when the fire had got to ſo great a height as to prevent her return; and leave her, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to eſcape from the top of the houſe, no alternative but to fling herſelf from thence into a blanket, which was held by the people below in the ſtreet, to break her fall: ſhe fell upon her back, none of her limbs were broke, neither did ſhe appear to be bruiſed, yet about 4 o'clock the ſame morning ſhe expired. The eldeſt daughter, about nineteen, threw herſelf alſo into the ſtreet, and was dreadfully bruiſed. The youngeſt daughter in town, about ſeven, together with her nurſery-maid, periſhed in the flames. A ſervant maid clung to the leads upon the houſe till ſhe was nearly ſuffocated, when ſhe let go her hold, and fell into the ſtreet, very much bruiſed by the fall, upon which ſhe was ſent to the hoſpital. The houſe of Mr. Newman, oilman, next door to Mr. Hopkins's; and that of Mr. Philips, tobacconiſt, the oppoſite corner, were conſiderably damaged. This diſaſter is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the firing of the chimney of the copper, in which a fire had been left burning when the ſervants went to bed. Mr. Hopkins was gone, with two of his daughters, about thirty miles into Kent, in order to place them at ſchool there. The account-books were ſaved; but the ſtock in trade, and the furniture, were all deſtroyed.

A treaty of commerce was ſign'd, at Warſaw, between the miniſters

of his Pruſſian Majeſty and the republic of Poland. We ſhall give it our readers in its proper place.

19th. The ſailors belonging to the ſhips lying at Shields and Sunderland, began in a very riotous manner to ſtop all the ſhips that were bound to London with coals, by going aboard and unbending their ſails, abuſing the captains and ſailors that were willing to proceed upon their voyage. Some ſhips in the confuſion made the beſt of their way over the bar, with little wind; but they were ſoon followed by a great number of boats, well manned, which overtook and boarded them, forcibly brought them back with much difficulty and great hazard to Shields againſt wind and an ebb tide, and unrigged and moored them. The rioters now collected a great quantity of lighters, or keels, and made a boom of them quite acroſs the river, ſo that no craft could paſs up or down without their permiſſion. The magiſtrates, foreſeeing this ſtorm, had ſent for five companies of the 31ſt regiment to Tynemouth and Morpeth; which, with the ſeaſonable arrival from York the next day of three troops of the Scots Grey dragoons, ſoon put a ſtop to this miſchievous riot, which had infected the mob at Newcaſtle, who ſtopped the working of all the colliers below bridge, and determined to do the ſame by all the colliers in the two rivers Tyne and Wear.

The following is a particular account of a late dreadful fire at Newmarket: It broke out about five o'clock in the afternoon, in a ſtraw-loft belonging to Mrs. Baſcubee, at the Bull inn; and the wind being very high, communicated with uncommon rapidity to above thirty out-houſes, which were all conſumed, together with a wheelwright's ſhop, a barn full of wheat, three ſmall tenements, a malting which contained above 400 coombs of malt, beſides 100 coombs of barley, moſt of it brought in that day; a peaſe-ſtack, containing about 40 coombs of peas; a barn, with ſome rye in it, and ſix pigs, a cow and calf, together with a ſtore-houſe and 100 hogſheads of beer. The ground on which the above buildings ſtood is ſuppoſed to be about five acres, and was all on fire in leſs than half an hour: providentially for the inhabitants, the wind was full ſouth: had it been north, the whole town would have been in the moſt imminent danger of being deſtroyed. The damage ſuſtained, however, is ſuppoſed to amount to more than 3000l. But no lives were loſt; nor was any body materially hurt. It is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that theſe buildings were maliciouſly ſet on fire, as fifteen buckets belonging to the engine were ſtolen the week before.

21ſt. A very extraordinary affair happened at a certain hoſpital; two women, one of whom having the appearance of a nurſe, the other of a maid-ſervant, applied to the committee to let them have a male child, the youngeſt in the hoſpital, for their lady, who wanted to adopt one for her own. Theſe women, on the committee's cloſe examining them, confeſſed that the lady's huſband was gone abroad; and, as ſhe told him before he went ſhe believed ſhe was pregnant, it was neceſſary on his return to ſhew him a child; they likewiſe acknowledged the lady came from the Iſle of Wight to London

London to lye-in. As it appeared the adoption of this child was calculated to deprive ſome heir at law of an eſtate, or for ſome other unlawful purpoſe; the intention of this paragraph is to caution thoſe perſons whom it may concern to be on their guard againſt ſuch infernal practices.

22d. At a quarterly general meeting of the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock, the company was given to underſtand, by an official letter from the treaſury, that they had nothing farther to expect from government for expences they incurred in taking the Manillas; and by another letter, that, as the act which obliges the company to export annually a certain quantity of woollen-cloth, was juſt expiring, their Lordſhips intended to apply to parliament for a renewal of it. Theſe advices, as we may well imagine, occaſioned very warm debates.

A large caravan of 1500 laden camels, going from Bagdat to Damaſcus, was lately plundered near Palmyra by Sheek Tyawr, chief of the Amizy Arabs: 600 Perſians, ſome of them perſons of diſtinction, who accompanied it, in their way to Mecca, were likewiſe ſtripped; and it is ſaid two hundred of theſe wretched travellers ſoon after periſhed with cold. The loſs of this caravan is ſaid to be very great, and falls heavy on the merchants of Bagdat, Baſſora, Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Conſtantinople.

23d. A petition from the American merchants was preſented to the King, praying his Majeſty to withhold the royal aſſent from the bills now depending againſt the trade and fiſheries of the Maſſachuſſet's Bay, &c.

24th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

The bill for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia.

The bill to continue an act for allowing the free importation of Iriſh ſalted proviſions, &c.

And alſo to ſeveral road, inclo-ſure, and private bills.

25th. His Grace the Duke of Athol was inſtalled Grand Maſter of the moſt ancient and honourable fraternity of Free and Accepted Maſons, according to the old inſtitution.

One of the oldeſt clerks of the Seal-office was found hanging in the ſaid office in the Temple. The cauſe aſſigned for his committing this violence on himſelf, was, a reprimand he lately received from one of his ſuperiors, which he could not brook, having been in that office more than forty years, with an irreproachable character.

As one Benjamin Scolfield, of Pudſey, was clearing away ſome rubbiſh from a place on Pudſey-Common, called King Alfred's Camp, adjoining to an old cave, he accidentally found the thigh-bone of an horſe, in the cavity of which were upwards of one hundred Roman ſilver coins, many of them of prior date to Julius Cæſar.

26th. Some thieves, from an adjoining empty houſe, got in at the garret-window of Mr. Fernandez's houſe, in Devonſhire-ſquare, and went into his bed-chamber, from whence they carried

off an iron cheſt, containing caſh, Bank notes, bills of exchange, and jewels, to the amount of 10,000l. and that without giving the leaſt alarm, though there was company at the time below ſtairs. However, moſt of the notes, &c. were ſoon after found in the houſe of a woman, in St. Mary Axe, who ſome time ago was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey; but was pardoned, at the interceſſion of her Majeſty.

27th. About eight in the evening, a fire broke out at a rope-warehouſe in Narrow-ſtreet, Limehouſe, which in five hours deſtroyed twenty-ſeven houſes and two deal-yards, together with the furniture, and every thing elſe on the premiſes. The flames were ſo rapid, from the quantity of pitch, tar, roſin, old junk, &c. ſtored up in them, that the firemen could not venture near enough to give any effectual help; beſides which, there was a great want of water for above an hour after the fire broke out, nobody preſent knowing where the plugs lay, and the tide at that time being out. At length the chaſm formed by the ſlip going down to the Horſe-ferry happily prevented the flames from ſpreading, ſo that with the aſſiſtance of ſeventeen engines, the fire was got under by three in the morning. On this occaſion, ſeveral poor houſekeepers loſt every thing they were poſſeſſed of. It is very remarkable, that the ſame premiſes were burnt down about eleven years ago, when more than forty houſes were deſtroyed.

Sir George Savile moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the circulation of notes for ſmall ſums in Yorkſhire, where there are ſome in circulation among the manufacturers, from 5s. down as low as 6d. to the ſhameful abuſe of the induſtrious poor.

30th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for reſtraining the trade of New England, and the fiſheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland.

The Oxford canal bill.

The Thames navigation bill.

The bill for repairing the Newmarket roads.

And alſo to fix other private bills.

A motion was made in the Houſe of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act 31 Eliz. relative to the erecting and maintaining of cottages. This act was made in conſequence of a complaint made in thoſe days againſt the engroſſing of farms, and enacts, as a means of ſupplying the markets with poultry, eggs, butter, &c. that no new cottage ſhall be erected, except for the free reſidence of the pariſh-poor, without adding thereto four acres, or more, of land.

The Moors, who, in conſequence of their declaration of war againſt Spain, had laid ſiege to Melille, a Spaniſh fortreſs on the coaſt of Africa, have entirely raiſed that ſiege, and deſired a perpetual peace with Spain. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperor of Morocco ſoon after declared war againſt the Dey of Algiers, for not aſſiſting him, as the declaration ſet forth, by attacking Oran, another place belonging to the Spaniards, according to promiſe.

A ſmart ſhock of an earthquake has been lately felt at Martinico; and another, along the Barbary coaſt. The firſt deſtroyed the

the fortifications of the iſland where it happened; the latter, thoſe of Oran; and both beſides did other conſiderable damage.

31ſt. Two gold medals given annually by the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of Cambridge Univerſity, for the encouragement of learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Hall, of St. John's College, and Mr. Hewet, of Caius.

Letters from Bohemia bring the moſt afflicting accounts of a revolt among the peaſants there, and the Huſſites, who have joined them. Theſe revolters, who are divided into ſeveral corps, commit many exceſſes, and do much damage in the different places they paſs through. They have, among the reſt, pillaged the beautiful town of Klumitz, which belongs to count Ferdinand de Kinſky, and would have ſerved the caſtle in the ſame manner, if it had not been guarded by four companies of infantry, who drove them away. The manor of the count Browne, and ſeveral others, have been very ill uſed by them. This revolt is ſaid to be occaſioned by ſome of the peaſants being perſuaded, that the ſuperior nobility with-hold a patent, written in letters of gold by the Emperor, by which ſervitude and the corvees, to which they are ſubject towards their lords, are aboliſhed. For this reaſon they go from lordſhip to lordſhip to demand this patent; and, on being refuſed, plunder and pillage, and carry with them the officers and domeſtics belonging to the lords. But theſe commotions were ſoon appeaſed, the court of Vienna having ſent five regiments of infantry, with a corps of dragoons and huſſars, againſt the inſurgents, great numbers of whom were ſurrounded by theſe troops. Among thoſe that were taken on this occaſion, were ſeveral of the chiefs, who were hanged at Prague. His Imperial Majeſty, to manifeſt his clemency, had previouſly ordered a general pardon to all that ſhould return to their duty, the chiefs only excepted.

We are aſſured that the Emperor had already reſolved to aboliſh the unlimited ſervice of the peaſants, and that Count de Collowrath had received orders to make the neceſſary regulations for that purpoſe; but that, the preſent circumſtances intervening, a courier was diſpatched to that nobleman, with orders to leave every thing in Bohemia on the ſame footing.

It has ſince appeared, that a plan had been formed in Bohemia to break out in an open revolt againſt the Lords, and was to have been put in execution the 16th of next month.

DIED lately, viz. the 11th inſt. at Newport-Pagnel, Buckinghamſhire, Mr. Mitchell and his wife, with a ſon and daughter of theirs, and all within three days of each other.—When ſuch odd combinations of circumſtances happen, whether of premature death, ſudden death, or long life; extraordinary barrenneſs or fertility, &c. it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſuch combinations are not owing to chance, but to ſome powerful hidden cauſe. Would not the exploring of this cauſe be matter of the moſt rational entertainment; and the diſcovering of it, a ſource of the greateſt utility?

And on the 21ſt, was found dead in his bed, at his lodgings in Bull-head-court, Jewin-ſtreet, a very old man, who for upwards of twenty

years had not ſuffered any perſon to go into his room, and till within two days of his death went about in a moſt ragged, miſerable condition. After his death upwards of 50 guineas were found under his pillow, and a good deal of money in other parts of his room: he alſo had money in the public funds. He died without a will. When he walked out, his appearance being very deplorable, many people offered him money, but he would not accept of any, and generally expreſſed great reſentment at their kind offers.

APRIL.

1ſt. The States General have iſſued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of arms, ammunition, gun-powder, &c. in Dutch or foreign ſhips, from any of their dominions, without licence; and a tranſlation of it appeared in this evening's Gazette.

Mr. Jefferſon and Mrs. Jefferſon, an elderly couple, were both found dead in their beds, at their houſe in Portugal-court, Deptford, with their throats cut in a ſhocking manner; ſome villains having firſt murdered them, and then robbed the houſe.

By a letter from Philadelphia, a number of veſſels belonging to Montego Bay, in Jamaica, which had for ſome time paſt made it a practice to cut wood on the iſland of Cuba, were ſurpriſed by a Spaniſh veſſel fitted out for that purpoſe; and nine ſloops and ſchooners fell into their hands.

A raven's neſt, with five young ones in it, was to be ſeen, built under one of the windows of the pariſh-church of Yeat, in Somerſetſhire. It was ſupported by the bough of a tree faſtened to the wall with dirt by theſe birds.

4th. The Earl of Briſtol attended the levee at St. James's, and reſigned all his places under the government.

A ſturgeon, 7 feet 10 inches long, and weighing 1 cwt. 3 qrs. 7lb. caught in the river Thames, near Brentford, was ſent by the Lord Mayor, as a preſent to his Majeſty.

5th. At a common hall, held at the requeſt of ſeveral of the citizens of London, to conſider of a remonſtrance and petition to the Throne, reſpecting the meaſures in agitation with regard to America, the thanks of the Lord Mayor, &c. were voted to be given to thoſe Lords who proteſted againſt the bill to prohibit the people of New England from ſharing in the Newfoundland fiſhery, &c. and alſo to thoſe Commoners who voted againſt the ſame; and to ſeveral other lords and gentlemen, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſition to theſe bills.

A leaſe, for twenty one years, of the place of one of the fifteen Sea Coal Meeters of London, was ſold at Guildhall to Mr. Tomkins for 6050l. So that the ſale of this place may be reckoned to be worth to the city upwards of 4000l. per annum, one year with another; a fine fund, alone, for acts of magnificence and charity!

7th. At a grand rout given at the Manſion Houſe, it is computed the company amounted to near one thouſand perſons; many of them perſons of the firſt rank of both ſexes; who all expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at

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the uncommon regularity and elegance of the entertainment.——In the Egyptian hall, where the company dined, was a beautiful piece of painting, repreſenting the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, or love united with wine. In the ball-room, an emblematical painting at the top exhibited to the eye a landſcape of rural felicity, the charming nymphs and ſwains tripping over the green, and ſeeming to invite thoſe below to the ſprightly dance. The lamps were illuminated in a new taſte, and by the variety of their colours, diſpoſed in wreaths upon the pilaſters, in imitation of the orders of architecture, had a moſt pleaſing effect. To crown the whole, many of Mr. Cox's pieces of mechaniſm, from the Muſeum, all in full tune, continued their muſical movements during the greateſt part of the dinner.

The city marſhals have received orders from the Lord Mayor to attend every market-day at Smithfield, to prevent, as much as poſſible, all iniquitous practices there; and particularly all barbarous treatment of the cattle brought there for ſale; and if they find any offending, to take them into cuſtody.

8th. The following meſſage from his Majeſty was delivered to both Houſes of Parliament:

"His Majeſty, deſirous that a better, and more ſuitable accommodation ſhould be made for the reſidence of the Queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive him; and being willing that the palace in which his Majeſty now reſides, called the Queen's houſe, may be ſettled for that purpoſe, recommends to [both Houſes] to take the ſame into conſideration, and to make proviſion for ſettling the ſaid palace upon her Majeſty, and for appropriating Somerſet-houſe to ſuch uſes as ſhall be found moſt beneficial to the public."

Addreſſes, upon this, were immediately moved for, to thank his Majeſty for his moſt gracious meſſage, and to aſſure him that the contents ſhould be taken into conſideration.

They write from Montalto di Caſtro, in the dioceſe of Rome, that a fire broke out a few nights ago in a wooden cabbin, wherein about two hundred labourers ſlept, in the Pontifical Moraſs. Twenty-five of the poor wretches were burnt to aſhes; and, of ſeven more taken out half dead and ſenſeleſs, two ſoon expired. Several others were terribly burnt and maimed. The flames were ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by ſome ſparks from the fire, which it is uſual to keep in the middle of ſuch ſort of cabbins, to preſerve the poor tenants of them from the bad air.

Agi Oſman Pacha, grand-ſon of Topal Oſman Pacha, 9th. was ſtrangled as he was making his entry at Negropont, of which he was appointed governor. To prevent any diſturbance, the Janiſſary Aga of the place, who was charged with this commiſſion by the Grand Signor, had the precaution to ſhut the gates of the fortreſs, whilſt he was on the bridge, and to tell the troops who preceded him, and thoſe that followed him, that the bridge was broke. At the ſame time notice was given to the Pacha, who had then only ten or twelve people with him, that he muſt go into the little caſtle next the bridge, to ſettle his accounts

counts with the Sultan. But, as ſoon as he got off his horſe, they delivered him the Grand Signor's order, which condemned him to death, for having refuſed to go and fetch the ſlaves from Bender, and for having extorted 700 purſes from the Turks and Greeks of Romelia. Upon this, he deſired to ſee his ſon and his Selictar, one of his principal officers; which was refuſed him; he next offer'd 50,000 ſequins for fifteen days reſpite, which was likewiſe refuſed; then he made his prayer, and put the rope about his neck. His head was immediately ſent to Conſtantinople. This governor had forty mules laden with ſilver in his train.

10th. The Lord Mayor, attended by the Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Lewes, Hayley, and Newnham, William Lee, Eſq; Mr. Stavely, Mr. Deputy Howſe, Mr. Saxby, Mr. Maſcall, Mr. Hern, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Gorſt, and Mr. Jacob; with the Sheriffs and city officers, as uſual, waited upon his Majeſty with a petition and remonſtrance relative to the meaſures now in agitation againſt the inhabitants of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, &c. The reaſon for his Lordſhip's not being attended by a greater number, was, the Lord Chamberlain having previouſly informed the Sheriffs, that his Majeſty would not receive more than the uſual number of liverymen. When the Lord Mayor arrived at St. James's, he was moreover informed by the Lord in waiting, that his Majeſty expected his Lordſhip ſhould not ſpeak to him: To which the Lord Mayor anſwered, that the caution was needleſs, as he never expected or deſired that honour.

A few days ago, a collier diſcovered in a coal-mine, near Bridgnorth, in Shropſhire, ſeventy-five yards below the ſurface, the ruins of a water-mill, and the ſkeleton of a man, without any head; likewiſe the remains of ſome animals, but in ſuch an imperfect ſtate, that they could not even ſo much as conjecture their original figures. The learned there account for theſe things by imputing them to an earthquake which happened about two centuries ago.

Mr. Crayle, of Bond-ſtreet, had lately ſtolen from him jewels to the worth of fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds. This theft was committed by a man who had formerly been a favourite ſervant in the family, and who, under pretence of viſiting his late fellow ſervants, contrived to open Mr. Crayle's ſecret repoſitories for his valuable effects, by means of falſe keys. Beſides the jewels, the thief took away 2000 new guineas, and ſeveral Bank-notes; but what is very extraordinary, after diſcovery of the robbery, ſuſpicion immediately fell on the proper perſon; and, a ſearch warrant being obtained, the whole of the jewels were found in his lodgings; but the thief himſelf was gone off for France with all the money, in company with a favourite Dulcinea.

A few days ago, a farrier in Dean-ſtreet, Soho, undertook to run his horſe 22 miles in one hour, for a conſiderable wager; and performed it with eaſe in 59 minutes and a half on the Rumford-road. What makes this caſe exceedingly remarkable, is the horſe's being upwards of twenty years old.

11th. Gen. Elliot, commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, went to the caſtle of Dublin, and reſigned all his employments, amounting to 5000l. a year.

Orders

Orders have been iſſued in all the ſea-ports of France, prohibiting the taking in of any cargoes for the Engliſh colonies; and to inform thoſe who do ſo, that it will be at their own riſk.

12th. The Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſhold wrote to the Lord Mayor, to inform him, that his Majeſty will not receive, on the throne, any addreſs, remonſtrance, or petition, of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. And, as the conſequences of this letter have been very intereſting, and would take up too much room in this part of our work, we ſhall, in ſome of our ſubſequent ſheets, give the beſt account of the whole tranſaction our bounds will permit us.

The ſame day, the Earl of Effingham, by a letter to Lord Barrington, begged leave of his Majeſty to retire from the ſervice, and that without ſelling, as uſual, what he had bought, that he might not be obliged to inforce thoſe meaſures with reſpect to America, in his military, which he had thought himſelf bound to oppoſe in his legiſlative capacity.

13th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt-India iſlands.

The bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion in the American colonies.

The bill for appointing Commiſſioners to execute the land-tax act of this ſeſſion.

The bill to indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices, &c.

The bill for veſting part of the garden of Lincoln's Inn in the Accountant General of the Court of Chancery, and for erecting offices thereon, &c.

The bill for making better proviſion for the poor in the pariſh of St. Mary-le-Bone.

The bill to explain and amend an act to prevent frauds in the manufacture of hats, the woollen, and divers other branches of trade.

The bill to enable Sir Nigel Griſley and ſon, to make a navigable canal from certain coal-mines at Apedale, in Staffordſhire, to Newcaſtle under Lyne.

And alſo to ſeveral road, incloſure, and private bills.

Letters from Conſtantinople mention a fact, of which the Ottoman hiſtory cannot perhaps produce any example, and which proves, that though the late war may have coſt the Turks a great deal of money, it has taught them how neceſſary it is to deviate from their ancient cuſtoms, and follow the tactick rules of the other European powers. They have begun, it ſeems, by eſtabliſhing a military ſchool, under the direction of a profeſſor named Kerwomand, a native of Britanny, who was ſome years ago in the ſervice of one of the principal Chriſtian powers. He opened his courſe of ſtudies the 15th of laſt month. This is a plan of the Chevalier Tott's, who, with the above-mentioned profeſſor, is to have the inſtruction of the ſcholars. The latter has a penſion granted him of 3000 piaſtres per annum.

By

By a letter from the Iſle of Man, the tides for ſeveral days together, about the middle of this month, were lower in the different ports of that Iſland, than could be remembered by the oldeſt man living; and the ſame was obſerved on the weſtern coaſt of this kingdom.

The Empreſs of Ruſſia, commiſerating the diſtreſs of the provinces which were lately the ſeat of the rebellion, has been pleaſed to advance to them a million and a half of roubles for ten years, at the rate of one per cent. for the firſt three years, and three per cent. for the remaining ſeven. It is to be diſtributed amongſt the proprietors of peaſants, in the proportion of forty roubles for every man loſt by them in the late troubles.

19th. Hoſtilities commenced between his majeſty's troops and the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's Bay, by ſkirmiſhes at Lexington and Concord, in the neighbourhood of Boſton. See the hiſtorical part of this work.

21ſt. The Generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe, ſet ſail for Boſton, on board the Cerberus man of war, Captain Shads.

The ſame day the Society for the recovery of perſons apparently drowned, heard a ſermon in favour of the inſtitution, preached at St. Bride's, by the Reverend Mr. Harriſon, and afterwards dined together; when eleven out of eighteen perſons ſaved by their means within the laſt twelve months, were introduced to the Society, as living proofs of the importance of the inſtitution. See, in our article of Projects for this year, a full account of the eſtabliſhment of this moſt laudable Society, with the methods recommended by them for the recovery of perſons apparently dead by drowning, &c. the premiums offered by them for employing theſe means; with a liſt of the lives ſaved in conſequence of theſe meaſures; and the particulars of ſome of the moſt remarkable caſes.

There happened about this time, ſome terrible diſturbances at Dijon, in France, and in the village of Valteline, in the Breſſan, a province of Italy, on account of the great ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions, particularly of corn. At Dijon, they ſet fire to a farmer's houſe, who had kept his corn up, and would not ſell it but at a very high price; and the populace then ſacked the houſe of the intendant, who was obliged to make his eſcape. In ſhort, the diſorder was ſo great that the troops were called in, who took up 100 of the rioters; notwithſtanding which, it at laſt grew to ſuch a height, and laſted ſo long, that more than 500 perſons were either killed or wounded.

In the village of Valteline, above a thouſand aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and went armed to Breſcia, where they forcibly broke open and pillaged the public magazines of corn, and likewiſe thoſe of ſome private perſons, and carried off with them as much as they were able, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of fear, ſo deſperate had neceſſity made them.

25th. Sir Geo. Yonge, chairman of the ſelect committee on the Shafteſbury election, reported to the lower houſe the ſix following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That W. Sykes, Eſq; is

is not duly elected a burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent parliament for Shafteſbury.

Reſolved, That Thomas Rumbold, Eſq; is not duly elected a burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent parliament for Shafteſbury.

Reſolved, That Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Eſq; is duly elected a burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent parliament for the borough of Shafteſbury.

Reſolved, That Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Eſq; ought to have been returned a burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent parliament for the borough of Shafteſbury.

Reſolved, That the moſt ſcandalous and notorious bribery has been practiſed at the late election for the ſaid borough.

Reſolved, That it may be recommended to the Houſe to make enquiry into the ſame, in order that the ſaid offenders may be brought to condign puniſhment.

Sir George Yonge having delivered the report in at the table, the ſame was read by the clerk, and the ſeveral reſolutions agreed to by the Houſe, *nem. con.*

Having then repaired to his place, he acquainted the Houſe, that in the courſe of their proceedings, ſeveral matters had come out, in the courſe of the evidence, as iniquitous as indecent, and equally offenſive to the laws of God and man; that, whatever their opinion might be, which he aſſured the Houſe was deciſive, they determined to ſubmit to the Houſe the whole of the evidence, by way of report; that, under that idea, they meant not to preſcribe any particular mode of proceeding to it, but leave the whole matter before it, for its conſideration and judgment; and that he was inſtructed, in the name of the committee, to move the Houſe, "That the report of the proceedings and evidence had and taken in the ſaid buſineſs be laid before the Houſe to-morrow ſe'nnight, the 4th of May; and that the ſame be previouſly printed, and a ſufficient number of copies be delivered to the members.

Ordered, That no new writ be iſſued out for the election of a member for the ſaid borough before the expiration of the above time.

It was moved, That the deputy clerk of the crown do attend immediately to alter the return.—He attended and altered the return.

After the above matter had been ſettled, Mr. Mortimer was ſworn in, and took his ſeat.

The Houſe of Commons reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider of his majeſty's meſſage relative to the ſettling of Buckingham-houſe on her majeſty, in lieu of Somerſet-houſe, when they came to ſeveral reſolutions, which were afterwards reported, and are in ſubſtance as follows: 26th.

That it is the opinion of the committee, that the palace lately known by the name of Buckingham-houſe, and now called the Queen's-Houſe, be ſettled on the Queen, in lieu of Somerſet-houſe, in caſe ſhe ſhall ſurvive his majeſty.

That, from and after the determination of ſuch ſettlement, the ſaid palace be annexed to and veſted in the crown of Great-Britain.

That the palace of Somerſet-houſe, which, by an act made in the ſecond year of his preſent majeſty's reign, was ſettled upon the Queen, be veſted in his majeſty, his

his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the purpoſe of erecting and eſtabliſhing certain public offices.

Was held the anniverſary feaſt of the governors, &c. of the Lying-in Infirmary, when 457l. was collected towards the ſupport of that charity.

The iron cheſt belonging to the Court of Requeſts, St. Margaret's hill, was broke open, and robbed of 170l.

27th. Between one and three in the afternoon, a remarkable phænomenon, repreſenting in a moſt beautiful manner three ſuns, was diſtinctly ſeen from Flamſtead-hill, Chatham-barracks, Bexley, and other parts adjacent.

By a letter from Chatham-barracks, there appeared there about a quarter after one in the afternoon, a true regular circle (coloured) round the ſun; the diameter of the circle, with a Hadley's quadrant, meaſuring 45 degrees, 34 min. Another white luminous circle, a part of whoſe periphery at that time went through the ſun's centre, by obſervation made the diameter 98. There was another concentric circle (coloured alſo) at about 5 degrees from that round the ſun, and ſegments of two more coloured at places very bright, which were alſo concentric to each of the other circles. The light of the ſun was ſomewhat opake, by the ſhadows, as if two or three digits were eclipſed. The whole of this, without any variation, appeared upwards of an hour and twenty minutes.

At Bexley, by another letter, from Mr. Bailey, two mock ſuns were ſeen, nearly as bright as the real ſun, of which no notice is taken in the letter from Chatham; there were other mock ſuns of a bright white, glaring to the eye; but ſeen in water coloured like the rainbow; there were likewiſe mock ſuns of a fainter white, and the circle, which appeared very luminous at Chatham, appeared very faint at Bexley. There were ſome other differences between the appearance of this phænomenon, at theſe two places, though ſo near each other.

In 1749, a phænomenon of the ſame kind was ſeen at Appleby, in Yorkſhire; but we do not find that any thing remarkable followed that appearance; but for ſome days after this ſeen in Kent, the weather proved remarkably dry and cold, the wind ſhifting from N. E. to N. W. with blighting fogs and froſty nights; and ſcarce any rain in 30 days.

A few days ago, Jerry Lucas, a bricklayer, went into a public-houſe, called Stone Bridge, in Saliſbury, and began to laſh the landlord, Mr. Hodges, with his apron, in a kind of joke; however, continuing it too long, and not leaving off when he was deſired, Mr. Hodges gave him a blow with a battledore; on which Lucas ſtruck him with his fiſt, and knocked him down. Unhappily, by the fall, Mr. Hodges's ſkull was fractured, and notwithſtanding immediate aſſiſtance was procured from the faculty, he ſurvived only till Friday night, when he expired in great agonies.——The jury, however, brought in their verdict Manſlaughter.

Lord North made the following motions in a committee of the whole Houſe, appointed to conſider what encouragement ought to be given to the fiſheries of Great-Britain and Ireland. 27th.

land.—"That a bounty of 40 l. be given to the firſt 100 ſhips that arrive with a cargo of 10,000 cod-fiſh caught on the banks of Newfoundland; 20 l. for the next 100 ſhips; and 10 l. for the next 100 ſhips.—That a bounty of 500 l. be given to the ſhip that arrives with the greateſt quantity of whale-oil; 400 l. for the next greateſt quantity; 300 l. for the next; 200 l. for the next; and 100 l. for the next.—That Ireland have liberty to import blubber and whale-fins, the ſame as England.—That the duty on ſeal-ſkins imported into Ireland do ceaſe, and be no longer paid.—That Ireland have leave to export cloathing to America, for ſo much of the army as they ſupply and pay for.—That a bounty of 5 s. per ton be given to all flax-ſeed imported into Ireland."—The encouragement to be given to the linen manufactory of that kingdom was poſtponed.

The veſtry of the pariſh of St. Dunſtan in the Weſt, have ordered that the following bounties ſhall be paid by the Churchwardens for the moſt ready aſſiſtance by ladders, in caſes of fire:—For the firſt three-ſtory ladder raiſed up, 1 l. 10 s.; for the firſt two-ſtory ladder, 15 s.; for the firſt one-ſtory ladder, 5 s.—They have likewiſe ordered, that a further bounty, to be fixed at the diſcretion of the vicar and churchwardens, not exceeding 5 l. ſhall be given for any other effectual aſſiſtance in the preſervation of life.—It is hoped, that every pariſh, both in town and country, will imitate ſo humane and laudable an example.

Several perſons concerned in the late riot and reſcue in Moorfields, on the 3d Feb. were tried at Hicks's hall, found guilty, and condemned, as follows: John Taylor, James Nimmy, and Wm. Hatchman, to be impriſoned ſeven years in Newgate; John Morris, Joſeph Hawes, Abraham Iſaacs, Arthur Levi, John Leroſſe, Joſ. Ephraims, Thomas Hatchman, and Moſes Rebus, to be impriſoned five years in Newgate; Patrick Madan, whoſe being apprehended on ſuſpicion of felony, was the firſt occaſion of the riot, to five years impriſonment; Edward Oliver, to be impriſoned in Newgate three years. As there was ſome reaſon to apprehend, that an attempt might be made to reſcue them, a party of the guards was ſent for, who attended till the trials were over, and then conducted them to Newgate. Edward Cooke, two of whoſe fingers were cut off at the time of the riot, appeared as evidence on the occaſion. All the priſoners begged hard to be tranſported; but this was thought too great an indulgence for ſuch daring wretches. The trials laſted four hours; during which the mob of low Jews and Chriſtians round Hicks's hall was greater than ever remembered.

29th. Trial was made of Mr. Hartley's method of ſecuring houſes from fire, on a building which he had erected for that purpoſe at Bucklebury, in the county of Berks, to which ſeveral gentlemen were invited. The building conſiſted of two rooms, one over the other, with a ſtair-caſe of communication between, and a ſpace under the floor of the loweſt room juſt high enough to admit of a perſon's going under it. The fire was firſt laid on the floor in the room, then cloſe to the wainſcot in two corners, and under the bed; but,

but, notwithstanding the fire's being thus lighted in several places, its progress was so slow, on account of the floor being armed with the plates, that it was above an hour and a half before the whole room was on fire: at length, however, all the furniture and wainscot were completely in a blaze; the flames burnt with the greatest violence out of the door, window and chimney, to a considerable distance; and the inside of the room appeared one perfect mass of fire. Yet, the door that led to the stair-case, being armed with fire-plates, the stair-case, though contiguous to the room, felt no effect from the flames; and several persons continued in it all the time. The room over, and the space under the room, felt as little, persons going in and out of them, all the time of the experiment; neither were the joists of the floor and cieling any way injured by the force of the fire. After this, the stairs, which were likewise armed with the fire-plates, had a charcoal fire laid upon the landing-place, and one of the steps, which burnt out of itself, like a fire on a hearth, without doing any other damage than burning the part whereon it lay.

Advice has been received, that the ships which carried the Judges to the East-Indies were arrived safe at Madrass.

The Spaniards are said to have formed a settlement in the island of Tinian, to prevent the English from having any supply from that island in their voyages to the South Seas.

From the great improvements in agriculture, by the gentlemen and farmers in the three Lothians, and neighbouring counties of Scotland, particularly in the article of winter-feeding and fattening of cattle; the market of Edinburgh has been lately better and cheaper supplied, during the winter and spring seasons, than most other towns in the kingdom. A lesson to the inhabitants of those places, who think they have any reason to complain of the scarcity and dearness of provisions at their respective markets, to form and encourage societies for the improvement of agriculture.

A terrible thunder storm, accompanied with gusts of wind, and hail-stones of uncommon magnitude, did considerable damage in several of the middle counties, particularly in those of Northampton and Buckingham; where it unrooved houses, tore up trees by the roots, destroyed the blossoms, and broke many windows. Some persons were killed by the lightning in other parts. It was likewise felt in London; and during the thunder and lightning, which was very terrifying, some villains got into the house of Mr. Berry, in Rolls-buildings, and carried off plate and other valuable articles to the amount of 2000l. and upwards. 30th.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Maidstone, thirteen were capitally convicted, all of whom were reprieved, except one for a highway robbery.

At Winchester, ten were capitally convicted, two of whom for a burglary were left for execution; the others were reprieved.

At these assizes, a trial came on before Mr. Justice Blackstone, and a special jury, wherein the owners of

of a ſhip, belonging to Dordrecht were plaintiffs, and two other perſons defendants; the cauſe of action was for detaining the ſaid ſhip and cargo, contrary to the expreſs orders of the owners; and for refuſing to deliver up the ſhip and cargo to the perſon to whom the owners had given full power to receive the ſame; when, after a full hearing of ſeven hours, the jury, without going out of court, brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs, with 424 l. damages, and full coſts of ſuit.

At Worceſter, eight were capitally convicted; viz. five for highway-robberies, one for ſheep-ſtealing, and two for burglary; but they were all reprieved, except one found guilty on two indictments, one for a highway robbery, the other for ſtealing a horſe, who was left for execution.

At Chelmsford, twelve were capitally convicted, of whom five were left for execution.

At Huntingdon, three were capitally convicted; but all reprieved.

At Oxford, two were capitally convicted; one of them was reprieved; the other, for the murder of Edward Bowden, his maſter, at Biceſter, was executed.

At Reading, two were capitally convicted; but were afterwards reprieved.

At Hertford, four were capitally convicted, two of whom, for robbing on the highway, were left for execution.

At Bedford, two were capitally convicted; but one of them was reprieved.

At Norfolk, four were capitally convicted; one, for returning from tranſportation; one, for a burglary; and two for ſheep-ſtealing; the two laſt were reprieved.

At Lincoln, one was capitally convicted for a highway robbery; and another, for horſe-ſtealing. The firſt was reprieved, and the ſecond left for execution.

At Nottingham, one was capitally convicted for the murder of Mary Dufty in that town, received ſentence of death, and was executed.

At Derby, a woman was condemned for the murder of her baſtard child, but was reprieved.

At Shrewſbury, eight perſons received ſentence of death; of whom, one for plundering a wreck; one for the murder of Ann Chandler; and one for horſe-ſtealing; were left for execution.

The criminal left for execution for plundering a wreck, was a perſon of fortune; the wreck, that of the Charming Nancy, loſt on the coaſt of Angleſea, in 1773. Another, who had been found guilty at the ſame time of the ſame offence, was reſpited by the judge, who paſſed ſentence upon them. At the time they were found guilty, they moved an arreſt of judgment; but, their caſe being referred to the judges, the judges decided againſt them; in conſequence of which they received ſentence at the above aſſizes.

At Ayleſbury, five perſons were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Hereford, ſix perſons were capitally convicted, but all afterwards reprieved, except one.

At Leiceſter, three were capitally convicted.

At Lancaſter, one was capitally convicted.

At Surry aſſizes, nineteen were capitally convicted, two of whom were for murder.

At Exeter, ſix perſons were capitally convicted.

At Warwick, five received ſentence of death.

In Suſſex, a woman was capitally convicted, but was reprieved.

At Dorcheſter, five were capitally convicted.

At Northampton, two were capitally convicted.

At Taunton, four were capitally convicted.

At Brecon, one was capitally convicted.

At Haverfordweſt, four were tried for the murder of Mary Roberts, and after a trial of eight hours acquitted.

At Monmouth, two for highway robberies; and one for burglary, were capitally convicted; but one of the highwaymen only was left for execution.

At Bury St. Edmund's, three were capitally convicted.

At Coventry, one received ſentence of death.

At Glouceſter, ſix were capitally convicted.

At York, twelve were capitally convicted, beſides Captain Bolton, for the murder of his apprentice girl.

Some days ago, five hearty old men accidentally met together at the Flying Horſe, Newington-Butts, of the following ages, viz. 82, 80, 78, 74, and 69, compriſing together 383 years; the old blades made themſelves very merry on the occaſion.

BIRTHS. Was brought to bed lately, viz. the 4th inſtant, the wife of a peruke-maker, in Portland-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, in the fifty-fourth year of her age, and thirtieth of her marriage, and who never had a child before, of two ſons and a daughter, all, along with the mother, likely to live.

MARRIED lately, viz. the 2d of February, Captain Waller, of Deptford, aged 81 years, to Mrs. Ford, of Peckham, aged 79.

DIED lately, viz. the 18th of January, at Birmingham, Mr. John Baſkerville, printer, a gentleman well known, and much admired by the lovers of good paper and printing, as being the manufacturer of his own paper and types.

19th Feb. Mrs. Elliſon, in Weſtgate, Newcaſtle, poſſeſſed of a fortune of 180,000l.

20th, Mr. Joſeph Collyer, the ſpirited tranſlator of the Meſſiah, and Noah, and the Death of Abel, from the German; and author of a Dictionary of the World, a Hiſtory of England, a Syſtem of Geography, and ſeveral other uſeful works.

And the 1ſt inſtant, at his lodgings at Deptford, in an advanced age, Mr. Julius Warſtone, formerly a purſer in the royal navy, reckoned to have died worth 16,000l. but ſo penurious, that he would not keep any ſervant, nor allow himſelf common neceſſaries. His fortune he left to a neighbour, whoſe wife uſed to go every day to make his bed.

5th, Mary Watkins, Wargrave, Berks, aged 105.

Mrs. Humberford, Eſher, Surry, aged 105.

16th, John Monday, Eſq; of Durſley, Glouceſterſhire, aged 90, who by one wife had 21 children, 19 of whom are now living.

17th, At her houſe in New Norfolk-ſtreet, Lady Gertrude Hotham, ſiſter

ſiſter to the late Earl of Cheſterfield; her death was occaſioned by one of her ruffles catching fire, which communicated to her cloaths, and burnt her in a ſhocking manner.

30th, Daniel Mulleery, at Liney, Ireland, aged 127.

And, on the 25th inſtant, was interred in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, Mrs. Elizabeth Stukely, aged ninety-nine years and ten months.—She was grand-daughter to Mrs. Ann Maſter, who had twelve ſons and eight daughters, and died in the year 1705, aged ninety-nine years and ſix months, as appears by her monument in that church.

MAY.

1ſt. Lord Petre, accompanied by the officers of the grand lodge of Free-Maſons of England, laid the foundation-ſtone of Free-Maſons-hall in Great Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields, with the following ceremonies: the grand maſter, preceded by the grand ſtewards, paſt and preſent grand officers, in their regalia, and an excellent band of martial muſic, came in proceſſion to the ground about twelve o'clock; when his lordſhip, attended by his deputy, wardens, ſecretary, treaſurer, and architect, went down into the trench, and laid the ſtone with the uſual forms. An anthem was then ſung by brother Du-Bellamy, and an oration pronounced by brother James Bottomly. The company then returned in proceſſion in coaches to Leather-ſellers-hall, where an elegant entertainment was provided.

The Muſeum Lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

2d. Ended the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, when the court paſſed ſentence of death on two criminals, for highway-robbery; nine, for houſe-breaking; one, for ſtealing cattle; one, for horſe-ſtealing; and one, for ſtealing from a perſon, to whom he was clerk, two warrants, one for 213 l. the other for 156 l. 4 s. for which he had received the money; and, on the 7th of June, five of the houſe-breakers, and the clerk for ſtealing the warrants, were executed at Tyburn.

At this ſeſſions, Thomas Bates, late a ſerjeant in the third regiment of Guards, was tried for the murder of his wife, and found guilty of man-ſlaughter only. He bore a very good character, ſhe a very bad one; which, no doubt, had great weight with judge and jury; as one witneſs ſwore poſitively that he had *threatened to butcher her.*

About four in the afternoon, a terrible fire broke out at Mr. Coverdale's, biſcuit-baker, on Wapping-wall, which raged with great rapidity for ſeveral hours, and burnt down near twenty houſes.

The ſame afternoon, ſome workmen pulling down a houſe in Handcock-yard, near Saliſbury-court, and not taking care to ſhore it up properly, the whole building fell in, killed one of the workmen on the ſpot, and greatly bruiſed two others.

4th. According to annual cuſtom, Mr. Alderman Harley, preſident, with the truſtees and ſubſcribers to the charity ſchools, preceded by upwards of 5000 charity-children, forming two proceſſions, one from the Royal Exchange, the

other from Covent-garden Piazza, went to Chriſt-church, Newgate-ſtreet, where, after a ſermon preached by Dr. Ogle, Dean of Weſtminſter, an anthem was ſung by ſome ſelect children, in which the whole joined four times in chorus. The preſident, ſtewards, truſtees, &c. dined at the London Tavern, where an ode was ſung in honour of thoſe laudable inſtitutions.

A law, of this date, has been publiſhed at Florence, which forbids any girl being received into any convent under ten years of age, or taking the veil till twenty; and, as ſoon as ſhe makes her propoſals for the latter, ſhe is to be let out of the convent, and live in the world for ſix months; at the expiration of which ſhe is to be examined by a ſecular eccleſiaſtic of known piety and learning, who ſhall have no employment nor any relation in any convent whatever. The government is to chuſe the examiners, and a ſecular judge is always to be preſent at the examination. The examinations made by the ordinaries of each place are not forbid, but that appointed by government is always to precede them. No money is to be taken with the lay-ſiſters, their ſervices being deemed a ſufficient conſideration for their ſubſiſtence. As for the monks, they can only make their irrevocable profeſſion at the age of twenty-four; and they muſt firſt give in their baptiſmal extracts in form to the government, who will then give them permiſſion to take the vows; nor can any be admitted without ſuch permiſſion. The ſubjects of the Grand Duchy, who, to evade this law, ſhall go into any convent out of that ſtate, ſhall be accounted as foreigners, and can never fill any employment.

At 8½ P. M. a remarkable phænomenon was obſerved by 8th. a gentleman at Waltham-abbey.—A meteor, repreſenting a nebulous ſtar, appeared juſt above the moon, paſſed eaſtward, with a ſlow motion, parallel to the ecliptic, through an arch of about 5 or 6 degrees, and then diſappeared. It ſubtended an angle of 6 or 7 minutes, and was of the ſame brightneſs and colour with the moon.

Was completed the ſubterraneous tunnel at Norwood- 9th. hill, upon the line of the canal navigation from Cheſterfield to the river Trent, when three veſſels ſailed through the ſame with no leſs than 300 people on board, attended with a band of muſic. They performed their ſubterraneous voyage in one hour and one minute. This tunnel is 2850 yards long, 12 feet high, and 9 feet 3 inches wide, and in the deepeſt part 36 yards below the ſurface of the earth. It was firſt begun in November 1771, and is now completed. The range of the tunnel is ſo truly directed, that a perſon, ſtanding at one end thereof, may ſee out at the other. The open cutting from thence to Retford, being 16 miles in length, has been navigable ever ſince the beginning of November laſt; which reduced the price of that neceſſary article, coals, at Retford, from 15 s. 6 d. to 10 s. 6 d. per ton, and lime from 16 s. to 9 s. per chaldron, notwithſtanding the coals have been ſubject to the expence of land-carriage for four miles from the neareſt collieries to the navigation. Upon this

this part of the line are 39 locks, 24 bridges, 7 aqueducts, 13 culvets, 8 side-trunks, and 4 weirs. The works from Norwood-hill towards Chesterfield are carrying on with the greatest dispatch; and likewise from Retford to the Trent, upon an enlarged scale, to admit vessels of 50 or 60 tons burthen to come up from the river Trent to the town of Retford.

10th. Died at Zell, about midnight, her Majesty Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway, of a malignant fever, after an illness of five days, to the great grief of their majesties and all the royal family; and on the 13th her majesty's remains, accompanied by sixteen captains, were carried in a hearse, drawn by six horses, and attended by a double guard of soldiers, to the church in that city, where it was interred in the royal vault. The burial expences, amounting, private as it was, to 3000 l. were defrayed, by order, out of his majesty's own privy purse.

The mourning on this melancholy occasion, was such as is generally ordered and observed on the death of such exalted personages, and so nearly related to the king on the throne, with the usual exceptions in favour of the officers of the army, fleet, and marines. And on the 24th, a committee of the lords with white staves, and also a committee of the house of commons who were of the privy-council, waited on his majesty at St. James's with their address of condolence on the death of her majesty.

To the latter his majesty made the following most gracious answer: "That he returns his thanks to that house, for the concern they have expressed for the great loss which has happened in his family by the death of his sister, the queen of Denmark."

Mr. Justice Aston reported to the court of King's Bench, his minutes of the evidence on the trial of Messrs. Leigh, Miles, James, Aldus, and Clarke, on the 24th of February last, the four first of whom were convicted of a conspiracy and riot, and the latter of a riot only, in Covent-garden theatre on the 18th of November 1773, with intent to drive Mr. Macklin from the stage. Lord Mansfield observed on the nature of the offence, called it a national disgrace, and in very severe terms reprobated the conduct of the parties concerned in it. He said, in the first stage of the business he had urgently advised the defendants to make Mr. Macklin an adequate compensation for the great damage he had sustained; that he then particularly pointed out as an adviseable measure the saving of the costs, by putting an end to the matter at once; that the law expences were now swelled to an enormous sum, which sum the defendants themselves had given rise to, by their obstinacy and want of prudence.—Some time was spent in the court's endeavouring to make an amicable adjustment of the matter, and a final conclusion of it. Mr. Colman was proposed as arbiter general, which the defendants unanimously agreed to, but Mr. Colman declined the office; at length Mr. Macklin, after recapitulating his grievances, informed the court, that to shew he was no way revengeful, with which he had been charged, he would be satisfied with the defendants paying his

law expences, taking one hundred pounds worth of tickets on the night of his daughter's benefit, a ſecond hundred pounds worth on the night of his own benefit, and a third on one of the manager's nights, when he ſhould play; this plan, he obſerved, was not formed on mercenary views; its baſis was to give the defendants popularity, and reſtore mutual amity. Lord Mansfield paid Mr. Macklin very high compliments on the honourable complexion and ſingular moderation of this propoſal; his Lordſhip declared it did him the higheſt credit; that generoſity was univerſally admired in this country, and there was no manner of doubt but the public at large would honour and applaud him for his lenity. His Lordſhip added further, that notwithſtanding his acknowledged abilities as an actor, he never *acted* better in his life than he had that day. The propoſal was accepted by the parties, and the matter was thus ended. During the courſe of the buſineſs Lord Mansfield took occaſion to obſerve, that the right of biſſing and applauding in a theatre was an unalterable right; but that there was a wide diſtinction between expreſſing the natural ſenſations of the mind as they aroſe on what was ſeen and heard, and executing a pre-concerted deſign, not only to hiſs an actor when he was playing a part in which he was univerſally allow'd to be excellent, but alſo to drive him from the theatre, and promote his utter ruin.

Soon after the above deciſion, the managers of Covent-garden theatre met, and generouſly agreed to give up their claim to the hundred pounds worth of tickets.

A motion was made in the ſame court to make the rule abſolute againſt one Whitaker, in Fleet-ſtreet, for publiſhing, and Griffin in the Strand for printing, a letter in a morning paper of March the 1ſt, 1775, highly reflecting, it was alledged, on Lord and Lady Mexborough; but the proceſs not being ſufficient to ſatisfy the court that Whitaker was the publiſher, or Griffin the printer of the paper, and moreover that the blanks and inuendoes were far from being grounds ſufficient to grant an information, the motion was overruled, and the order diſcharged.

The Houſe of Commons went into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill to veſt in the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge a perpetual copy-right in books of uſeful learning within the ſaid univerſities. Governor Johnſtone moved, that the following clauſe be added to the bill: "Provided nevertheleſs, that nothing in this act ſhall extend to grant any excluſive right, otherwiſe than ſo long as the books or copies belonging to the ſaid univerſities are printed only at their own printing preſſes, and for their ſole benefit and advantage; and that, if any univerſity ſhall delegate, grant, leaſe, or ſell their copy-right, or excluſive right of printing books hereby granted, or any part thereof, or ſhall allow, permit, or authoriſe any perſon or perſons to print or re-print the ſame, or ſhall hold them in truſt for the uſe of any perſon or perſons whatſoever, that then the privileges hereby granted are to become void and of no effect, in the ſame manner as if this act had never been made." Governor Johnſtone was ſupported by the Attorney- 11th.

Attorney-general, Mr. John Johnſtone, &c. The clauſe was oppoſed by the friends of the London booksellers. After a hard ſtruggle, it was carried, to add the clauſe to the bill. By the bill, as it is now amended, the univerſities get for themſelves alone a perpetuity in the copy-right of all books which ſhall be gifted to them in future, provided ſuch books were never before publiſhed; but they are not allowed to buy or ſell copy-rights. By the above clauſe, and other amendments, the intention of ſuch London booksellers, as meant to obtain copy-rights in perpetuity delegated to themſelves by the univerſities, is fruſtrated; and the bill, as it now ſtands, met with no further oppoſition.

Mr. William Faden, who was convicted on Monday the 27th of February laſt, of printing a libel on Alderman Kennet, in the Public Ledger of Tueſday, September 27, 1774, was brought up to the court of King's Bench to receive ſentence, when Mr. Juſtice Aſton delivered the judgment of the court, ſentencing him to pay a fine of 200 marks, and remain in cuſtody till the ſame was paid.

Came on to be heard, in the court of the Duchy of Lancaſter at Weſtminſter, before the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy, aſſiſted by Lord Mansfield and Judge Gould, and attended by all the leading counſel at the bar, the long conteſted queſtion between the Crown and the occupiers of the houſes in the precinct of the Savoy in the Strand; when, after a full hearing, the court decreed the right in favour of the crown. This queſtion commenced in 1702, when the Savoy hoſpital was diſſolved by a decree of Lord-Keeper Wright; and though it had ſeveral times, at different periods, been brought for trials in the court of Exchequer, no final deciſion of the queſtion was ever had till now; but by this decree, the right of the crown to the poſſeſſions of the hoſpital, as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaſter, is firmly eſtabliſhed.

Was held the anniverſary of the meeting of the ſons of the clergy, at which were preſent the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Preſident; the Biſhops of London, Exeter, Cheſter, Worceſter, St. David's, Rocheſter, and Litchfield and Coventry; Aldermen Bull, Plumbe, Thomas, Hopkins and Newnham; Sheriffs Plomer and Hart. The collections on the rehearſal and feaſt-days were as follow, viz. on the 4th, at St. Paul's, 210l. 16s. 3d. the 6th, at ditto, 211l. 10s. 3d. at Merchant Taylor's Hall, 444l. 6s. 9d. Total of the contributions, 866l. 13s. 3d.

Some weeks ago, two fellows went to the houſe of Mr. Boyer, button-maker, in Horſeſhoe-alley, pretending to have an order; but the maid refuſing to open the door farther than a chain would admit, they pulled her partly through the opening, cut off her pockets, and made off.

There fell, in and about Murcia, in Spain, a ſtorm of hail, which laſted about twenty minutes. Many of the ſtones were of the ſize of oranges, weighing a pound, and ſome twenty ounces, and the greateſt part of them eight ounces. The country people were all thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by it. The damage, it was 13th.

feared, would be very great, from the quantity of corn, silk, barilla, &c. which was destroyed.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, some of the Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of London, waited upon his Majesty with an address and petition.

Monsieur Pia, of Paris, has lately presented the Medical Society, of Crane-court, Fleet-street, with a complete apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned.

By letters from Hamburgh, the King of Prussia has caused it to be notified to the merchants of Konigsburgh, that they are no more to frequent the fairs at Leipsic, his majesty having taken measures to have two annual fairs held in New Prussia, where all sorts of merchandizes shall be brought for sale. His Prussian majesty has also caused six frigates to be built at Stettin, three of which are to be sent to Spain to purchase cargoes of salt, which are to be vended in New Prussia and Poland.

16th. The Empress of Russia issued an ukase, whereby various taxes are abolished, some of which were laid on during the late war, and others were of old standing.

The taxes laid on during the late war, and which are now abolished, were, the tax of 80 copecks over and above that of 1 rouble 20 copecks paid by merchants and handicraftsmen. The tax of 100 roubles on each furnace or iron work. The tax of five roubles on each furnace in copper founderies. The tax of four copecks on each pood of cast iron. The tenths of founded brass. The tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind.

The additional tax of one rouble per annum on each weaver's loom employed in fabrics, or by private persons in their own houses; as likewise the tax of one per cent. on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods. And a general liberty is given to establish manufactories without the permission of the colleges.

The taxes upon the estates of the Livonian noblemen.

Amongst the taxes of old standing, which are now abolished, were the tax on tanners and skinners work; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on soap-works, on oil-manufactories, on private salt-works, and that on malt and hops, which, mentioned generally, is understood to relate to the malt and hops grown and made here.

The prohibition is taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire of erecting smith's shops, and small iron works; and they are henceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatsoever.

There are several others of less importance, but they have not the smallest influence, either directly or indirectly, on foreign trade.

The same edict contains a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon. It takes off all prohibitions against marrying without the consent of the governors of towns or provinces, and all duties hitherto paid to obtain their permission.

It admits all burghers, who declare upon oath that they are possessed of a capital of 500 roubles, into the class of merchants; by which they are exempted from those taxes, which their former rank subjected them to; but, in lieu of these, they are to pay one per cent.

upon

upon their capital, whatever it may be, and which they are likewiſe to declare upon oath; and, vice verſa, thoſe who have hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who do not actually poſſeſs a capital of 500 roubles, return into the claſs of burghers.

All peaſants, enfranchiſed by their lords, are, at their reverſion, to chuſe whether they will enter into the ſervice of government, or become burghers or merchants, that they may be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon is granted to all perſons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in oblivion; as alſo a releaſe to all priſoners who have been confined for any crimes whatever for the ſpace of ten years, without judgment having been paſſed upon them; nor is any crime, committed ſo long ago as ten years without being brought to light, to be examined into; and this is to be henceforward a permanent law throughout the empire.

All inſolvent debtors, who have been confined for the ſpace of five years, are to be releaſed.

All heirs of perſons, who were indebted to the crown, are diſcharged from the payment of ſuch debts.

All nobles, ſerving as ſubaltern officers, are to be ſubject to no other penalties and puniſhments than ſuch as have been inflicted on their ſuperior officers; nor are the corporal puniſhments of the private men to be, for the future, ſo ſevere nor ſo ignominious, as they have hitherto been.

The ſenate has received a ſpecial order to lower the duty on the ſale of lands, houſes, &c. from ſix to four per cent.

On the ſame day the treaty of peace with the Porte was publiſhed in the Ruſſian language.

17th. The fort of Ticonderoga, which had been taken from the French by his majeſty's troops during the laſt war, was ſurpriſed by a party of the Americans, under the Colonels Allen and Eaſton.

About half paſt eight o'clock in the evening, a fire broke out, in a barrack, on Treat's wharf, in Boſton, New England, while the ſoldiers there were receiving a number of cartridges; one of them having taken fire and communicated it to many more, which immediately ſet fire to the room, and ſoon catched the adjoining buildings. All the ſtores on the ſouth ſide of the dock were deſtroyed, except that at the head of the wharf, occupied by Mr. S. Elliott. All the ſtores from Mr. Elliott's to Mr. Ellis Gray's, which makes the north corner of Spear's wharf, except that occupied by the Commiſſary's office, were alſo deſtroyed. The fire raged with great fury all night. It was at length ſtopt by the pulling down of a ſhed. Twenty-ſeven ſtores, one cooper's ſhop, and four ſheds, were burnt, but not one dwelling-houſe. The whole loſs was thought to amount to 40,000l. ſterling.

Was tried at the bar of the court of Common Pleas, by a ſpecial jury from the county of Suffolk, an action of ejectment brought on the reſpective demiſes of three ſeveral perſons aſſuming the name of Naunton, againſt William Leman, Eſq; for recovery of a conſiderable eſtate in the ſaid county, wherein the plaintiff ſuffered a judgment of nonſuit. It ſeems the claim to this

eſtate

eſtate has been litigated for ten years and upwards, in every court in Weſtminſter-hall, without a ſingle determination in favour of the claimants.

An experiment was made, a few days ago, on the Ipſwich road, with the plow, contrived to throw up the ſides of roads in order to raiſe them in the middle, and it anſwered beyond expectation. More work can be done by it in the ſame ſpace of time than can be done by fifty men.

So rapid have been the changes of Governors in America, ſince the death of his late majeſty, that there were now no leſs than three perſons in England, who have been Governors of Boſton, viz. Governors Pownal, Bernard, and Hutchinſon; three, who have been Governors of New-York, viz. Governors Hardy, Monckton, and Tryon; four, who have been Governors of New-Jerſey, viz. Governors Pownal, Bernard, Boon, and Hardy; four, who have been Governors of South-Carolina, viz. Governors Lyttleton, Pownal, Boon, and Montagu; and three, who have been Governors of Virginia, viz. Governors Lord Loudoun, Pownal, and Amherſt; not to mention the new Governors, Lord Dunmore, Franklin, Gage, Colden, and Ball, now in their governments.

19th. Was held the anniverſary meeting of the guardians of the Aſylum for female orphans, when the collection amounted to no more than 100l. 14s. 6d.

The town of Philipſtade in Wermeland, in Sweden, was lately entirely burnt down, together with all the magazines of corn; a loſs which muſt be ſeverely felt in ſo northern a climate.

23d. By virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty, the following bills received the royal aſſent, viz.

The bill to enable the different univerſities in Great-Britain, and the colleges of Eton, Weſtminſter, and Wincheſter, to hold, in perpetuity, their copy-right in books given or bequeathed to them for the advancement of learning.

The bill to empower juſtices of the peace to adminiſter oaths in certain caſes relative to the poor.

The bill for altering, explaining, and amending, ſeveral acts of parliament of Scotland, reſpecting colliers, coal-bearers, and ſalters, &c.

The bill for completing and maintaining the pier of Magaviſſey in Cornwall.

The bill to repeal an act againſt the erecting of cottages.

The bill to enable his majeſty to licenſe a play-houſe in Mancheſter.

The bill for the better relief and employment of the poor, within the hundreds of Mitford and Launditch, in Norfolk.

The bill to permit the free importation of raw goat-ſkins into this kingdom.

The bill to permit the importation of painted earthen ware, except gally tiles, the manufacture of Europe, to be ſold in Great-Britain.

The bill to diſſolve the marriage of Robert Greene, Eſq; with his now wife.

And alſo to ſeveral road, incloſure, and private bills.

We have already ſaid ſomething concerning the firſt and fifth of theſe bills; and it will be ſtill more proper to ſay ſomething concerning the

the third, the condition of the poor wretches it regards being ſuch as could ſcarce be ſuppoſed to exiſt in any part of the Britiſh iſlands. This may be ſeen by part of the preamble to the ſaid bill, and the heads of it, which are as follow:

"Whereas many colliers, coal-bearers, and ſalters in Scotland, are in a ſtate of ſlavery or bondage, bound to the collieries and ſalt-works, where they work for life, and are ſold with the mines: Be it enacted, That,

"1. No perſon ſhall be bound to work in them in any way different from common labourers.

"2. It ſhall be lawful for the owners and leſſees of collieries and ſalt-works to take apprentices for the legal term in Scotland.

"3. All perſons under a given age, now employed in them, to be free after a given day.

"4. Others of a given age, not to be free till they have inſtructed an apprentice."

24th. The Ducheſs of Kingſton, lately returned from abroad, appeared in the court of King's Bench, to anſwer an indictment preferred againſt her for marrying the late Duke, her former huſband being then alive. Her Grace came through the back door of the Duke of Newcaſtle's houſe, and went up the ſtairs which lead to Lord Manſfield's room, behind the court of King's Bench.——As ſoon as the court ſat, Mr. Wallace acquainted the court with the buſineſs relative to her Grace, and that the parties were all ready, and attending without: Lord Mansfield then gave directions for them to be called in, and her Grace, attended by the Duke of Newcaſtle, Lord Mountſtuart, Mr. Le Roche, and Sir Thomas Clarges, came out from the anti-chamber into court. Her Grace having paid her obedience to the judges and counſel, ſat down between Mr. Juſtice Aſton and the Duke of Newcaſtle; the Sheriff of Middleſex was then called upon, in whoſe cuſtody ſhe was; and, the indictment being read, ſhe entered into a recognizance, herſelf in 4000l. and her four other ſureties above named in 1000l. each, perſonally to appear to anſwer the ſaid indictment, whenever called upon by the king and her peers in parliament aſſembled. Her Grace then, in a very polite manner, took leave of the court, and retired.

25th. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when they entered upon the buſineſs of the marſhalmen. After ſome debates, it was finally determined in the following manner, viz. that the four under marſhalmen who purchaſed their places ſhall, in lieu of the perquiſites they uſed to enjoy, have an additional ſalary of 30l. per ann. each, to commence from the year 1773 for their lives; and the other two marſhalmen, who did not purchaſe their places, as they have been ſworn in before the court of aldermen, and have executed the buſineſs of the office, ſhall be continued at the old ſalary; that thoſe places ſhall not be at the diſpoſal of the city marſhals; but, as they fall, ſhall be diſpoſed of by the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council aſſembled together.

The linen and carpet manufactories of Mr. Cheap, at Edinburgh, were burnt to the ground, with all the warehouſes thereunto belonging;

ing; and a great part of the goods in theſe buildings were likewiſe deſtroyed.

26th. His majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to

The bill for ſettling Buckingham-houſe on her majeſty inſtead of Somerſet-houſe, &c.

The bill for redeeming 1,000,000l. of the capital ſtock of the three per cent. annuities, and for eſtabliſhing a lottery.

The bill for granting to his majeſty a certain ſum out of the ſinking fund, and for applying certain moneys therein mentioned for the ſervice of the preſent year.

The bill to explain and amend an act to eſtabliſh a fund for defraying the adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſupporting the civil government of Quebec.

The bill for the encouragement of the fiſheries carried on from Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh dominions in Europe.

The bill for giving a public reward to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall diſcover a northern paſſage from Europe to the weſt and ſouthern ocean of America.

The bill to amend an act to enable the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to iſſue his warrants to make out new writs for the choice of members to ſerve in parliament, in the room of ſuch members as ſhall die during the receſs.

The bill to enlarge the term of letters patent granted to William Clockworthy, for the ſole uſe of a diſcovery of certain materials for the making of porcelain.

The bill to amend an act for making better proviſion for the poor in the pariſh of Shoreditch.

And to ſeveral private bills. After which his majeſty made a moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, and prorogued them to the 27th of July.

Came on to be re-argued, before the judges of appeal, in Serjeant's-inn, Chancery-lane, the cauſe relative to the diſfranchiſement of Alderman Plumbe, brought by writ of error before their lordſhips; when Mr. Wallace, as counſel for the plaintiff in error, endeavoured to prove that his client, as a citizen of London, was not ſubject to diſfranchiſement, for not obeying the Lord Mayor's precept to ſummons, as chief warden of the Goldſmiths company, the livery of the ſaid company to attend in Guild-hall, to hear his Majeſty's anſwer to the humble addreſs, &c. of the common-hall. He contended, that the Alderman could not offend in his duty as a freeman, as he acted only on the ſummons being given him in the character of warden, and quoted many law-caſes to ſupport his arguments.

Mr. Leigh, counſel for the defendant in error, obſerved, that it was the duty of the plaintiff, as a citizen of London, to obey the lawful commands of the Mayor, which he was bound to do by the oath of a freeman; that the ſummons the Lord Mayor ſent him was not only on a legal, but a neceſſary buſineſs; and that, by his refuſing to obey it, he was ſubject to diſfranchiſement; and he cited many City reports to corroborate his argument. Mr. Wallace made a reply, and expatiated a great deal on the hardſhip of diſfranchiſing, or depriving a man of a freehold for life, for the omiſſion of an act that could not be attended with

with any material conſequences. The Judges then adjourned the court till the 7th of July, when it is expected their Lordſhips will give judgment.

By letters from Corſica, it appears that France, having laid aſide all thoughts of parting with that Iſland, has not only offered premiums for the encouragement of agriculture there; but has ſent over a number of huſbandmen to it from France, who are to promote among the inhabitants the culture of grain, of vines, and of olives, the raiſing of plantations, and the rearing of cattle.

The Emperor of Morocco having lately applied for a peace to the King of Spain, his Catholic majeſty has declared, in anſwer to the requeſt of the Mooriſh Prince, that he will not grant it to him, but on the following conditions: 1. That he ſhall pay him four millions of hard dollars for the expences occaſioned by the late rupture; 2. That he ſhall return the twenty-four Spaniards taken priſoners; 3. That he ſhall grant four leagues of country round the places in Africa in the poſſeſſion of Spain; and, 4. That he ſhall cede to Spain the port of Tetuan, and the iſland of Mogador.

27th. A cauſe was determined in the court of King's Bench, which is of importance to the trading part of the nation. A tradeſman at Carmarthen gave an order, by letter, to a watch-maker at Coventry, for ſome watches, and directed him to ſend them by land carriage; which he accordingly did; but the tradeſman, having never received them, refuſed to pay for them. Upon this, the watch-maker arreſted him, and a law-ſuit enſued, which was brought, at the laſt aſſizes at Coventry, before judge Eyre, who diſmiſſed it. The plaintiff therefore brought it into the court of King's Bench; when, after a ſhort hearing, Lord Manſfield declared in favour of the plaintiff, as follows, with coſts; and made the rule abſolute: that, when the vender of goods complies with the orders of the vendee, in conveying them in the manner deſired, the moment they are delivered to the carrier, they become the property of the vendee; and, whether he receives them or not, he is equally anſwerable for the payment of them to the vender; but, if he does not receive them, he has his remedy againſt the carrier. If, on the other hand, the vendee orders goods to be ſent by any particular waggon, and the vender ſends them by another, and they miſcarry, then the vender muſt look to the carrier for the recovery or payment of them, and not to the vendee.

A letter from Jamaica, of this date, ſays: "By a veſſel put in here we learn, that they have had three ſhocks of an earthquake at Hiſpaniola in two days, which have diſconcerted the ſchemes of the Spaniards, who had built ſtore-houſes, &c. and intended to make that place a rendezvous for their fleet deſigned for the American and Weſt-India ſervice.—— Their ſtorehouſes are thrown down, and the ſea has broke in and done great damage. Moſt of the ſhips that lay there are much damaged, but we do not hear of above five lives being loſt." 28th.

The new ſhip Port Morant, Raffles, from Jamaica to London, loaded with ſix hundred hogſheads of ſugar, and ſeveral puncheons of

of rum, having ſtruck on a place called the Hog-ſtyes, in the windward paſſage, both ſhip and cargo were totally loſt. The captain, crew, and ſeveral of the paſſengers, were ſaved by taking to the boats, and getting to a rock, on which they lived for ten days, with nothing to eat but ſome raw beef and pork that they ſaved out of the ſhip; when they were providentially taken up by a ſmall veſſel, carried to Providence, and put on board the Charlotte, Green, who has brought them home.

Capt. O'Kelly lately ſold one of his Eclipſe colts for 1000 guineas down, and 500 more, if he wins the firſt time he ſtarts.

29th. An important queſtion between the Stationers company and Mr. Carnan, of St. Paul's Church-yard, concerning the right of printing Almanacks, was determined, by the unanimous opinion of the judges of the court of Common Pleas, in favour of Mr. Carnan; and, the Friday following, being the 2d of June, the injunction obtained by the Stationers company in the court of Chancery, November 29, 1773, to prevent Mr. Carnan's printing and ſelling almanacks, was diſſolved by the Lord Chancellor.

A cauſe was tried in the Common Pleas, in which Miſs Davies, formerly a ſinger at the Opera-houſe, was plaintiff, and Richard Yates, Eſq; manager of that houſe, defendant. The trial laſted from ten in the morning till ſix in the evening, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 1500l. her ſalary for a ſeaſon, and 500l. for a benefit which ſhe was beſides to have, and which ſhe valued at that ſum; both, excluſive of coſts.

The two unfortunate Perreaus (of whom we ſhall take the proper notice in another place) were removed from Newgate by a writ of Habeas Corpus to the court of King's Bench, in order to be examined as witneſſes, in a trial upon an action of Trover, brought by Mr. Belliard, jeweller, againſt Sir T. F———. It appeared, that the plaintiff had lent Daniel Perreau a diamond ring of 500l. value, till he, the plaintiff, ſhould be able to make one of the ſame value of a different faſhion for him; that, on the detection of the late forgeries, Sir Thomas, as principal creditor, ſeized the ring in queſtion as part of Daniel Perreau's real property. After a ſhort conſultation, the jury found for the plaintiff, with one ſhilling damage, which intitles him to coſts of ſuit.

Three placarts have been lately publiſhed at Copenhagen; the firſt prohibits the exportation of potter's clay from the Iſle of Bornholm; the ſecond, the importation of foreign fuſtians, called there Olmerdugg, or Parchents; and the third, the importation and uſe of foreign tin-plates in Denmark, Norway, and the principalities of Sleſwick and Holſtein, except what are called the large black iron plates.

31ſt. The following advertiſement appeared in the Pennſylvania Gazette:

"A gentleman, who ſerved as an officer all laſt war in the King of Pruſſia's army, offers his ſervice to the province of Pennſylvania. The men that will be entruſted to his care, he obliges himſelf to teach, in

in a very ſhort time, the moſt uſeful and neceſſary manœuvres, eſpecially quick firing, even without a rammer, for which purpoſe he knows how to prepare ſuitable cartridges, beſides the art of advancing and retiring properly; and, laſtly, how to avoid all confuſion in an engagement. Enquire, &c.

There was now to be ſeen, as a ſhew, in London, what the owner was pleaſed to ſtile a Siren or Mermaid: and though, by its not being ſubmitted to the examination of the college of Phyſicians, or the Royal Society, the proper judges of ſuch uncommon ſubjects, we have reaſon to doubt of its genuineneſs, and therefore took no notice of it in our article of Natural Hiſtory, we cannot prevail on ourſelves totally to omit it. It differs materially from that ſhewn at the fair of St. Germaine, ſome years ago; ſo that there is reaſon to believe, there are two diſtinct genera, or, more properly, two ſpecies of the ſame genus, the one reſembling the African blacks, the other the European whites. That which was formerly ſhewn had, in every reſpect, the countenance of a Negro; this has the features and complexion of an European. Its face is like that of a young female; its eyes, of a fine light blue; its noſe ſmall and handſome; its mouth ſmall; its lips thin, and the edges of them round like that of the codfiſh; its teeth are ſmall, regular, and white; its chin is well-ſhaped, and its neck full. Its ears are like thoſe of the eel, but placed like thoſe of the human ſpecies; and behind them are the gills for reſpiration, which appear like curls. Some are ſaid to have hair upon the head; but this has none, only rolls inſtead of hair, that, at a diſtance, may be miſtaken for ſhort curls. But its chief ornament is a beautiful membrane or fin riſing from the temples, and gradually diminiſhing till it ends pyramidically, forming a foretop like that of a lady's head-dreſs. It has no fin on the back, but a bone like that of the human ſpecies. Its breaſts are fair and full, but without nipples; its arms and hands are well proportioned, but without nails on its fingers; its belly is round and ſwelling, but no navel. From the waiſt downward the body is in all reſpects like the cod-fiſh. It has three ſets of fins, one above the other, below the waiſt, which enable it to ſwim erect upon the ſea; and it is ſaid to have an enchanting voice, which it never exerts except before a ſtorm.—The proprietor ſays, it was taken in the Gulph of Sanchio, in the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, by a merchantman trading to Natolia, Aug. 1774.

There are now living, in the pariſh of St. Bees, Cumberland, two brothers, and three ſiſters, whoſe ages are, 87, 85, 83, 81, and 71; in all, 407 years.

And in the workhouſe at Camberwell in Surry, a woman named Jones, aged 125 years, who remembers her being at ſervice when King Charles the Second was crowned in 1660, and at this time enjoys her perfect ſenſes: and, what is full as obſervable, the nurſe who attends her is aged 101. The tendereſt care imaginable is taken by the governors and maſters of that charity to preſerve the lives of two ſuch remarkable perſons.

Died lately, at Sheltington near Tamworth, in Warwickſhire, aged fifty-ſeven, Mr. Spooner, farmer, of

of that place. He was thought to be the fatteſt man in England, weighing, four or five weeks before his death, forty ſtone and nine pounds. He had not been able to walk for ſeveral years, but had a little cart and able horſe to draw him abroad for air. He meaſured, after his death, four feet three inches acroſs the ſhoulders. He was drawn to the church-yard in the cart he uſed to ride in. His coffin was made much longer than his body, on purpoſe to give the bearers room to carry him from the cart to the church, and from thence to the grave. Thirteen men carried him, ſix on each ſide, and one at the head. His fatneſs, ſome years ago, ſaved his life; for, being at Atherſtone market, and ſome difference ariſing between him and a Jew, the Jew ſtabbed him in the belly with a pen-knife; but the blade, being ſhort, did not pierce his bowels, or even paſs through the fat which defended them.

And, on the 1ſt inſtant, Doctor Rutty, one of the people called quakers, an eminent phyſician in Dublin, and author of ſome very learned and ingenious pieces.

Mr. Iſrael Lyons, eminent for his extraordinary genius and extenſive knowledge, particularly in botany, mathematics, &c. He accompanied Capt. Phipps in his voyage to the North Pole, as principal aſtronomer; and was the author of the tables annexed to the account of that voyage, and of ſeveral other ingenious publications. He has left many valuable notes and obſervations, for an edition of Dr. Halley's works collected into a volume, which he had juſt prepared for the preſs, with the ſanction of the Philoſophical Society.

Humphry Coates, Eſq; late a candidate for Weſtminſter, and remarkable for his ſteady adherence to Mr. Wilkes.

On the 13th, Doctor Nicholas Robinſon, at Iſlington, a celebrated phyſician, author of many learned pieces.

On the 19th, Jonathan Howes, in Eaſt-Smithfield, aged 106.

On the 24th, Michael M'Laughlin, aged upwards of one hundred, at Athlone in Ireland. He had five wives, the laſt of whom he has left with a child not above a year and a half old.

JUNE.

During the Montem, a yearly feſtival celebrated on this day by the Eton ſcholars, at Salthill, there fell the moſt violent ſtorm of hail and rain ever remembered in that part of the country. The hail-ſtones were as large as playing marbles, and the ſudden flood was ſuch, that ſeveral perſons were up to the ancles. Moſt of the many noblemen and gentlemen who were preſent, were as wet as if they had been drawn through a river. 1ſt.

This day came on at Weſtminſter-hall, before Lord Mansfield, an action in which the Earl of Briſtol was plaintiff, and the printer of a morning paper defendant, for a libel in the ſaid paper on the 5th of December laſt; when the jury gave a verdict for his Lordſhip with 300l. damages.

A man was carried before the Lord Mayor, for attempting to bribe the two Blue-coat boys, who drew the Muſeum lottery, to conceal a ticket, and bring it to him, promiſing he would next day let them have it again; when one of them

them was, it ſeems, to convey it back privately into the wheel, but without letting go his hold of it, and then produce it as if newly drawn; the man's intention being to inſure it in all the offices againſt being drawn that day. But the boys were honeſt, gave notice of the intended fraud, and pointed out the delinquent, who, however, was diſcharged, as there is no law in being to puniſh the offence.

At a meeting of tradeſmen at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, it was unanimouſly agreed to contribute to the ſtopping of the circulation of bad halfpence, by refuſing to take any.

As one of the charity boys of St. James, Clerkenwell, was bathing in a pond at Iſlington, he was ſeized with the cramp, and ſunk; and his body was ſo entangled in the mud at the bottom, that it was a very conſiderable time before it could be found. It was then carried to a public houſe at Iſlington, when Mr. Church, of that place, one of the medical aſſiſtants to the Society for the recovery of drowned perſons, was ſent for. It is generally believed that it was near an hour before any means whatever were uſed to reſtore this object to life; and it was an hour and a half more, before any pulſation was perceived; and what could then be perceived, was very feeble. This, however, was ſufficient to make Mr. Church perſevere in the means he thought proper for full four hours, when the boy fell into ſtrong convulſions, and after ſome time became ſenſible. He had a tolerable good night, and was pronounced out of danger next morning. This caſe is inſerted to keep alive the attention of our Readers to the above moſt uſeful eſtabliſhment; and to ſhew, among many other caſes, that on ſuch occaſions, ſcarce any circumſtances can be deſperate enough to excuſe the not putting in practice their preſcriptions, or not perſevering in the uſe of them. See our firſt article under the head of Projects for this year.

The Ruſſian admiral lately arrived at Spithead ſaluted the Engliſh flag with fifteen guns, which were returned with thirteen. But he refuſed this compliment, till he had received orders to pay it from her Imperial Majeſty's ambaſſador at London.

The magiſtrates of Bruſſels have iſſued orders, that all Jews, ſettling in that city for the future, ſhall pay 300 florins yearly to the receivers of the Empreſs Queen's revenue, or be baniſhed; and that, if any Jews ſhould, under pretence of being travellers, ſtay there above forty-eight hours, they ſhall be obliged to pay the ſame ſum.

Lord Sandwich, accompanied by Lord Seaford, Sir Hugh Palliſer, Mr. Banks, and Omiah, the native of Otaheite, began his annual ſurvey of the Royal Navy, by examining the ſtate of Chatham-yard. The artificers and workmen of the dock-yards, with the officers of ſhips and ſeamen in ordinary, were muſtered before his Lordſhip. Omiah was conducted by Mr. Peake, builder's aſſiſtant, on board the Victory, of 100 guns, now repairing. His ſurprize at ſeeing ſo large a ſhip can ſcarcely be expreſſed. By this ſurvey, it appeared, that there were eighty-ſeven ſhips then fit for ſervice, including thoſe already in commiſſion; and alſo ſeveral frigates. 5th.

6th. A buttock of beef, which some time ago had been sent from London to Charles Town, in South Carolina, in the Pallas, Capt Turner, as a present, would not be suffered to be landed there. It was therefore brought back again, and this day eaten at the Jamaica coffee-house, Rotherhithe.

The reigning Prince of Nassau-Usinguen, being willing to establish, in a Catholic church in his country, the exercise of the Lutheran religion, and having sent thither for that purpose a Bailiff, accompanied by several armed men, the inhabitants, assisted by some peasants of the country of Mentz, opposed them; and the opposite parties came to blows. The Bailiff was dangerously wounded, and some of his companions were killed.

7th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when fourteen convicts received sentence of death, viz. the two unfortunate brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau, for forgery; four, for street, field, and highway robberies; three, for house-breaking, and house-robberies; one, for theft; one, for firing a pistol at Walter Butler, one of the patrole, near the Foundling Hospital, and wounding him in the neck; two, for coining; and one, for horse-stealing. One received sentence of transportation for fourteen years; sixteen, sentence of transportation for seven years; and nine convicted of coining halfpence, were branded in the hand, and sentenced to suffer an imprisonment in Newgate for twelve months. One, for a fraud, was fined 1s. and ordered to be imprisoned six months. And on the 19th of July following, seven of the above capital convicts were executed at Tyburn; among whom were the two coiners. But the two brothers were not so much as reported, in hopes the trial of Mrs. Rudd, supposed to be concerned with them, might produce something to exculpate them, or at least alleviate their guilt, without exposing them to the aggravated distress of suffering after a reprieve.

8th. Came on before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, the well known cause between Charles Morris, Esq; corner of dragoons, plaintiff, and the Rev. Mr. Charles Everard, defendant. The action was brought for the recovery of damages for a caning which the former received in the Hay-market from the latter. The defendant not denying the fact, Lord Mansfield directed the jury to find for the plaintiff what damages they thought proper. The jury, after going out about fifteen minutes, returned into court with a verdict for the plaintiff with 20l. damages.

His excellency Count de Guines arrived at his house in Great George-street, from France, after gaining, on the 2d, a decree of the Chatelet, against one of his secretaries, who had accused his excellency with ordering him to game for his, his excellency's, account in the English stocks. His excellency, immediately on his arrival, was visited by all the foreign ministers, the secretaries of state, and a great number of the nobility.

Mrs. Ivy, of the Borough, coming from Guildford, was stung by a gnat on the chin; which so inflamed her jaw and head, that a mortification ensued, and she died in less than twenty four hours.

12th. This being the day appointed for the coronation

of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the places in the cathedral at Rheims, where the ceremony was to be performed, were filled at five in the morning. At ſix the Queen made her appearance, and in about half an hour after his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The ceremony was performed by the Cardinal de la Roucheaumon, and ended a little before one; the whole having been conducted with the greateſt regularity as well as magnificence. The throne was no leſs than ſixty feet in height.

An advertiſing conjuror, being convicted before the Lord Mayor, of defrauding a poor ſervant maid out of place, of fourteen pence, on pretence of telling her her fortune, thought he might eſcape puniſhment by being a houſe-keeper, and as ſuch not coming within the meaning of the Vagrant act; but, as that act expreſsly mentions perſons pretending to be ſkilled in phyſiognomy, &c. or to tell fortunes, ſhall be deemed vagrants, the Lord Mayor over-ruled that objection, and committed him to Bridewell to hard labour for the ſpace of one month; and declared that, for the next offence of the like nature, he would commit him as an incorrigible rogue, and have him tried as ſuch at the ſeſſions.

14th. M. Brizio Guiſtiniano was crowned Doge of Venice with the uſual ceremonies.

The ſenate of Milan lately received a ſupreme order, aboliſhing for ever the tribunal of the inquiſition; and applying the effects of it to the uſe of the hoſpital for orphans.

17th. The Americans before Boſton were driven by the King's troops from ſome works which they had thrown up, the preceding night, on one of the heights of the peninſula of Charles Town, called Bunker's Hill.

Ended the drawing of the Muſeum lottery.

Between five and ſix in the afternoon, the following melancholy accident happened in Chiſwell-ſtreet. One of ſome houſes building on contract for Mr. Gilbert, grocer, fell in, occaſioned by the ſlightneſs of the workmanſhip, and buried twelve perſons in the ruins; three of whom were killed; the reſt were taken out alive, but ſeven ſo much hurt, that they were ſent to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital with very little hopes of recovery.

The town of Lenczno, in Poland, belonging to the grand general Branicki, and famous for its horſe-markets, was ſome time ſince entirely burnt to aſhes, on the firſt day of the fair.

18th. Appeared in the public papers, the copy of a proclamation, iſſued by General Gage, at Boſton, on the 12th of laſt month, offering his Majeſty's pardon to all perſons who ſhould immediately lay down their arms; except Samuel Adams, and John Hancock; declaring all thoſe rebels, who ſhould not comply with theſe terms; and all perſons to be traitors, who ſhould aid and aſſiſt, or hold any correſpondence with the rebels; and moreover, ordering martial law to be in force within the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, ſo long as the preſent unhappy occaſion ſhall require it.

The Beſborough, lately arrived from Coaſt and China, after a voyage of near three years, has

brought home ſome of the greateſt curioſities of the animal and vegetable kind that ever were ſeen in Europe. The following are a few of the moſt ſurpriſing: The ſkin of a large Oranoutang, which died on the paſſage; this creature came from a remote part of the Iſland of Sumatra; one would take them to be a ſpecies of the human creation; they have many of the actions of man; and even ſeem to have a kind of government and police among themſelves; but their ſpeech, if it may be called ſuch, is not intelligible.—A large Brandafornia, from the diamond mines of Golconda, ſomething reſembling a monkey, with a large white beard, fierce, ſtrong, and terrible, yet very tractable: this kind of creatures are made uſe of by the natives of Golconda as coolys or ſlaves in the mines. During a very hard gale of wind, being put in the cable tier below, he drew the ſplice of the ſheet-cable; which is almoſt incredible.—A ſmall black amphibious animal, in every part reſembling our cat, only it has no tail; caught on a reef of rocks near Princeſs's Iſland, in the Straits of Banca, where it lived on flying fiſh, which it is very expert in catching; it now lives on ſmall fiſh or freſh meat; it is very docile and tractable.—A large horned dog, by the natives called Picrobus, made every way like a dog, all to its horn and claws.—An exceeding beautiful Crown-bird, and two Cockatories, who have been ſo well trained, during the voyage, that they will anſwer ſome little queſtions, and even aſk them.—Among the plants there is the famous Maribolus, or walking plant; being in a ſmall baſket of earth, when the ſun ſhines on it, once a day, it will gradually move about by the help of its branches; a tea-tree, with a few bloſſoms on it; a real tallow-tree; a nutmeg and cinnamon tree; and ſeveral other exotics; beſides a number of ſmall birds.

When the learned and ingenious Doctor Franklin arrived ſome time ago at Philadelphia, the General Aſſembly of the Province, which was then ſitting, on hearing of his arrival, immediately aſked his conſent to be choſen one of their delegates to the Continental Congreſs; and, on his conſenting, elected him accordingly.

21ſt. At a Quarterly General Court of the Proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock, the half-yearly dividend from Chriſtmas to Midſummer was declared to be 3 per cent.

22d. Being the day appointed for keeping the anniverſary of his Majeſty's birth-day, who entered into the 38th year of his age on the 4th inſtant, it was celebrated with the uſual joy and ſplendor. Lord Stormont's St. Andrew's croſs, ſet round with diamonds, and appended to his ribbon of the order of the Thiſtle, was cut from it, at court, by ſome ſharpers, who made off with it undiſcovered. It was worth ſeveral hundred pounds.

The ſame day, his Majeſty's birth-day was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations of a new kind, at Mr. Hartley's, at Bucklebury. The bonfires were made within doors, not without; and the illuminations were made upon the floors of the ſeveral apartments. Their Majeſties healths were drank round a great bonfire in one room; in another thirty-ſeven large faggots, anſwering to the years of his Majeſty's age, together with a quantity

quantity of pitch and tar, were burnt. As this room was too hot for company, the following toasts were drank in the room above, while the fire below was burning in its utmost fury, viz. the king, queen, and royal family, peace and unanimity, &c. Several other fires were made in different parts of the floors, stair-cases, &c. which were all left to burn out; yet no damage happened to any parts of the building, but where the fires were actually laid.

23d. An entertainment, called a Regatta, borrowed from the Venetians, was exhibited, partly on the Thames, and partly at Ranelagh; and, as it was quite new in this country, we shall give a more particular account of it in our appendix to this article.

25th. The inhabitants of Somerset-house received written notices, to quit their apartments by Michaelmas-day next, signed by the solicitor for the affairs of his Majesty's treasury.

26th. This day a cause came on in the court of Common Pleas, Guildhall, between a gentleman, plaintiff, and a lottery-office-keeper in the city, defendant; the cause of this action was as follows: the gentleman, passing by the lottery-office, observed a woman and boy crying, on which he asked the reason of their tears; they informed him, that they had insured a number in the Lottery the night before; and, upon enquiry at another office, found it to have been drawn five days before, and therefore wanted their money again; the gentleman, taking their part, was assaulted and beat by the office-keeper. The jury gave a verdict in favour of the gentleman, with five pounds damage.

The long contested dispute between the post-master general and the East-India company, was at length amicably settled. All letters from India directed to private persons, are for the future to be sent to the Post-office, and regularly delivered from thence as other foreign ship letters are; so that all persons, who have relations or friends in India, may be sure of receiving their letters from them regularly, without applying so many times at the India-house as they were formerly obliged to do.

The two prizes annually given by the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, for two compositions in prose and verse, were respectively adjudged to Mr. Grattan, fellow of New College, and Mr. Warton, scholar of Trinity.

28th. Yesterday and this day came on to be argued in the court of Chancery, a plea put in by the Duchess of Kingston, to a bill filed by Lady Meadows, the sister and heir at law of the late Duke of Kingston. Her Grace pleaded a sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court, by which she was declared to be a single woman before the late Duke married her, and also the probate of the late Duke's will; when, after a long and solemn debate of the matter, the Lord Chancellor was pleased to allow her Grace's plea.

Was tried before the Barons of the Exchequer, a cause wherein the Rev. Mr. Bateman, vicar of Whaplode, in Lincolnshire, was plaintiff, and his parishioners defendants. This gentleman, in 1770, filed a bill for the accustomed tythe of sheep, of barren and unprofitable cattle, and for the tythe of lands before held untytheable, as formerly belonging to the abbey of

Growland; and, on that ground, he gained a decree in his favour, April 4, 1774. But, to prevent the effect of this decree, the parishioners filed a cross-bill in November last, in the court of Exchequer, on the ground of establishing moduses, and obtained an injunction to stop proceedings against them in the spiritual court. To dissolve this injunction the present trial commenced, and the court has dissolved the same accordingly.

29th. Was held at the Old Bailey a high court of admiralty for the trial of capital offences committed on the high seas, when five mariners were tried for mutiny on board the ship Little Will, whereof Joseph Spence was master, and in which mutiny the said Spence lost his life, the ship was seized by the mutineers, and afterwards reseized by the officers. The prisoners, however, not appearing to be ringleaders, were all acquitted.

The master of a vessel on the slave trade was also tried for the murder of one of his men, by striking him on the head with a crow; but it appearing that the man died of a putrid fever, and that the whole charge was an infamous scheme to extort money, the master was honourably acquitted.

The same day, General Harvey and Sir William Erskine had the honour of presenting to the king a very curious dragoon-saddle, which was honoured with his majesty's approbation for its peculiar lightness and construction, as it affords a much easier seat to the rider, and the means of carrying hay and corn enough for three days, with a complete set of camp equipage, &c. without any material inconvenience. The hay consists of two trusses; one beat into the length of 3-4ths of a yard, placed under the cloak-bag; the other beat equally close into two balls, and hung like kettle-drums before the rider. This saddle was made by Mr. Gibson, Saddler, in Great Windmill-street, St. James's; and the merit of it had been previously ascertained, by actual experiment, before General Harvey, who ordered an handsome reward to the men employed for that purpose.

The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, for constituting one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin, for maintaining, educating, and apprenticing the orphans and children of decayed seamen in his majesty's royal navy, &c.

The silver medals annually given by the historical society in the university of Dublin for the best English compositions, were this year obtained by the Rev. Mr. Scott, for prose; for verse, by Messieurs Ball, Charles Henry Coote, and Edward Synge.

30th. His imperial majesty arrived at Luxembourg, from a tour of some weeks he had been making, incognito, through Italy.

Four vessels, containing about seven hundred emigrants, have sailed for America from Port Glasgow and Greenock, in the course of the present month, most of them from the north Highlands.

Whilst the diet of Poland was granting new liberties to the Dissidents, the Jews, whose numbers and credit were very great in Poland, have been treated very rigorously. They are forbidden from carrying on any public trade in the streets;

ſtreets; and, as this is depriving them of all the uſual means of ſubſiſtence, they are leaving Warſaw. They were offered warehouſes for their goods, which they refuſed. Prince Poninſki, willing to engage them to ſettle on his eſtate at Wola, about half a league from Warſaw, promiſed them his protection, as did likewiſe Prince Sulkowſki, if they would eſtabliſh themſelves there.

Count Alexis Orlow, before he left Leghorn, publiſhed a manifeſto, the ſubſtance of which was, "That the Empreſs of Ruſſia, his ſovereign, pardoned the republic of Raguſa the hoſtilities committed againſt her, on condition that that republic would, for the future, obſerve the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality, and allow the Ruſſian conſul the ſame prerogatives that the other conſuls enjoyed; particularly that of having a chapel in his houſe, for the exerciſe of the Ruſſo-Greek religion.

The ſame princeſs, at the ſolicitation of the inhabitants of the new acquired province of White-Ruſſia, to have their taxes put upon the ſame footing on which they were before it came into her hands, inſtead of barely granting them their requeſt, was graciouſly pleaſed to reduce their taxes ſtill lower, by taking off one half of what they were rated at.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Black Sea, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where ſhe will not meet with thoſe hindrances which nature has placed in the Baltick, the climate of which puts a ſtop to trade the greateſt part of the year, and the dangerous coaſts cauſe numberleſs ſhipwrecks during the remainder; her imperial majeſty had been pleaſed to allow ſhips freight free to Mr. Gouſetnikoff, a Ruſſian merchant, who has raiſed a capital for that undertaking; and alſo to promiſe to make good all his loſſes, leaving, at the ſame time, the whole profits which may accrue from ſuch trade to himſelf. To confirm part of what has been obſerved concerning the Baltick, it may not be incurious to obſerve, that, this laſt winter, the ice prevented any foreign ſhips from reaching the road of Revel till the 15th of May, and that of Cronſtadt till the 21ſt. And that the 25th of May, when the ſquadron that conveyed the King of Sweden to Finland arrived at Abo, the trees there were without any ſigns of verdure.

Accounts from Conſtantinople mention poſitively, that the Grand Signor, having received complaints from his ſubjects of the grievances they ſuffer from the governors of the different provinces of his empire, thought himſelf obliged, not only to iſſue ſeveral firmans to moſt of his pachas and other officers, with regulations for the eſtabliſhment of good order throughout the Ottoman empire, and very favourable to the Chriſtians and Jews; but likewiſe to make examples of ſome of the governors. Accordingly, one was ſtrangled and beheaded by his highneſs's orders, and his head expoſed at the door of the ſeraglio; and more than ſeventeen others, of three tails, were depoſed, and ſent into exile, among whom was Achmet Effendi, firſt favourite of the emperor. Among the above firmans was one particularly addreſſed to the pacha of Salonica, enjoining him to reform his h uhold, which for the future

future is only to conſiſt of 150 perſons, inſtead of 400 or 500, which was a great expence to the people under his government. And this order, it is thought, will be made univerſal with regard to all the pachas.

BIRTHS. On the 25th inſtant, the wife of Mr. Ladenberg, wine-merchant, in Caſtle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields, in the 54th year of her age, was brought to bed of twins. Mrs. Ladenberg, though married upwards of 30 years, never had a child before.

JULY.

2d. A grand Spaniſh Armada, which had been preparing for ſome months paſt, and which many perſons affected to think too ſtrong to be intended againſt any part of the world but Great-Britain, arriv'd before Algiers; and, on the 7th, miſcarried in an attack upon that place.

The burning mountain, called Pacayita, in the province of Guatimala, in New Spain, after threatening an eruption, for ſome time, by ſubterraneous noiſes, and earthquakes, actually broke out, after a moſt violent report; when a lava of nitrous and ſulphurous matter poured down the ſide of the mountain, whilſt it threw up clouds of cinders and ſmoke, which conſumed near 40 leagues of the diſtrict of St. Antonio Cuchutepeque. The town of St. Chriſtoral Amaticlan was entirely deſerted; from nine cavities in this mountain the flaming lava continued to run till the firſt of Auguſt following, to the ſouth ſea; and it was then feared that the Pecaya Grande would alſo break out, as it was in vaſt agitation; which would finiſh the deſtruction of the valley of Panchoi, in which ſtands the town of St. Jago, the capital of the province.

Two men, concerned in trepanning a tradeſman's daughter, about 18 years of age, from the houſe of her father, a tradeſman in this city, on board a ſhip in the river, and ſending her abroad, were examined before the lord-mayor; the hearing laſted three hours; counſel being employed; after which the priſoners were remanded back to the Poultry-compter for a further examination; and, after ſuch examination on the 10th, were recommitted to the ſame priſon, with time till next January, to return the girl to her parents, on pain of being tried for the offence at the following ſeſſions. And, in the mean time, a proſecution was ordered to be commenced againſt the maſter of the ſhip for receiving her on board.

7th. Lord Chief-Juſtice De Grey, Lord Chief-Baron Smythe, Mr. Juſtice Aſton, and Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt, the commiſſioners appointed to review the proceedings on an information of diſfranchiſement filed againſt Mr. Alderman Plumbe, met, according to adjournment, at Guildhall, and delivered their judgment, which was, That they were unanimouſly of opinion, that the information was erroneous in many particulars, which they ſeverally ſpecified; and that Mr. Alderman Plumbe, by neglecting to ſummon the livery of the Goldſmiths company, of which he was prime warden, to attend Alderman Beckford, when lord-mayor, at a common hall, had not been guilty of any offence againſt his

his oath and duty as a freeman; conſequently the judgment of diſfranchiſement pronounced againſt him in the mayor's court by the recorder was by them reverſed.

8th. The Ruſſian ſquadron, under the command of Admiral Baſsballe, ſailed from Portſmouth for Ruſſia.

10th. The royal regiment of artillery, quartered at Woolwich, were reviewed by his Majeſty on Blackheath. Part of the exerciſe conſiſted in an attack by ſome of them, on a kind of fort garriſoned by the reſt, on the oppoſite ſide of a temporary bridge. About a quarter before eleven the fight began, and laſted an hour, in which the engineers, &c. acquitted themſelves with ſatisfaction to his majeſty, and a prodigious number of ſpectators. The Duke of Glouceſter was preſent.

Two caravals, bound from Tetuan, with a reinforcement of Turks, for Algiers, happening to fall in with two Malteſe frigates, there enſued a very long and fierce engagement, in which 800 Turks were killed. The caravals were likewiſe taken, and conveyed to Malta.

11th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when ſentence of death was paſſed on four convicts; two, for houſe-breaking; and two, for robbing on the highway; and of tranſportation, on ſixteen; ſeven were ordered to be privately whipped; two, branded in the hand; one of whom was John Walſh, for bigamy, who is alſo to be impriſoned ſix months in Newgate; thirty-nine were diſcharged by proclamation; and, on the ſixteenth following, the two houſe-breakers, and one of the highwaymen, were executed at Tyburn.

This morning a fire broke out at a ſoap-boiler's, in the Lower-ſtreet, Dorcheſter, nearly oppoſite the gaol, which raged with great fury for ſeveral hours, taking very irregular directions, making great havock among the thatched houſes, and paſſing thoſe which were roofed with tiles or ſlates; water was ſo ſcarce for ſome time, that one of the engines, in a narrow lane, was obliged to be abandoned by the men who worked it, and by means of the falling thatch caught fire, and was totally deſtroyed; the whole town muſt have been burnt down, had it not been for a detachment of dragoons belonging to Sir John Cope's regiment, who happened to be quartered there. Both officers and common men were indefatigable in extinguiſhing the flames, which, after conſuming 35 or 40 dwelling-houſes, chiefly the habitations of poor people, were at length got under.

12th. This day a cup, value twenty guineas, given by his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, was ſailed for from Weſtminſter-bridge to Putney, and back again. The Aurora, belonging to Mr. Parkes, late of Ludgate-hill, having won the prize, his royal highneſs, who honoured the ſport with his preſence, filled the cup with wine, drank out of it, and delivered it to Mr. Parkes.

14th. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, waited on his majeſty, with an humble addreſs and petition; which, with his majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer, we ſhall give in their proper place, in the following ſheets.

Came

18th. Came on before the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, a cauſe between Mr. Dodſley, of London, bookſeller, plaintiff, and Meſſrs. Ch. Elliot and Colin M'Farquhar, of Edinburgh, bookſellers, defendants. The action was brought for reprinting Lord Cheſterfield's Letters, the copy-right of which had coſt the plaintiff 1575l. On the 26th, their Lordſhips were pleaſed to determine in favour of Mr. Dodſley, by continuing the interdict he had obtained againſt Meſſrs. Elliot and M'Farquhar, by a majority of nine againſt five.

20th. Marſhal Romanzow arrived at Kolomiſki, near Moſcow, and was received by the Empreſs with every poſſible mark of ſatisfaction: he declined the honour of a triumphal entry, which was intended him, and for which magnificent preparations had been made. The next morning, the Empreſs, accompanied by the Great Duke and Ducheſs, and attended by the great officers and ladies of the court, the knights being in the habits of their reſpective orders, walked in grand proceſſion from the old palace in the Kremlin to the cathedral, where ſolemn maſs was performed by the Archbiſhop of Peterſburgh, and Te Deum ſung for the concluſion of the war; after which the five firſt claſſes of the nobility had the honour of kiſſing her Majeſty's hand. The Keeper of the Privy-purſe then read aloud a liſt of the gratifications and rewards, which the Empreſs was pleaſed to beſtow upon this occaſion. Amongſt the principal ones were,

To Marſhal Romanzow, an eſtate of 5000 peaſants, 100,0000 roubles in money, a ſervice of plate, a hat with a wreath of laurel, enriched with precious ſtones, to the value of 30,000 roubles, a diamond ſtar and ſhoulder-knot, a Marſhal's ſtaff, and a diploma adding to his ſurname that of Sadounaſkoy, which may be tranſlated the Ultra-Danubian.

To Count Alexis Orlow 60,000 roubles, and a ſword enriched with diamonds of very conſiderable value, and a diploma granting to him the ſurname of Cheſme.

To General Potemkin, a diploma of Count of the Ruſſian Empire, and her Imperial Majeſty's picture ſet with diamonds to be worn by him.

To General Panin and Prince Dolgorouki, 60,000 roubles each, with a ſword and diamond ſtar.

To Count Soltikow, the ſecond order of St. George.

To Count Ivan Czernichew, the order of St. Andrew.

Several ribbons of St. Alexander Newſky were conferred, and military promotions made.

Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and appointed Commandant of Cronſtadt.

Next day the Great Duke beſtowed eleven ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, ſtruck upon this occaſion, were likewiſe diſtributed to the Field-Marſhals, Generals in chief, and foreign miniſters; and ſome of a ſmaller ſize, to the reſt of the nobility of the five firſt claſſes.

Her Imperial Majeſty was likewiſe pleaſed to recal ſome noblemen from their baniſhment in Siberia, two of whom had reſided there ever ſince the year 1746.

About

About the ſame time, ten veſſels laden with wine, having on board ſome Chriſtian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to paſs from the Archipelago to the Black Sea, in order to go to the Ruſſian territories, on the borders of the ſea of Azoff. The commandant of the Dardanelles ſent an officer to ſearch them, and, upon the Captain's refuſing to let them, he obliged them to anchor under the caſtles, and ſubmit to be viſited Colonel Paterſon, Chargé des Affaires from Ruſſia, being informed of this violence, demanded ſatisfaction immediately, as a violation of the 11th article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte diſpatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let thoſe veſſels paſs freely.—About the ſame time great and unexpected changes happened in the miniſtry at Conſtantinople. The Grand Viſier, Iſſed Mehemet Pacha, was depoſed, and replaced by Derwiſch Mehemet Aga, his Kiaja Bey. The Chiaoux Baſchi was diſmiſſed, and his place given to the father-in-law of the new Grand Viſier; and the Superintendant of the Cuſtoms was replaced by Iſmael Aga, Governor of Cyprus. Sahih-Guerey, formerly Kan of the Tartars of Crimea, was baniſhed to Rodoſto.

The news of the death of Mehemet Aboudahab was confirmed; but his army, ſo far from being beat, had on the contrary ſeized on all the poſſeſſions of the old Chiek Dahar. The Captain Pacha's arrival at Smyrna had put a ſtop to the diſorders there. Aivas Aga, and fourſcore more of the mutineers, had their heads ſtruck off; and great numbers were condemned to the gallies.

Though the Emperor of Morocco had accepted the preſents from the republic of the United Provinces, he nevertheleſs thought proper to continue the war againſt their High Mightineſſes for three years, to be reckoned from the firſt of January laſt.

About the middle of this month, Col. Guy Johnſon, his Majeſty's Superintendant of Indian affairs, arrived at Montreal, accompanied by a conſiderable number of chiefs and warriors of the ſix nations; after which he held a general congreſs with the chiefs and warriors of the Canada confederacy, to the amount of 1700, who, in preſence of his Excellency General Carleton, unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport their engagements with his majeſty, and remove all intruders on the ſeveral communications.

Two executions in the houſe of Daniel Perreau, one by virtue of an aſſignment to Sir Thomas Frankland, the other at the inſtance of the upholſterer who furniſhed the goods, were withdrawn, by virtue of the ſheriffs claim, who on the conviction of capital offenders, are entitled to the goods and chattels, lands and tenaments, of the convicts, under the city's charter. Mrs. Rudd claimed an exemption of her goods, &c. in the ſame houſe, ſhe not being the wife of Daniel Perreau, nor yet a convict. 20th.

The quantity of wheat at this time in Briſtol was ſo great, that, almoſt every warehouſe, malthouſe, and granary being filled with it, they were obliged to lodge large quantities of it in private houſes.

At a court of Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, 21ſt.

Council, at Guildhall, a motion was made for an anſwer to be ſent to New-York, on the addreſs received from thence, which had been laid before that court, when great debates aroſe; but the queſtion being put, there appeared 56 for ſending an anſwer, and 69 againſt it.

By letters from the inhabitants of New-York, the people of the iſland of Bermuda are under the moſt diſmal apprehenſions of ſtarving, in conſequence of the preſent diſagreeable ſituation of public affairs; and, to prevent it as much as poſſible, had paſſed a law, that no proviſions ſhould be ſent off the iſland, at any rate whatſoever; and were about diſpatching a veſſel to Philadelphia, to requeſt the continental congreſs to take their caſe into their moſt ſerious conſideration.

24th. About two in the morning, ſome villains broke into the parlour of Copped Hall, near Epping, Eſſex, the ſeat of John Conyers, Eſq; member for that county. From the parlour they forced their way into the butler's pantry, where the butler lay in bed. The noiſe of their entry waking him, one of the ruffians threw the bed-clothes over his head, and with both his hands held a cutlaſs right a croſs his throat, ſwearing that he would kill him if he offered to move or alarm the family. In this condition he continued for a conſiderable time, during which he heard the clock ſtrike three, and likewiſe heard the thieves put the plate into ſacks. As ſoon as they had finiſhed, they all quitted his room, except the fellow placed as a guard over him, who ſtaid a few ſeconds after his accomplices, and then left him, threatening, with horrid imprecations, that he would blow his brains out if he either roſe or called out for an hour to come. After remaining quiet near fifteen minutes, the butler got up, and finding that his door was locked on the outſide, he was under the neceſſity therefore of breaking through a window-frame placed high in the wainſcot; a circumſtance of no little difficulty, as he was hardly recovered from having lately fractured his collar-bone: at length however he atchieved it, and alarmed the family. A number of ſervants were inſtantly diſpatched different roads in purſuit of the robbers, but in vain. It was luckily diſcovered, that a four-wheeled carriage had ſtopped and turned round at the park gate, and from ſome hay and oats which remained on the ground, it was evident the horſes had been fed while the carriage waited: two meſſengers were therefore ſent to the public office in Bow-ſtreet, and that in the Curtain road, with all the particulars of the robbery; the butler himſelf coming to the former, and giving a circumſtantial information of the whole affair. Upon this the ſcouts of both offices were diſpatched, without delay, to Houndſditch, Duke's Place, and every ſtreet, lane, and corner, where perſons ſuſpected as melters of plate were ſuppoſed to reſide; but though the ſearch was diligent, it was without effect. About two in the afternoon, a letter was received by Sir John Fielding, from a magiſtrate at Stratford, informing him that a hackney-coach, No. 44, was ſeen to paſs that road in the way from the foreſt to London, early in the morning; that the blinds were drawn

drawn up, and that a ſecond perſon ſat on the box with the driver. Upon the receipt of this letter, Sir John Fielding ſent to the coach-office, and learnt there, that the coach, No. 44, was one among others belonging to Mr. Mountaine, a man of property and reputation in Oxford-road. Mr. Bond applied to Mr. Mountaine, and was informed, that the number had been in his poſſeſſion and his father's near fifty years; that his driver had not brought the coach home on Sunday evening, which gave him great uneaſineſs, and that he could by no means account for his abſence. A peace-officer was ſtationed at the yard, who waited till ten at night, when the fellow drove in, and was immediately apprehended and taken to Bow-ſtreet, where he gave a moſt incredible account of the manner in which he had ſpent his time for the two preceding days. He was properly adviſed of his danger by the bench, but continued obſtinate for ſome hours; at length he confeſſed the truth, acknowledging that he drove one Lambert Reading, and five others, to Copped Hall, in the night between Sunday and Monday; and that, on his return, he carried them, to a houſe in Brick-lane, Old-ſtreet, where they depoſited the plate. A proper force was inſtantly ſent to Brick-lane, where they entered the houſe deſcribed by the witneſs, and found Lambert Reading in bed with his girl, ten loaded piſtols lying by him, and the greateſt part of Mr. Conyers's plate. Both perſons and property were ſecured, and the former carried to Reading's old and familiar lodgings in New Priſon, Clerkenwell, in which gaol, within the laſt two years, he had been frequently an inmate. It ſeems this daring invader of the laws had taken the houſe he was apprehended in but a few days before, and had moved into it only on Monday. He had a brother in Newgate at the time of his committing this robbery, and loſt one lately by the gaol diſtemper.

The aforeſaid Lambert Reading was apprehended on Tueſday morning early; examined at Bow-ſtreet on Wedneſday, and committed to New Priſon, Clerkenwell, whence he was removed in a coach and four at five o'clock, on Thurſday morning, to Chelmsford, where he took his trial, and was convicted the ſame day. After the trial, the judge told him to prepare for his approaching fate, for that he was to be taken back to priſon, and executed on Saturday before two o'clock; and he was executed accordingly.

30th. About noon, the inhabitants of Caſtle-Carey were alarmed by a violent tornado, or hurricane, which in its noiſe reſembled the falling of a large caſcade, and in its courſe carried before it the thatched roofs of houſes, the leaves, and large branches of trees, &c. ſo that the atmoſphere appeared, as far as the eye could reach, one general ſcene of confuſion, and the people in the ſtreets were forced to catch hold of any thing they could, to prevent their being blown away. Sixteen houſes ſuffered more or leſs, and ſome were ſo completely unroofed, that not a ſtraw remained on the rafters: branches of trees, as thick as a man's leg, were blown 100 yards or more; hay-ricks blown away, &c. The hurricane proceeded in a ſtraight line, extending about 40 yards

yards in breadth, and did not continue above a minute in one place. It began at North-Cadbury, by burſting open the doors, and daſhing to-pieces the windows at the Sun inn, and thence continued to Galliampton, Caſtle-Carey, Anſford, and a-croſs the river Bru towards Lamyat, doing more or leſs damage all the way that it went. When it was near the end of its courſe, it burſt like an exploſion more than once, and ſmoke and fire were perceived ſeveral times.

The aſſembly of the French clergy have voted their monarch a free gift of 20,000,000 livres; and a loan of the like ſum is negotiating for his Majeſty.

About this time, there raged ſuch a famine at St. Jago, and ſome others of the Cape de Verd iſlands, that, in St. Jago alone, it is ſaid to have carried off 16,000 of the inhabitants.

31ſt. This morning an expreſs arrived at the Admiralty-office, with an account of the Endeavour bark, Capt. Cook, being ſafe arrived off Portſmouth, from the South-Seas.

Among Capt. Cook's diſcoveries, there was ſaid to be an iſland in the South-Seas, 160 miles long, and 146 broad; the climate delightful, and the ſoil of the moſt luxuriant fertility; ſugar-canes, cocoa-trees, cinnamon, and nutmegs, being among the ſpontaneous growths of it; the natives not numerous, but of a mild and civilized diſpoſition; ſo as to be thought the moſt eligible place for eſtabliſhing a ſettlement, of any yet diſcovered, in the late circumnavigations.

All private letters coming with the government's diſpatches from America were at this time opened before delivery.

Laſt week a gentleman of this place went to Dunbar, to dive for the wreck of the Fox man of war, that was loſt near that place in the year 1745, with a great deal of money on board. He went down ſeveral times the depth of ſeven fathoms, and continued ſome minutes under water, but could find no veſtige of the wreck.

Died lately, Mrs. Toulmin, by pricking a whitlow on her finger, which brought on a mortification.

And on the 31ſt, at Woolwich, —— Purfleet, Eſq; who but two days before came of age, and to the poſſeſſion of 8000l. a year.

AUGUST.

1ſt. A fire broke out in the houſe of Mr. Browning, auctioneer in the Old-Bailey, which burnt furiouſly, and conſumed goods, &c. to the amount of 3000l. It was ſuppoſed to have been wilfully ſet on fire, as ſome people thought they ſaw a man coming out of it by a fire-ladder; but, though rewards were ſeveral times bid, even by the Lord Mayor of London, no diſcovery has yet been made of the atrocious offender.

According to annual cuſtom, ſix young watermen ſtarted at the Old Swan to row from thence to the Swan at Chelſea, for Dogget's coat and badge; five of whom belonged to ſtairs below London bridge, and one above, viz. Lambeth. It was generally allowed to be as good a match as had been known for many years. A man belonging to Iron Gate came in firſt,

and

and was intitled to the coat and badge; the Lambeth man came in ſecond, who was intitled to 5l. and the third man, who belonged to Horſleydown, was intitled to 3l.

2d. A commiſſion paſſed the Great-Seal, appointing General Gage Commander in Chief over all North-America.

By letters from Batavia, from the 20th of November laſt to the 4th of January, they had felt ſeveral great earthquakes at that place; the laſt was the moſt violent, having thrown down the walls of many houſes. The volcano near the Governor-General's country palace had likewiſe thrown out prodigious flames; and they were in ſo ſmall fear that much damage had been done in the adjacent country.

The crops of ſugar this year in the iſland of Barbadoes have been ſo remarkably bad, that thirty-one neighbouring eſtates made but 6400 pots of ſugar, (a pot of ſugar weighs about 70 pounds) one of which in a plentiful year is capable of producing a larger quantity.

Some time ago, on the arrival of the Two Siſters, Capt. O'Neale, of Briſtol, at Dominica, a cheſt, containing upwards of 4000 l. in Portugal gold, fell over-board as they were putting it into a boat to ſend it aſhore, and was loſt in ten fathom water. The money was the property of ſome merchants at Briſtol, but inſured. We inſert this, as ſome of our ingenious readers might poſſibly hit upon ſome method of recovering it. See our own thoughts on a ſomewhat ſimilar ſubject, in an article of intelligence from Rome, of the 29th inſtant.

3d. An extraordinary match at cricket was played at Moulſey-Hurſt, between 6 unmarried againſt the ſame number of married women; and was won by the former, though one of the latter ran ſeventeen notches. There were great betts depending.

4th. An addreſs from the General Aſſembly of Antigua was preſented to his Majeſty, expreſſing their gratitude to his Majeſty for having ſent them a Governor (Sir Ralph Payne), the true repreſentative of his Royal Maſter; and ſupplicating the King to render them again happy, by returning him to his government of the Leeward Iſlands.

Letters from Gibraltar mention a violent ſhock of an earthquake having lately happened at Tangier, on the coaſt of Africa, by which a number of houſes had been thrown down, ſeveral of the inhabitants buried in the ruins, and the walls of the city greatly damaged.

7th. His Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle gave a magnificent regatta at Oatlands, at which were preſent his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and the Princeſs Amelia.

9th. Capt. Cooke, lately returned from the South-Seas, had the honour of preſenting his Majeſty with ſeveral maps and charts, conſtructed in the courſe of his voyage.

11th. Arrived at Cadiz from the Havanna, under the command of Rear-Admiral Don Adrian Caudron Cantin, the St. Michael and Aſtuto, of 70 guns each; and the Urcas Sta. Rita, St. Carlos, and St. Joſeph; with a treaſure of 7,500,000 dollars, and about the value of a million and a half in cochineal and other effects.

About the ſame time arrived at Liſbon, from the Brazils, a fleet with

with 1500 octaves of gold, 200,000 cruſades of ſilver, and 80 ſerons of cochineal, beſides other leſs valuable articles.

13th. The Prince of Anhault Deſſau, and his Princeſs, niece to the King of Pruſſia, arrived at court, and ſoon after repaired to Bath, her Highneſs being adviſed by her phyſicians to drink the Bath waters for the recovery of her health.

14th. This morning early a very remarkable and ſhocking murder was committed, at the George inn at Wanſtead, on Epping foreſt. Mrs. Campin, a widow, the miſtreſs of the ſaid houſe, had for ſome time paſt been courted by a cooper at Limehouſe, and they were to have been married on Thurſday laſt; but ſome objections being made on her part in regard to her ſettlement, the match was put off: however he went down on Saturday laſt to renew his addreſſes, but ſhe told him, "ſhe never would have him;" he notwithſtanding continued in the houſe, and, after all the company were gone, (which was not till between twelve and one o'clock in the morning) they were left together; when, by every circumſtance, he firſt murdered her, by ſtabbing her through the neck with a large knife; and ſome time after he laid himſelf down by her ſide, and cut his own throat: they being found on the floor together dead in the tap-room, he lying on her arm; ſhe was quite cold, and he, to all appearance, had not put a period to his own exiſtence but a very ſhort time before they were diſcovered, which was not till between five and ſix o'clock. And although there were not leſs than ſix perſons in the houſe (excluſive of the deceaſed) at the time this melancholy event happened, not the leaſt noiſe was heard to alarm them. Two or three days after, the coroner's inqueſt ſat on the bodies, and brought in their verdict, Wilful murder, by ſome perſon or perſons unknown.

Laſt ſummer, an enormous ball, the ſize of a common cabbage, was extracted from the large inteſtine of a ſtout draught-horſe, about eight years old, belonging to one Mr. Truman. It is ſurrounded with net-work indentures, not much unlike the appearance of a pine-apple. The outſide cuts like buff-leather, and appears like it, both to the naked eye and through a glaſs, excepting in its colour, which is like dirt. The protuberances concentrate, but quickly loſe their buff-like contexture in a darker ſort of dirt, full of ſmall ſhining particles. It weighs four pounds and a half in its preſent dried ſtate; the circular circumference is nearly twenty-one inches, the oblong half an inch more.

The beaſt was fond of licking dirt from walls, and even from the ground, but was not obſerved to have any illneſs till within a month of his death, when he was ſeized ſuddenly on the road, and after that time was unable to work, nor voided any excrement, but made urine as uſual.

Three or four days before his death, he ſeemed in uncommon agonies, and beat and tore the ground in a dreadful manner.

It was impoſſible for the moſt ſkilful to know the cauſe of his illneſs, and equally impoſſible to give him relief, had it been known. The above account is given by a gentleman, who ſigns himſelf

J. Lowe;

J. Lowe; and who adds, "I ſhould be obliged to any of your correſpondents, if they could account for its buff-like texture on its outſide, for it does not ſeem like hair."

15th. A conſiderable ſeizure of pieces of handkerchiefs, muſlin, and other goods, was made at a coffee-houſe in the City, by three officers belonging to the cuſtoms. They had a conſtable with them to keep the peace; but, after they had packed up the goods to take them to the Cuſtom-houſe, the conſtable inſiſted that they ſhould go before the Lord Mayor, to ſhew by what authority they made the ſeizure. Accordingly they went with the goods, when his Lordſhip told them, that he had no objection to their taking the goods with them to the Cuſtom-houſe, nor did he doubt their having a deputation; but they muſt appear before him next day, to give an account by what authority they made the ſeizure, without a legal warrant from a magiſtrate of the City. On their appearing next day, his Lordſhip reprimanded them ſeverely for making the ſeizure in the City, without any legal warrant from a City magiſtrate; and then, on their promiſing not to do ſo for the future, diſmiſſed them.

The Maids of Honour belonging to the Queen's houſhold, having preſented a petition to the Lord Steward, for a compenſation in lieu of ſuppers, they being ſeldom at home, his Majeſty, being made acquainted therewith, ordered an addition of 70 l. per annum to their ſalaries, which is to take place the firſt of next month.

By letters from Madrid of this date, Don Domingo de Salcedo, Governor of the fortreſs of Ceuta, had ſent advice to the court, that on the 2d of this month five of the Emperor of Morocco's galliots appeared in the road carrying colours of peace, the commander of which gave him three certificates, by which the conſuls of England, Portugal, and Venice at Tangiers declare, 'That that commander had proteſted in their preſence, and in that of a ſecretary, that the King his maſter had abſolutely forbid him to offend or moleſt in any ſhape any Spaniſh ſhips he might meet with in his cruiſe, ordering him on the contrary to give them every aſſiſtance.' At the ſame time that ſaid commander gave theſe certificates, he declared, 'that the King his maſter had not only charged him to confirm the contents, but to aſſure him, that his Majeſty of Morocco was more than ever deſirous of renewing peace with the King of Spain; and that in conſequence he hoped for a favourable anſwer from his Majeſty on that head.' On this advice the King of Spain ordered Don Domingo de Salcedo to give the following anſwer to the Mooriſh commander: 'That his Majeſty perſiſts in his reſolution of not liſtening to any propoſals of peace but what are preceded, on the part of the Emperor of Morocco, by a complete and proportionable ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the Spaniſh arms in beſieging Melille, contrary to the tenor of a ſolemn treaty, and againſt the friendſhip propoſed and agreed to;' and his Majeſty orders Don de Salcedo particularly to repeat a former declaration, 'That the war which ſubſiſts between Spain and Morocco ſhall extend by ſea as well as by land, ſo that the Morocco commanders may conduct themſelves accordingly,

acccordingly, and not think it ſtrange that they are treated in an hoſtile manner by the Spaniſh men of war wherever they meet with them, according to the poſitive orders which were given them immediately after the rupture between the two powers.'

16th. An information having been given at the Cuſtom-houſe, of upwards of 3000 l. in 36 s. pieces, &c. being put on board a ſhip in the river, for Boſton; in conſequence thereof, ſome officers were ſent in ſearch of it on board the ſaid ſhip, ſeized it, and brought it to the Cuſtom-houſe.

By a letter from Glaſgow, more than half a million of the debts due from America to the merchants of that town had, by the activity and prudence of the ſtore-keepers, been recovered, and ſent home in the courſe of a few months paſt; ſo that there remained but a trifling ſum due from America to Scotland.

17th. A large party of White Boys broke into the houſe of James Tobin, of Ballycomey, near Caſtlecomer, blinded him, dragged him out of his bed, and brought him near four miles from his houſe, naked, to the lands of Johnrothſtown, within two miles of Bilkenny, where they ſlit his ears; and after giving him ſeveral ſtrokes with a loaded whip on the head, were going to bury him, till one of the party, more humane than the reſt, interfered and diſmiſſed him almoſt dead, after ſwearing him not to proſecute any of the party if he knew them. The reaſon of this treatment was owing to Tobin's ſerving ſome proceſſes in that country for tythe-money.

18th. Some ſailors, who had been engaged on board a Guineaman, fitting out in one of the docks at Liverpool, having finiſhed the rigging, demanded their wages, at the rate of 30 s. per month, for which they had engaged; but were given to underſtand by the owners, that, as there were plenty of hands to be had, they would give but 20 s, upon which they returned on board the veſſel, and in a ſhort time cut and demoliſhed the whole of the rigging, and left it on the dock. A party of conſtables immediately ſeized nine of the principals, and brought them before the magiſtrates, who committed them to priſon; upon which a great number of ſailors, ſuppoſed to be upwards of 2000, armed with handſpikes, clubs, &c. proceeded to the gaol, the windows of which they ſoon deſtroyed: upon this the riot-act was read to them; which having no effect, as they were determined to reſcue their companions, or deſtroy the gaol, eight of them were accordingly diſmiſſed, with whom they marched off in triumph; but, upon muſtering, and finding one had been detained, they inſtantly returned to the priſon, and brought him off, together with a woman, who had been alſo committed for aiding and aſſiſting in the riot; when, after parading and terrifying the inhabitants till near 12 o'clock at night, they diſperſed, and next morning all was quiet. Some days after, however, there was another riſing of the ſailors in the ſame port, in conſequence, ſome will have it, of the ſlave-trade having been greatly affected by the late order of council for prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder, &c. the ſailors out of employment on that account, aſſembled in a body, threatened

threatened deſtruction to the whole town, and had actually got ſeveral pieces of cannon, which they fired; but, a party of light-horſe being ſent for from Mancheſter, they were ſoon diſperſed, and about forty of them lodged in gaol.

Their High Mightineſſes haye farther prohibited the exportation of ammunition, &c. from any of the United Provinces to any of the Engliſh colonies in America, for the term of one year from this date.

The Pope has at laſt brought to light the affair of the poiſon, of which ſome have pretended that the late Clement XIV. died, and in which they ſeemed to involve ſeveral great ones of Rome, who had a right to have this point cleared up. The Holy Father, by tracing this falſe rumour back to its ſource, obtained information, that ſome minor conventual friars, and among the reſt F. Martinelli, Conſultor of the Holy Office, had been the authors of it, by giving out, that the late Clement XIV. a ſhort time before his death, had declared to the General of the Minors, that he knew for certain he ſhould die of the poiſon which had been adminiſtered to him, and that he knew the author of this wicked attempt, whom he did not chuſe to diſcover, although it had been repreſented to him that it was a great ſin not to tell his name, in order to prevent repetitions of the ſame crime. In conſequence of this information, the Pope put the F. General of the Friar Minors under an interrogatory, wherein he ſhould declare and depoſe, whether it were true, as had been rumoured by ſome of his religious, that he ſhould ſay, that Clement XIV. ſome time before his death, had ſpoken to him of the poiſon, and named the author of it to him? To which this religious, reſpectable in every regard, firſt verbally depoſed and declared, that Clement XIV. neither in his life-time nor at his death, had mentioned to him any thing either of the poiſon or of the author of it. His Holineſs, having reſerved the verbal depoſition, ordered next this worthy General to commit the ſame to writing, and to ſign it, requiring before-hand, that he ſhould ſwear to tell the truth; which was punctually executed. This depoſition, made upon oath, and which is the ſame with that verbally declared, has been in the hands of the Holy Father, ever ſince the 27th of July. This General, eſteemed for his uprightneſs, has ſworn that he never ſaid to any one that the late Clement XIV. either in his life-time or at his death, had made to him any mention of poiſon, or of the author of it; and that he could not have ſaid ſo, becauſe Clement XIV. had never ſpoken to him on that ſubject, either in his life-time or at his death; and that it was an impoſition to have involved and quoted him the General, in ſuch an affair.

A faithful Copy of the Oath.

"I, underwritten, General of the Conventual Friars, of the order of St. Francis, do ſolemnly ſwear, and call God to witneſs, that Pope Clement XIV. of happy memory, never did ſay to me, at any period of time whatſoever, that he was ever poiſoned, or ever had felt the effects of poiſon. I alſo ſwear, and call God to witneſs, that I never did ſay to any one, that he was

poiſoned, or ever hurt by poiſon, ſo help me God. Br. Aloyſius Maria Marzoni, General, &c. Signed and ſealed in the convent of the Twelve Apoſtles, this 27th day of July, 1775."

[The reader will find Memoirs of the late Pope in our article of Characters for this year.]

19th. The maſter of the Roſe and Crown, the corner of Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, intending to get cleaned an old muſket, which had been a long time loaded for the ſecurity of his houſe, drew out the ſlugs, as he thought, and gave it to a man to fire off the powder, which the man did; but, there being a ſlug left in the gun, on firing it, it went into the dining-room of Sir Jeffery Amherſt, which is almoſt oppoſite; took with it the glaſs of the window, paſſed over Sir Jeffery's head as he ſat writing, and, after ſtriking againſt the oppoſite ſide of the room, fell on the floor. Happily Sir Jeffery had left the window about five minutes, or he would have been ſhot. The landlord and man were ſent for; but the circumſtances being clearly proved, Sir Jeffery forgave them, as he had received no hurt.

21ſt. About ſeven o'clock in the evening, in the pariſh of Stone, near Kidderminſter, Worceſterſhire, there aroſe a tornado, or violent whirlwind, attended with a heavy ſtorm of rain and hail, the appearance and effects of which were very ſurpriſing and alarming. —It was firſt obſerved to act upon a large piece of water, belonging to John Baker, Eſq; in ſome parts of which it raiſed waves to an amazing height, and agitated the whole in a wonderful manner. A houſe ſtanding near the water was inſtantly unroofed, and the windows driven in by its force. It then took its courſe to the northward, and in its way detached the end of a barn, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Jervis, from its foundation; rent the roof of that, and another of Mr. Pratt, of Dunclent; tore off many branches and arms of large trees; and, in its further progreſs, being obſtructed by another barn of the ſaid Mr. Pratt, about half a mile diſtance from that before mentioned, it there, to all appearance, vented its greateſt force; for, tho' it was a ſtrong building, with a quantity of grain in it, and a waggon loaded with barley, the whole was overturned, and removed to a conſiderable diſtance from the foundation of the building. The tornado then carried a conſiderable number of cornſheaves out of one field into another adjoining, and by this time may be ſuppoſed to have ſpent itſelf, as no further effect was obſerved. Its whole courſe ſeems to have been about a meaſured mile.

About eight the ſame evening, in conſequence of the late rains, the land water overflowed the banks of the river at Bridge-End, in Glamorganſhire, and continued riſing till near two in the morning, in ſuch an alarming manner as to break in the windows of the ground-floors of almoſt all the houſes in the place, and in ſeveral of them reached up almoſt to the cieling. It likewiſe carried away the bridge. The loſs was ſo great and general, throughout the place, as well as the country adjacent, as not to be readily aſcertained.

Conſiderable damage was done to the corn, &c. between Neath and Swanſey, by floods produced by the ſame cauſe.

A fire

22d. A fire happened at Abo in Sweden, by which above two hundred houſes, and fifteen mills, were conſumed; and ſome lives loſt.

23d. A proclamation iſſued for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition, which we ſhall give with the other ſtate papers of this year. And on the 29th it was read in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, and at Temple-bar, by the Heralds, &c. and at the Royal-Exchange, at noon, by one of the Lord Mayor's officers, accompanied only by the common crier. After it was ended, there was a general hiſs. The Lord Mayor would not permit the officers to have horſes, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, nor ſuffer the mace to be carried there.

25th. By letters from Madrid of this date, the Portugueſe made an attack on Monte Video, in the Rio de la Plata, in the month of April laſt, with a ſquadron of five ſhips and ſome land forces; but our Governor repulſed them, and even ſunk one of their ſhips; and, on occaſion of this act of hoſtility, the Governor of Buenos Ayres raiſed 11,000 men, part of whom, after incorporating them with 1000 veterans, he intended to employ in defence of that colony, whilſt the reſt went to attack the Portugueſe in theirs of St. Sacrament.

It is very remarkable, that, though the ſquabbles between the Spaniards and Portugueſe about theſe two ſettlements have been ſo frequent, ſo much ſpoken of, and often ſo likely to end in an open war between the two nations, we have no account of them worth ſpeaking of, but in Charlevoix's hiſtory of Paraguay, written at the recommendation of the late Duke of Orleans, and ſome time ſince tranſlated into Engliſh by the advice of a gentleman of great eminence in the republic of letters.

28th. At a poſt aſſembly of the Sheriffs and Commons of the city of Dublin, their addreſs to his Majeſty having been rejected by the Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen, as inexpedient, it was reſolved, That whoever refuſes his conſent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to undeceive his Majeſty, and from which it could be hoped that the effuſion of one drop of ſubjects blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the conſtitution.

A proſecution has been commenced by Government againſt the Reverend Mr. Horne, for an advertiſement ſigned by him, from the Conſtitutional Society, reſpecting the Americans; and all the printers in whoſe papers it appeared, have been ſerved with notices that the Attorney-General has filed informations *ex officio* againſt them.

29th. A moſt audacious robbery was committed by ten villains, armed with cutlaſſes, at the counting-houſe of Meſſrs. Marſhal and Co. brewers, at Shoreditch. After binding the miller, and wounding a drayman, from whom they apprehended oppoſition, they broke open the counting-houſe deſk, and took from thence a conſiderable ſum of money, with which they got clear off; one of the villains has ſince been taken.

By letters from Rome of this day, they had then ended their third trial of ſearching in the Tiber, for antiques, &c. and with the ſame bad ſucceſs of not a halfpenny profit, though they had this year an

Engliſh chain-pump, that did for its part wonders, in throwing out the water; but it ſeems all the pumps in the navy would not anſwer the purpoſe, as the water leaked in as faſt as it was thrown out. Thus, if they made any more trials, it muſt be in the manner they ſhould have begun by, that is, by ſcooping up the dirt, as is done in rivers and harbours to keep them clear; but it was preſumed they would want a new ſubſcription for it, and that few would contribute after ſo many unſucceſsful trials. We cannot, however, forbear recommending the trial of Doctor Halley's diving bell on the occaſion. The leakage, which has hitherto proved ſo fatal, is in all probability from the bottom. Now, Doctor Halley's diving bell may be cleared of water within a very ſmall way of its lower rim, and this lower rim brought ſo cloſe to the bottom, if any way even, as to afford the workmen the ſame opportunity of digging, &c. which they would have in a piece of ground overflowed with water to a ſmall depth. Nay, the bell may be lowered, with the ſame advantages, in purſuit of treaſure, into the hole itſelf, let it be ever ſo deep, if made large enough for that purpoſe.

30th. The Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel arrived at her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Amelia's from Germany.

About twelve at night a poſt-boy carried a naked lighted candle into one of the ſtables at the Angel-inn, in Doncaſter, and very fooliſhly ſtuck it againſt the wall, till he dreſſed his horſe; when, being wearied with his long day's work, he fell aſleep with the halter in his hand, and ſo continued for upwards of three hours, during which time the candle fell amongſt, and ſet fire to, the litter about him, and ſome hay in that part of the ſtable, by which means ſix good chaiſe-horſes were ſuffocated.

By an order of the Lord Mayor of the 26th, to fall the 31ſt, price of bread half an aſſize, or one penny in a peck-loaf, the peck-loaf, weighing 17 lb. 6 oz. was to be ſold, this day, for two ſhillings and four-pence three farthings.

Laſt week was reaped a field of Siberian wheat, belonging to a gentleman at Weſt-hall, near Methley, in the weſt riding of Yorkſhire. The ſeed was not ſown till the beginning of April, and notwithſtanding the extreme drought which followed, turned out an amazing fine crop. This ſpecies of wheat was firſt introduced by his Majeſty; and a quantity of it made a preſent of to an ingenious farmer in Surry, who, by ſlipping and tranſplanting, raiſed from one buſhel an extraordinary increaſe, which he diſtributed among the curious in agriculture throughout the kingdom. This muſt be a great acquiſition to the farmers when it becomes more general, as they will then always have an alternative, whenever the autumn ſeaſon proves unfavourable for ſowing the Engliſh wheat. The grain in ſhape and ſize is nearly the ſame with our own; but it is ſaid to yield much finer flour.

The harveſt in Flanders proves to be more plentiful this year than for many years paſt; and throughout the Venetian ſtate, the crops are ſaid to be abundant enough to ſuffice for the conſumption of four years.

At a veſtry at Lambeth-church, came under conſideration the propriety of charging the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the poor's rate, &c. when there appeared 61 for it, and 65 againſt it.

The prizes of fifteen guineas each for the beſt compoſitions in Latin proſe, annually given by Richard Croftes, Eſq; and the Right Hon. the Marquis of Granby, members of parliament for the univerſity of Cambridge, were this year adjudged to Mr. Sandiford, of Sidney-college, ſenior bachelor; and to Mr. Mathias, of Trinity-college, and Mr. Seal, of Chriſt college, middle bachelors.

Canine Madneſs.

As, when perſons have been bit by a dog, that is apprehended to be mad, the dog is generally killed before any one has aſcertained his condition; in conſequence of which the perſons bit continue in a cruel uncertainty; M. Petit, an eminent ſurgeon in France, has publiſhed the following expedient for putting an end to this uneaſineſs. He rubs the throat, the teeth, and the gums of the dead dog, with a piece of meat that hath been dreſſed, taking care that there be no blood to ſtain it; and then offers it to a living dog. If the living dog refuſes it with crying and howling, the dead dog was certainly mad: but, if the victuals are well received, and eaten, there is nothing to fear.

The miſtreſs of the Crown alehouſe, in St. Paul's church-yard, was delivered the 27th inſtant of two girls and a boy, all living.

Was lately married, viz. the 27th inſtant, Mr. John Scott, of Dentshole, Northumberland, aged 60, four times married; to Mrs. Eleanor Hood, aged 50, thrice married, and mother to 14 children.

Died lately, viz. the 4th inſtant, in Hatton-ſtreet, Mr. —— Houſton, the moſt eminent mezzotinto engraver in England.

The 12th, the rev. and learned M. de Miſſey, preacher at the French chapel, St. James's.

The 18th, at Eveſham, Worceſterſhire, Mr. Joſeph Barnes and Mr. Anthony Warrand, two of the greateſt gardeners in Europe.

The 24th, in his 91ſt year, Mr. Green, of Mount-ſtreet, Southwark. He had been in 21 battles, and had received 11 wounds in the ſervice of his country.

The 26th, at Iſlington, Mr. James Burgh, formerly maſter of an academy at Newington-green, and author of The Dignity of Human Nature, Political Diſquiſitions, and ſeveral other works.

The 28th, Alderman George Faulkener, of Dublin, remarkable for having been the favourite printer of Dean Swift, and the printer of the Dublin Journal; and for ſeveral oddities, all innocent, and ſome of them of the moſt beneficial nature.

The 31ſt, Mr. Fowlis, printer to the Glaſgow Univerſity; and celebrated for his editions of the Greek and Latin claſſics; and his encouragement of learned and ingenious men.

Lately, Mrs. Buchy, in Dublin, aged 103.

Lately, Mr. Clayton, in Berkſhire, formerly a wealthy farmer, in the 115th year of his age; before he left off farming, he rented one farm 90 years; he retained his

ſenſes to the laſt; and has left children and grand-children 28, the eldeſt 82 years old.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Oxford, for the city, three; and for the county, two; were capitally convicted.

At Northampton, two were capitally convicted; one of them, for forgery, was executed; and the other reprieved.

At Wincheſter, three were capitally convicted.

At Worceſter, ſix were capitally convicted; one for murdering his own child, an infant about a month old, the iſſue of an unlawful commerce with the girl, whom the pariſh-officers afterwards forced him to marry,—a cuſtom which muſt ſometimes be productive of much miſery, by adding diſcontent to poverty. The murderer and two of the others ſuffered; the other three were reprieved.

At Chelmsford, ſeven were capitally convicted; one of them was Lambert Reading, of whom we have already ſpoken; and another was Chapman, the coachman to Mr. Conyers, who directed the attempt. He was taken the day Reading was tried, and next day carried to Chelmsford, where he likewiſe was tried, and, being convicted, received ſentence of death.

At Hull, a game-keeper, for ſhooting at another man, was capitally convicted; but reprieved.

At York, nine were capitally convicted; but all reprieved except two, one of whom was Geo. Bulmer, for the murder of his wife, and another for robbing the mail.

It was on the 16th of June Bulmer committed the horrid deed.—As his wife lay aſleep in bed, he ſtrangled her by means of a muſlin handkerchief which he had twiſted in the manner of a cord for that purpoſe. The handkerchief with which the unhappy woman had been ſtrangled was untwiſted, and left round her neck. The perſons about her diſcovering a mark on her neck beneath the handkerchief, which appeared to have been done by ſome violence, examined the body more carefully, and diſcovered the whole to be uncommonly black. Alarmed at this and other ſuſpicious circumſtances, they ſent for the Coroner. In the mean time the huſband cut his throat, but miſſed the windpipe; and a ſurgeon, being procured, ſewed it up. He afterwards attempted to break the ſtitches, but was prevented, and properly ſecured: the Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict Wilful Murder. Previous to this, Bulmer had confeſſed the fact, and the manner of perpetrating it, as before deſcribed. He was upwards of 60 years of age; his wife was not much above 30. The cauſe he aſſigned for committing this horrid crime was, that he had become connected with another woman.

The man, convicted for having robbed the mail, acknowledged, that about ten years ago he had wilfully ſet a barn on fire; and, while the family was employed in extinguiſhing the flames, robbed the houſe of 50 l.

The Hertford, Bedford, Carliſle, and county of Nottingham aſſizes, proved maiden.

At Glouceſter, five were capitally convicted.

At

At Oakham, two were capitally convicted.

At Huntingdon, two were capitally convicted.

At Monmouth, five were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Maidſtone, two were convicted of murder, and executed. Another was alſo capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At the above aſſizes, a bill of indictment was found againſt twelve ſhip-wrights, who lately belonged to his Majeſty's yard at Woolwich, for unlawfully conſpiring and combining together, in order to get their wages increaſed.

At Nottingham town, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Derby, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Leiceſter, one was capitally convicted.

At Coventry, two were capitally convicted.

At Bury, four were capitally convicted; one of whom, for the murder of his wife, and two for burglary, were left for execution—the other reprieved.

At Warwick, one was capitally convicted.

At Norwich, for the county, three; and for the city, one; were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Newcaſtle, two were capitally convicted, and both reprieved.

At Lewes, one wss capitally convicted.

At Shrewſbury, two were capitally convicted.

At Durham, three were capitally convicted.

At Croydon, ten were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved. Among thoſe acquitted, was Mrs. Jane Butterfield, accuſed of having poiſoned William Scawen, Eſq; and, as the caſe was very curious and intereſting, we ſhall give ſome account of the trial in our appendix.

At the ſame aſſizes, a trial came on between Mr. Cawſey, haberdaſher, of Guildford, and Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. to recover the ſum of 1171. 6s. for ribbands, ſaid to be delivered by Mr. Cawſey during the late general election in 1774, to Sir Joſeph Mawbey's voters; the council for the plaintiff were Mr. Lad, M. ——, and Mr. Martyr; for the defendant, Serjeant Glynn, Serjeant Kemp, and Mr. Lucas. Three young ladies were called on the ſide of the plaintiff, who ſwore they tied up the cockades, and believed that there were 1996 tied up the firſt day, and that a letter was accordingly ſent the firſt evening of the election to Sir Joſeph, acquainting him with the ſame. The plaintiff called ſeveral other people who had ribbands of him, but, as they could not prove that any orders were given by Sir Joſeph, their evidence was but of little effect. The plaintiff's witneſs likewiſe ſwore, that 350 cockades were delivered the ſecond day, which made in the whole 2346, which, at 1s. each, amounted to the ſum charged; they likewiſe ſwore, that, after all the ribbands were uſed in Guildford the firſt night, they ſent to Farnham, and purchaſed all in that town, for which Mr. Cawſey paid 5l. 12s. 6d. Mr. Serjeant Glynn remarked on their evidence with great judgment and ſeverity, and obſerved, that, as Sir Joſeph's voters did not amount in the whole to more than 1400, the greateſt part of whom came

came from the Borough, Rotherhithe, Lambeth, &c. and all thoſe provided with ribbands in town, it was improbable to think, that 2346 ribbands could be diſtributed at Guildford, when Sir Joſeph's voters in that town did not amount to more than thirty; he then ſhewed, that propoſals had been made to Mr. Cawſey, either to leave it to three indifferent tradeſmen in the town of Guildford, voters againſt Sir Joſeph Mawbey; to pay him for as many ribbands as he had in two years, to be proved by his books; or to take 30 l. which, valuing the ribbands at 9d. each, would be more than in reaſon could be imagined to be expended, and which ſum he had paid into court; all which propoſals were refuſed on the part of Mr. Cawſey. That, as to the idea of his having ribbands ſufficient in his ſhop to make up 1996, it was prepoſterous, as the whole town of Farnham had not more than amounted to 5 l. 12s. 6d. The evidence on the ſide of the plaintiff could by no means be poſitive, either to the ſtock of ribbands they had in the ſhop at the time they began, nor the number delivered, as they very frankly owned they were taken away ſo faſt, that they took no account until the ſecond day; (yet they knew the number on the firſt day to be 1996). The jury were out about half an hour, and brought in their verdict, 'that 29l. was full ſufficient.' Lord Mansfield therefore acquainted the court, that, as Sir Joſeph had paid 30 l. into court, and a verdict given for only 29l. the verdict of courſe was for the defendant; which ſaddled Mr. Cawſey with all the coſts.

At Abingdon, three were capitally convicted.

At Hereford, a farmer of conſiderable property in the neighbourhood of Cardiff, was capitally convicted of plundering a wreck on the Glamorganſhire coaſt, and received ſentence of death.

At Cambridge, John Stickwood, for the wilful murder of Andrew Nunn, was convicted and executed. James Stickwood, the brother, was admitted evidence for the King, and his depoſition circumſtantially correſponded with his examination taken before the coroner. The criminal, after his condemnation, made an ample confeſſion of the fact, and ſolemnly proteſted, that his brother James, whom he ſaid he ſincerely forgave, was the firſt inſtigator of the robbery and murder; that he was equally culpable, and helped to ſtrip the body of the deceaſed. James, however, was diſcharged by proclamation.

At Exeter, one was capitally convicted for murder, but recommended for mercy.

At Wells, Reginald Tucker was capitally convicted for the murder of his wife, one of the fineſt women in that country; and ſuffered accordingly.

At Lincoln, William Farmery was tried, condemned, and executed, for the murder of his own mother. All that he would confeſs was, that his ſpite againſt his mother was becauſe ſhe corrected him when he was a little boy. However it appears, that, having ſome words with his mother in the morning, on which he committed the fact, he went out, and whetted his knife very ſharp; and then, coming into his own room, where his

his mother was making his bed, he ſtuck her in the throat, as a butcher does a ſheep, and then left her weltering in her blood. Upon his examination he owned the fact, and even that he had determined to murder her three years ago. He ſaid further, that, while he ſlept in the round-houſe (where he was at firſt confined), he felt ſomething move within him, and, when he awaked, his mother's ſhade paſſed before him. The above unhappy criminal was twenty-one years of age; and had been put apprentice to a ſhoe-maker at Leaſingham.

At Wells, an action brought againſt the returning officer at the late general election for Taunton, came on in the morning, and laſted till four the next morning; when the jury, which was ſpecial withdrew for about an hour, and then delivered a verdict at the judge's lodgings in favour of the defendant.

At Saliſbury, three actions came againſt an agent to one of the candidates at the late Hindon election, who gave money to the electors through a hole in the wall; when, the charge being fully proved in every inſtance, the defendant was fined 1500l. conformable to the ſtatute.

At Stafford, four were capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved.

At Dorcheſter, Mr. Mortimer proſecuted the following perſons, for notoriouſly bribing, and endeavouring to bribe, at the laſt election for members for Shafteſbury, and recovered damages in every action, viz. Mr. P. Brown 500l. Mr. John Good 1000l. Mr. J. R. Everett 500l. Mr. R. Hunt, 00l. Mr. R. Gough 500l. Mr. R. Buckland 1500l.

In the courſe of the evidence, the whole ſtory of punch and his aſſociates was rehearſed, and afforded great entertainment.

Four actions were entered againſt Mr. Mortimer's friends, one of which was tried; when, a verdict being given for the defendant, Mr. Parker, the records of the other three were withdrawn.

Four perſons who had been ſubpœnaed to give evidence did not appear when called upon, and were fined 100l, each.

Mr. Mortimer had many more actions of the like kind to bring, but ſaid he would not trouble the county with them.

SEPTEMBER.

5th. Five horſes in a waggon, drawing home a load of barley, at Windruſh, in Glouceſterſhire, about four miles from Burford, in Oxfordſhire, were ſtruck dead by lightning. The boy that drove the team, and a woman upon the mow in the barn, were ſtruck down, but eſcaped further injury. The flaſhes of lightning were continued, and extremely tremendous, the thunder uncommonly loud, and the rain which accompanied the ſtorm was ſo heavy as to be productive of many ſudden inundations; there being immediately a flood both on the Cherwell and Iſis. The river Cherwell overflowed all the paſtures near Marſton, Suſcot, Wood-Eaton, Iſlip, and many other places. Magdalen College water-works, Merton fields, Chriſt Church meadows, Hinkſey, Iſley, Kennington, Standford, &c. were one entire ſcene of water. In the pariſh of St.

St. Thomas, weſt of Oxford, the inhabitants were obliged to remove to the ſecond floor, the water being nearly up to the firſt ſtory; where their food and neceſſaries were conveyed to them by boats, while part of their houſhold furniture was floating in the ſtreet. The cattle, in ſome places, ſtood up to their bellies in water, and many of the roads leading to Oxford were rendered impaſſable.

7th. Several gentlemen from Dublin having lately waited on the Right Hon. John Wilkes, Eſq; Lord Mayor of this city, at the Manſion-Houſe, with the reſolution of the guild of merchants of Dublin, to preſent him the ſincere thanks of that guild, "for the eſſential ſervices, they ſay, which he has rendered to his king and country, by his ſtrenuous efforts in the cauſe of freedom, and for his defence of the rights of the people to petition the throne, &c." the Lord-Mayor expreſſed his thanks for the honour done him by ſo reſpectable a body, and deſired the gentlemen to tranſmit the ſame, moſt humbly, to the maſters, wardens, and brethren of the guild of merchants.

At the anniverſary meeting of the ſons of the clergy at Newcaſtle, the collection at church amounted to 23 l. which, with 449 l. ſubſcription, was diſtributed to 55 indigent widows, ſons and daughters of clergymen, according to their ſeveral neceſſities.

Their high mightineſſes the States General have prohibited the exportation of ammunttion from any of the United Provinces to any of the Britiſh colonies for one

The Pruſſians now ſtopt all veſſels deſtined for Dantzick, whether coming in or going out, and inſiſted on their unloading before they enter the Fahr-Waſſer, and paying the cuſtom-houſe duties, piece by piece, of their cargoes; but none of the burghers of that unhappy place, nor any foreign maſters, had, as yet, conſented to this; chuſing rather to go back with their lading, than ſubmit to ſuch an exaction. In conſequence of this and other grievances, the city of Dantzick was now going to ruin apace. Thoſe of the inhabitants who were worth any thing, were daily getting away with their effects; while thoſe who had nothing to loſe, exclaimed loudly againſt the oppreſſion they laboured under. Application had been made to different powers to intercede in their favour, but they met with nothing but pity. In the mean time, the city was ſaid to be blocked up by the Pruſſians, and that they had cut off all its communications.

His Swediſh majeſty, in order to reduce the exorbitant price of proviſions, has ordered a bounty to be given to ſuch farmers as ſhall bring the greateſt quantities of proviſions to market.

8th. Between ten and eleven at night, the ſhock of an earthquake was very ſenſibly felt at Bath, Worceſter, Saliſbury, Dorcheſter, Shrewſbury, Trow-Bridge, Aynho in Northamptonſhire, Swanſea in Wales, Glouceſter, Eveſham, Coalbrook, Dale, Wellington, Wolverhampton, Brewood; and many others, eſpecially the intermediate places. In ſome places, this ſhock was preceded by a violent ſtorm of rain; in others, accompanied with a very cloſe and hot atmoſphere. In ſome places, again,

again, it laſted but two or three ſeconds; in others it is repreſented as having been of ſome continuance. Though not attended with any deſultory noiſe, many both in bed and out, and in the upper and lower rooms of their houſes, were affected with a violent horizontal agitation or percuſſion, eſpecially thoſe in bed and above ſtairs. Several perſons perceived their windows ſhake, and their ſeats move under them; and moſt of thoſe who felt it ran out of their houſes, for fear of their tumbling about their ears. It proved moſt violent at Swanſea, in Glamorganſhire, where ſeveral chimnies were thrown down, ſome houſes cracked, and others tumbled in, through the violence of the ſhock.

11th. At St. John's, and other places, in Newfoundland, there aroſe a tempeſt of a moſt particular kind—the ſea roſe on a ſudden 30 feet; above ſeven hundred boats, with all the people belonging thereto, were loſt, as alſo eleven ſhips with moſt of their crews. Even on ſhore they ſeverely felt its effects, by the deſtruction of numbers of people; and for ſome days after, in drawing the nets aſhore, they often found twenty or thirty dead bodies in them; a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle! At Harbour Grace, no fewer than three hundred boats were loſt.

14th. A baker was convicted before the Lord Mayor for having in his houſe 120 lb. weight of allum; and fined 10 l.

The Charming Nancy, with General Gage's lady, and one hundred and ſeventy ſick and wounded ſoldiers and officers, arrived from Boſton at Plymouth; all in great diſtreſs, though but twenty-four days on their paſſage. They ſailed from Boſton the 20th of Auguſt, at which time nothing material had happened, except a notification being poſted up, ſignifying, that ſuch inhabitants as were deſirous of quitting Boſton might give in their names to the Town-Major, and receive a licenſe ſo to do. This, it was ſuppoſed, was owing to the ſcarcity of proviſions, by which Gen. Gage was reduced to the neceſſity of ſupplying the people from the king's ſtores, or ſuffering them to periſh.

A few of the men came on ſhore, when never hardly were ſeen ſuch objects! ſome without legs, and others without arms; and their cloaths hanging on them like a looſe morning gown, ſo much were they fallen away by ſickneſs and want of proper nouriſhment. There were moreover near ſixty women and children on board; the widows and children of the men who were ſlain. Some of theſe too exhibited a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle; and even the veſſel itſelf, though very large, was almoſt intolerable, from the ſtench ariſing from the ſick and wounded, for many of them were hardly cured yet. Two more tranſports were daily expected with invalids, who ſailed from Boſton with the above. It was a great hardſhip on this occaſion, though perhaps the nature of the ſervice cannot immediately relieve it, for the men to remain on board till an order from the war-office arrived for their debarkation; eſpecially as the veſſel was obliged to go up into Hammoaze to get in a new mainmaſt, from thence to proceed for the river with the invalids, in order for their examination

tion for Chelſea-Hoſpital. As to the widows and orphans, who came home in the above ſhip, a ſubſcription was ſet on foot in four or five days after their arrival, by Meſſ. Jardines, merchants at Plymouth, which by the 22d amounted to an hundred and four pounds, and next day was diſtributed at the Guildhall, according to their ſeveral neceſſities.

15th. An ordinance of this date has been publiſhed at Vienna, extending to all the hereditary ſtates, which greatly diminiſhes the right of aſylum in churches, cloyſters, and other holy places, and deprives the following malefactors of any ſuch benefit, viz. All blaſphemers; thoſe who have committed murders in churches and ſacred places; robbers of churches or holy utenſils; thoſe guilty of premeditated murders; highway robbers; thoſe who ſpoil or ſteal the produce of the country; all aſſaſſins and their accomplices; thoſe guilty of high treaſon or rebellion; all falſe coiners; all who counterfeit the ſeal or ſignature of the ſovereign; thoſe who poiſon the wells or public reſervoirs; all who take unlawful advantages of a fire, inundation, or ſhipwreck; thoſe who plunder the public money; and all perſons guilty of rapes, &c. thoſe guilty of any of the abovementioned crimes, who may have eſcaped out of priſon; all bankrupts; deſerters; and thoſe who aſſaſſinate any one employed under the ſovereign. Moreover, by the name of aſylum no places are to be underſtood but thoſe, in which the holy ſacrament is kept.

The judge is authoriſed to reclaim any priſoner that may have taken refuge there improperly from the director of the place, without conſulting any other ſuperior eccleſiaſtic, and in caſe of refuſal the judge may take up the criminal.

16th. A veſſel coming up the river happened to run her head on ſhore; when the ſtern ſwinging round ſqueezed a boat, in which were three men and a woman, beſides the waterman, between her and another veſſel. The boat was ſtaved to pieces; one man was killed; the woman was ſo much hurt that there is no hope of her recovery; the waterman had both his legs broke; and the other two men were drowned.

There was a riſing of the people at Malta, headed by an eccleſiaſtic, who, taking advantage of the abſence of the gallies and the men of war, and being joined by ſome ſoldiers, ſeized on a baſtion of the caſtle of St. Elmo, and another in the habitation of Caſtille. Their intention was to deſtroy the magazine of powder, and make a general pillage wherever they could. But, by the timely reſolution of the Grand Maſter, aſſiſted by ſeveral knights and burghers, it was put a ſtop to; and the three moſt culpable, one of them a prieſt, being executed, and a general pardon iſſued to the reſt, tranquillity was immediately eſtabliſhed.

18th. In the afternoon a recruiting party beating a drum in the Old Bailey, and the ſound alarming the court, the recorder ordered the drummer to be taken into cuſtody. Mr. Payne, the conſtable, went immediately, and took the drummer near Newgate, and brought him into court. Upon his being aſked by the recorder, how he dared to attempt to beat his drum there? he replied, the

ſerjeant ordered him; but on his begging pardon, and promiſing never to offend again, he was diſmiſſed. Soon after Mr. Payne had brought in the drummer, the city marſhals brought in the ſerjeant, who pleading ignorance, and making the ſame promiſe as the drummer, was diſcharged, after receiving a ſharp reprimand.

Within theſe few days, the government contracted with Mr. Melliſh to ſupply the troops at Boſton with a very conſiderable number of oxen, and 14,000 ſheep, the largeſt and fatteſt that can he procured.—Several of the oxen, and 4000 of the ſheep, were to be ſent over immediately alive, and the remainder as ſoon as they could be purchaſed. They likewiſe contracted with Felix Calvert and Henry Thrale, Eſqrs. for 5000 butts of ſtrong beer each; Mr. Slade, for 5000 chaldron of coals; Mr. Duffey, of Tooley-ſtreet, for a very large quantity of potatoes; all for the ſame purpoſe; nay, a quantity of faggots have been ſhipped on board ſeveral tranſports at Deptford. Happily there was a very large fleet of colliers in the river, or the above extenſive contract might have greatly enhanced the price of coals, as they were all taken at the market price.

19th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended, when two convicts, for returning from tranſportation; one, for traiterouſly making a mold to coin ſhillings; ten, two of them women, for high way robberies; two women, for ſtealing fifty-one guineas and ſeven half guineas, from Alex Hanna, a foreigner, at a houſe on Salt-petre Bank; and one, for horſe-ſtealing, received ſentence of death; thirty-eight, to be tranſported for ſeven years; and one, for fourteen years; one, to be branded in the hand; ſeven privately whipped; and 45 were diſcharged by proclamation.

And on the 26th of October the two criminals, for returning from tranſportation; the man, convicted of having made the mold to coin ſhillings; and one of the highwaymen; were executed at Tyburn.

20th. In the afternoon, a moſt violent ſtorm of rain and hail, accompanied with more dreadful thunder and vivid lightning than had ever been remembered by the oldeſt perſon living, fell in Oxford and Saliſbury, and other places in their neighbourhood. Several ſtreets were overflowed; the lightning was almoſt one continued flaſh for two hours: the ſouth-weſtern firmament, in particular, frequently appeared one vaſt expanſe of fire. At Oxford, among other effects leſs remarkable, the lightning, entering the garret of Mr. Stevens's houſe, in Holiwell-ſtreet, ſtript the plaiſter both within and without above a yard ſquare, and likewiſe tore off the plaiſter from the ceilings of the other rooms, leaving the timbers and laths uninjured; and in Dr. Boucher's garden, the corner of the ſame ſtreet, perforated the ground about three feet deep, and eighteen inches wide.

And the next morning, about ten, there aroſe ſuch another ſtorm of thunder and lightning at Leeds in Yorkſhire; in which four or five perſons, and ſome cattle, were killed by the lightning.

22d. Being the anniverſary of their Majeſties coronation, the ſame was obſerved with uncommon demonſtrations of joy.

The

The illuminations at the French ambaſſador's were the grandeſt ever known on the occaſion.

23d. The ſhip Jupiter, from Dunſtaffnage Bay, with 200 emigrants on board, chiefly from Argyleſhire, ſet ſail for North-Carolina, declaring that the oppreſſions of their landlords were ſuch as they could no longer ſubmit to. On the other hand, we are aſſured, that a nobleman, who has large poſſeſſions in a part of Lancaſhire bordering upon Weſtmoreland, having been ſome time ago offered 1000 l. per ann. (clear of all expences) above what he now receives annually for his eſtates there, he mildly rejected the propoſal by a reply, which deſerves to be recorded: "My rents (ſaid he) are honeſtly "paid; I wiſh to ſee all my te-"nants proſper; and I deſire no "more."

On opening the theatre in Drury-lane this evening, for the firſt time this ſeaſon, it appeared more like a new than an old theatre, in conſequence of the great alterations made in it during the laſt ſummer. The new front is ſimple and elegant, and conſiderably improved by the addition of eight grand lamps. The moſt uſeful alterations within doors conſiſt in the heightening of the ceiling twelve feet; the removal of all the old ſide-boxes, top and bottom, and ſubſtituting others on a larger ſcale, ſupported by light elegant pillars; the addition of different paſſages to the upper and lower boxes, and ſpacious entrances from Bridges-ſtreet to every part of the houſe; with directions, in large letters, to each. The chief ornamental improvements within doors conſiſt of numberleſs decorations, which cannot fail to ſtrike the beholder. The roof is covered with a circular painting, finely executed, and remarkable for its well-ſtudied ſimplicity. The light airy pillars that ſupport the upper boxes, galleries, &c. are inlaid with plate-glaſs on green and crimſon ground, which being finely contraſted, afford a happy and elegant effect. Around each of theſe are ſome pretty fancied open paintings, with various borders, which, together with the crimſon ſpotted lining of the boxes, and the light feſtoon curtain painted underneath the whole, relieve them finely. The ſtage-doors, for united elegance and delicacy, are ſuperior to any thing of the kind we have ſeen or heard of in this country. The old chandeliers are taken down; thoſe on the ſides are replaced by neat gilt branches on the pillars, holding two candles each; in the front are four new chandeliers, of a more light and faſhionable conſtruction; and there is no ſlit to be in the new curtain.—The alterations, as well within as without, are ſuch, in ſhort, as do great honour to the taſte of Mr. Adam, the artiſt who deſigned them, and the ſpirit of the managers, who have now converted an old barn into the moſt ſplendid and complete theatre in Europe.

24th. At a meeting of Middleſex juſtices, at Hicks's Hall, it was unanimouſly agreed to addreſs his Majeſty, to expreſs their readineſs to ſupport ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought expedient to reduce the colonies to a proper ſenſe of their duty.

25th. At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, in order to conſider what meaſures were proper to be adopted in the preſent criſis, much clamour,

clamour aroſe; a ſet of inſtructions, however, was produced and read, to be preſented to the county members; but a proteſt was made againſt them, and very little unanimity was obſerved throughout the whole. The ſheriffs differed in opinion: and one of them only, Alderman Plomer, ſigned all the reſolutions.

Prince Czartoryſki has not only granted leave for two churches to be built on his eſtates in Poland for the diſſidents, but has given 80,000 Poliſh florins towards the expence of erecting them. At the ſame time, ſeveral of the cities in Poland, particularly Warſaw, Cracow, and Rawa, are taking very ſevere meaſures to expel the Jews; but the latter, by building houſes for themſelves near the bounds of theſe cities, give the merchants ſettled in them juſt reaſon to fear, that they will, by their activity and diligence, be of as much detriment to them there, as before within their walls.

26th. A detachment of 400 foot, and a troop of horſe, under Col. Luttrell, attended by Juſtice Sweeney, were ſent to Ruſh, near Dublin, to ſeize the ringleaders in ſome late diſturbances there; but, though they ſecured every avenue to the place, not a man was to be found: the women and children only remained, who, on the appearance of the army, uttered diſmal ſhrieks and cries, though the Colonel and Juſtice uſed every means to pacify them. At laſt, however, ſeeing four men enter into a houſe, the ſoldiers ſurrounded it, and followed them; but, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, no perſon was to be found. It was then ſuſpected they had eſcaped through ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, the entrance of which was in vain ſought for. Juſt after this they were again confirmed in their opinion of ſome ſubterraneous hiding-place being near them, by the following circumſtance: a trooper's horſe happening to neigh, a moment after they heard a horſe under ground neigh ſeveral times. Upon this they renewed their ſearch, but could not find the aperture which led to the place where this beaſt was concealed. They found, however, a cavern ſo capacious, that 100 ſoldiers entered it. In this, and buried in the ſand, were found eighteen bags, and three caſks of tea; two barrels of gunpowder; one box of muſquet-cartridges, and one of bullets. The wherries and cutters were then ſearched, and a number of carriage and ſwivel-guns taken out of them; as alſo a great quantity of muſkets, carbines, and cutlaſſes.

There was a hearing of two hours before the Lord-Mayor, relative to a paragraph lately inſerted in a morning paper, which it was thought reflected on his Lordſhip as a magiſtrate. Two gentlemen, who were ſuppoſed to be the authors of it, appeared, and brought with them Counſellor Lucas, who attempted to juſtify his clients. It appeared on the hearing, that the two gentlemen a few days ago hired a pair of oars to go to Woolwich, and agreed to give them ſeven ſhillings; they were not to ſtay a long time there: however, the gentlemen dined, and afterwards ordered the watermen to take them further down the river, and put them on board a ſhip, where they waited; they then directed them to take in ſome goods, and kept them late: when they returned home, the watermen demanded 14s. which the gentlemen 27th.

paid, but ſummoned them to Waterman's hall, for taking more than they agreed for; but, as the gentlemen exceeded the bounds of their agreement, they could not obtain any redreſs there. Upon this they took the watermen before the Lord Mayor, who was of opinion that the affair did not lie before a magiſtrate; but that, if they were injured, they ſhould ſeek their remedy at common law, and thereupon diſmiſſed the watermen. Nothing material was ſaid in ſupport of the inſinuation againſt the Lord Mayor; and his Lordſhip told the gentlemen, that, if they had not reflected on his character as a magiſtrate, he ſhould have taken no notice of it; but, if they thought he had not done them juſtice, he was willing to anſwer them in any court of law they thought proper.

One Thomas Bell was charged before the magiſtrates, in Bow-ſtreet, with an intended forgery on the bank of Scotland. He firſt applied to a paper-maker to make him a quantity of paper with the words *Bank of Scotland* wrought in it, and afterwards to an engraver to get a plate exactly imitating that of a Scots bank note, which he produced. This done, he produced the paper to have 700 copies wrought off; but Mr. Mackey, the engraver, having previouſly acquainted Mr. Kinloch, agent for the bank of Scotland, with every ſtep taken, Bell was apprehended and committed to priſon in order to take his trial. Though but a young man, he was ſome time ago impriſoned for a ſimilar offence, but releaſed for want of ſufficient evidence.

Was held a ſpecial court of the Eaſt-India Company, when Mr. Roberts, who filled the chair, acquainted the court, that advices of conſequence had been received from Bengal; that an unfortunate diſagreement had taken place between the members of the ſupreme council; but that it would be neceſſary to arrange the papers relative thereto, before a clear ſtate of the caſe could be laid before the proprietors. He ſaid further, that great diſturbances prevailed among the Moratto powers; that Hyder Ally had taken advantage of thoſe troubles, and acquired a conſiderable increaſe of power and territory. He alſo read letters from Bombay, in which an account was given of the taking of the iſlands of Salſet and Ceringa; and that, in ſtorming the fort of Tanna, which defended the former, Commodore Watſon was mortally wounded.

In conſequence of an information given of a conſiderable quantity of contraband goods being lodged at a houſe in Buckridge-ſtreet, St. Giles's, Mr. Phillips, a Cuſtom-houſe officer, attended by a number of peace-officers, and a file of muſqueteers from the Savoy, went in ſearch of the goods; and, in one room where they got entrance, they found a bag and eight pounds of tea, which were lodged in the Cuſtom-houſe. Immediately after the officers and guards had left the houſe, and got into the ſtreet, they were fired at ſeveral times from the mob, and pelted with brick-bats, &c. but no perſon received the leaſt hurt from this outrage but Mr. Phillips, who had his noſe cut by a piece of glaſs bottle. Not content with this, the mob followed them; and, after pelting, fired at them; on which the guard returned, and diſcharged their muſquets among the mob, when ſome, it is ſaid, were

were killed and wounded. One of the ringleaders of the gang was taken before the magiſtrates of Litchfield-ſtreet, who committed him to Newgate.

Notwithſtanding a great drought, occaſioned by the ſummer heats in Sweden, it has been obſerved, that on the top of the higheſt mountain in Scania, called Kina Kulle, they have had a continued ſucceſſive abundance of flowers, of the greateſt luſtre, whilſt thoſe at the bottom of the ſame mountain, and in the ſurrounding meadows, were totally burnt up. Theſe heats were likewiſe attended with very great ſtorms in almoſt every province of the ſame kingdom; and, what was much worſe, occaſioned fevers which prevailed for ſome weeks, and have carried off vaſt numbers in the capital, and many other parts.

28th. About eleven o'clock at night, a fire broke out at a turner's in Ruſſel-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, which burnt with great fury, and conſumed ſeven houſes, and damaged ſeveral others, before it was extinguiſhed. Two perſons were ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the flames.

His majeſty has been pleaſed to recommend to the care of the regency of Hanover the ſucceſſion of the late Queen Matilda of Denmark, for the advantage of her children. In conſequence of which, the regency have charged the Baron de Seckendorff with the adminiſtration of that ſucceſſion.

29th. At a meeting of the livery of London in common hall, the Lord Mayor informed them, that he had received a letter from the congreſs at Philadelphia. Mr. Stavely moved, that the letter ſhould be entered on the records of the city, and the motion was received with only about a dozen diſſenting hands. Mr. Stavely next moved, and his motion was carried unanimouſly, that it ſhould be ſigned by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Town Clerk, and printed in the public papers. [We ſhall give the letter in our Appendix.]

Some weeks ago, a maſon and his labourer, having been employed in pulling down Fenwick tower, near Stamfordham, in Northumberland, found, between the floor and the arch, a conſiderable number of gold pieces, of the coin of Edward II. and III. But quarrelling over their cups, about dividing the booty, it came to the ears of Sir Walter Blacket, who, as lawful owner, demanded the ſame, and received from one 80, and from the other 35 pieces. They are about the ſize of a thirty-ſix ſhilling piece, and as freſh as if juſt come out of the mint.

Chriſtopher Nicholſon, of Balrath, in Ireland, who died ſome time ſince, has bequeathed 850l. to Sir Edward Newnham for his public conduct; 350l. to John Wilkes, Eſq; and 100l. and his hounds to Meath hoſpital.

DIED, the 17th inſtant, Captain Thomas Forbes, of the royal navy, aged 102, at Harwich.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. Their Royal Highneſſes the Princes Erneſt and Auguſtus, with the Princeſs Elizabeth, were inoculated for the ſmall-pox.

3d. At Haddington, in Scotland, a heavy rain came on, which ſwelled the river Tyne ſo much, that it overflowed the eaſt end of the town, and threatened the deſtruction of the whole. It roſe eight feet perpendicular. The

people were in the utmoſt conſternation, ſome wading up to the armpits to eſcape, and others climbing up the roofs of the houſes. The cries of women and children were dreadful; houſes, bridges, mills, and furniture of all ſorts, were ſeen floating together, and much cattle were carried off by it.

Notice was given from the Exciſe-office, that there were now in circulation counterfeit guineas, dated 1775, which nearly reſemble thoſe iſſued from the Mint, and bear their full weight, diſtinguiſhable only by a fainter impreſſion of the die on the arms ſide, a pale reddiſh colour, and by a more acute tinkling ſound in ſounding them.

4th. The following edict was ſigned by the King of Denmark:

WE, Chriſtian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, &c. Whereas his Majeſty the King of Great-Britain has deſired us to forbid our ſubjects giving any manner of aſſiſtance to the inhabitants of North-America, who are engaged in open war againſt England, and we being diſpoſed to comply with this friendly requiſition; therefore we will and enjoin, by theſe preſents, all our ſubjects, whether traders or others, not to preſume, till our pleaſure be farther made known, to ſend, for the purpoſe of traffic, either for their own accounts, or that of others, unto our iſlands and colonies in America, on board ſhips carrying our flag, or provided with our ſea-paſſports, any ammunition, or other commodities whatever ſerving for warlike armaments, and conſidered as articles of trade; or to take part in any ſuch contraband trade, which is diſagreeable to us, and liable to many misfortunes to themſelves: the whole on pain of arbitrary and ſevere puniſhment for thoſe who ſhall preſume to infringe this our gracious ordinance.

To which all and ſingular our cuſtom-houſe officers, in our kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and in our principalities, as alſo our governor-general, regency, and council, in our Weſt-India iſlands, are reſpectfully to conform themſelves, and by ſo doing will be indemnified for all damages.

Given under our royal hand and ſeal, in our royal caſtle of Fredenſburgh, the 4th of October, 1775.

CHRISTIAN R.

(Counterſigned)

Molcke. *Proetorius.*
Erichſen. *Trant.*

6th. This morning, about one o'clock, a fire broke out at a block-maker's, near Rotherhithe church, which conſumed that, a ſail-maker's adjoining, and ſeventeen other houſes, beſides work-ſhops, warehouſes, large quantities of timber belonging to boat-builders, &c. The flames ſpread ſo faſt, by large quantities of combuſtibles being in the warehouſes, that moſt of the inhabitants loſt all their goods, &c. and with difficulty ſaved their lives. It burnt down to the water-ſide, and ſeveral veſſels were unmoored to ſave them from the flames. At the firſt breaking out no water could be got for near an hour. Two engines were continually kept playing on the church, as it was in danger of taking fire, and ſeveral of the ſtones in the ſteeple cracked by the exceſſive heat.

10th. The parliament of Ireland met.—[We ſhall give the ſpeeches, addreſſes, and anſwers, on this

this occaſion, in our article of State-Papers.]

12th. Joannes Baptiſta Pele, a native of Genoa, was executed at Liſbon, for having plotted againſt the life of the Marquis of Pombal. He was drawn in quarters by four horſes, after having his hands chopt off; and afterwards burnt to aſhes. The villain had been there ſome time under pretence of learning to paint, and had taken the upper part of a houſe, where he was every night viſited by three men with long cloaks, ſlouched hats, and armed. Their deſign was to put a box full of gunpowder under the ſeat of the marquis's ſtate-coach, in which he was to appear in public at the putting up of the ſtatue of his Majeſty. They had contrived it ſo as to contain a match, which would burn ſome time before it ſet fire to the powder. All the preparations for this villainous plot, together with ſeveral letters and papers, and the models of the keys of the coach-houſe, belonging to the Marquis, were found in the rooms of the miſcreant, who was firſt detected by a phyſician, who lived in the under part of the houſe, and had found a note on the ſtairs, which firſt raiſed his ſuſpicion. Pele was thereupon immediately taken up; but, though the above-mentioned proofs were brought againſt him, he perſiſted to the laſt in his innocence. It is even reported, that, though he ſuffered the ordinary and extraordinary torture, from the beginning of his tortures to his dying moment, not ſo much as a ſigh eſcaped from him.

The King of Pruſſia has given proofs to the Poles that they have loſt nothing by changing maſters. His Majeſty's firſt act of benevolence to his new ſubjects was a gift of 1,500,000 crowns, to build 200 villages in that part of Poland which fell to his ſhare.

The deplorable ſituation of the city of Dantzick ſeems to intereſt the republic of Poland very ſeriouſly; in conſequence of which complaints have been made to the miniſters reſiding at Warſaw from Vienna, Peterſburg, London, and Copenhagen, of the behaviour of the court of Berlin to that place, with a requeſt to them to engage their reſpective courts to employ their good offices with his Pruſſian Majeſty, on the preſent melancholy occaſion.

By a memoir lately publiſhed at Bruſſels, concerning the commerce eſtabliſhed ſome time ſince, between Trieſte and Oſtend, it appears that the funds deſtined to carry it on amount to 3,400,000 florins iſſuing from the effects of the former ſociety, and 500,000 florins in different manufactures. The remaining million and half is to be divided into actions, of which the Baron Fries is ſaid to have already taken 500,000 florins.

19th. In the evening, one of the moſt dreadful ſtorms aroſe that has ever been remembered, accompanied with a great fall of rain, which raiſed the rivers in many places to an unuſual height. This ſtorm continued at Leeds, in Yorkſhire, for thirty-ſix hours, without the leaſt intermiſſion, and became in the higheſt degree alarming to the inhabitants, hundreds of whom durſt not lie down in their beds the firſt night, and many deſerted their houſes, expecting nothing leſs than to find them in ruins the next morning. The ſucceeding night proved equally alarming:

the prodigious quantity of rain which fell, being driven down the river, exhibited the moſt ſhocking ſcene that can be imagined, the whole neighbourhood being under water: large quantities of grain depoſited in warehouſes were waſhed away; cloth was in ſome places torn from off the tenters; in others, the cloth and tenters were carried away together; ſeveral dwelling-houſes and dye houſes ſuffered greatly, the dyeing-vats being torn out of their places; the pavement in the ſtreet broken up; walls, thrown down; cows, horſes, ſheep, &c. forced into the river, and drowned: but ſhocking as the foregoing accounts are, thoſe from the neighbouring parts were a great deal more ſo; Swillington, Calverley, and Otley bridges, thrown down; large ſtacks of grain, a large quantity of coals at Wakefield, and 1000 cart-loads of Flockton coals, ſwept away from near Ferrybridge; the driver and ſeven horſes belonging to Cave's London waggon, loſt near Wakefield bridge, &c. Immenſe damage was done upon the ſea-coaſts where the gale laſted about forty-eight hours. At Liverpool, houſes were unroofed, chimnies thrown down, ſmall craft ſunk in the river, and no leſs than fifteen ſhips driven on ſhore, or bulged againſt the rocks, and moſt of their crews periſhed. Two packets from Parkgate to Dublin, one the Nonpareil, Davis; the other, the Trevor, Tottie, foundered; and every ſoul on board periſhed. Among the paſſengers were Major Caulfield, (brother to the Earl of Charlemont) his lady, (the only child of the Right Hon. the Lord Eyre) and family, and ſeveral other reſpectable perſons. What rendered the fate of moſt of thoſe who periſhed on board one of theſe packets ſtill more lamentable was, the Captain's being obliged, in a manner, to put to ſea againſt his own opinion, by one of the paſſengers who happened to be in a greater hurry to get to Dublin than the reſt.—At Holyhead, the deſtruction was equal; no leſs than five ſhips were wrecked within a few miles of the harbour; and a packet-boat, bound to it from Dublin, foundered at ſea, with 36 paſſengers on board, ſeveral of them young gentlemen, the hopes of their families, who were coming to England to ſtudy the law.—Another packet boat, the Clement, Capt. Taylor, bound from Dublin to Holyhead, was at ſea all the time the ſtorm continued; but though Capt. Taylor had many paſſengers, carriages, and horſes on board; and perceived many veſſels foundering, others driving with the wind and tide without a creature on board, yet, with God's aſſiſtance, the goodneſs of his veſſel, the knowledge of himſelf and crew, he landed all his paſſengers at Holyhead the morning the ſtorm ceaſed, after having been toſſed to and fro for eight-and-forty hours.—The accounts from the North of Scotland were equally deplorable; pieces of wreck, and dead bodies, being hourly ſeen floating on the waves.

20th. The fort of Chamblee, in Canada, ſurrendered, by capitulation, to a party of Americans, commanded by Major Browne.

A melancholy accident happened in the family of Mr. Gardner, St. Bennet's Hill, Doctor's Commons; a cat that was ſhut up in a room where three of his children ſlept, went mad, flew into the bed, and bit them all. Mr. Gordon, on hearing

hearing their cries, went up to the room, on entering which, the cat flew at him likewiſe, and bit him in the leg. A man going by, and hearing the cries of the children, rapped at the door, and enquired the cauſe; and being informed, and admitted into the houſe, he attempted to kill the cat, when ſhe flew at him likewiſe, and faſtened on his throat. They all went to the ſalt water to be dipped.

21ſt. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when eleven priſoners, together with a woman, (convicted in September ſeſſions) received ſentence of death; twenty-one, to be tranſported for ſeven years; nine, branded in the hand, ſix of whom are alſo to be impriſoned one year in Newgate; three, privately whipped; and ſixteen, diſcharged by proclamation.

Among the capital convicts was one for the wilful murder of his brother-in-law, who was executed on the 23d. While in the Preſs-yard, he confeſſed the murder; ſaid, it was a family quarrel, and his being very paſſionate, that was the occaſion of his committing the raſh action. He was about 30 years of age, and behaved at the place of execution with that decency which became his unhappy ſituation. After execution, he was carried to Surgeon's Hall for diſſection. And, on the 20th of December following, ſeven out of the remaining ten, among them a woman for burglary, were executed at Tyburn.

23d. Stephen Sayre, Eſq; having been accuſed, by an information upon oath, of high treaſon, was this day taken into cuſtody, and after having been examined by the Earl of Rochford, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, was committed priſoner to the Tower. *London Gazette.* [We ſhall give an account of the further proceedings in this affair in the Appendix.]

The poems for Seaton's prize, at Cambridge, for the years 1774 and 1775, both of which had for their ſubject Duelling, were adjudged to Charles Peter Laynard M. A. of St. John's college, aad Samuel Hayes, M. A. of Trinity college.

26th. His Majeſty went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, attended by the Duke of Ancaſter and Lord Bruce, and opened the ſeſſion of Parliament with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; which, along with the addreſſes of both Houſes on occaſion of this ſpeech, and the anſwers to theſe addreſſes, we ſhall give with the other ſtate-papers.

27th. The Sheriffs of London put a petition from the Common Council to the Houſe of Lords into the hands of a noble Peer, who preſented the ſame to that Houſe; and then preſented, themſelves, the ſame petition, with only the variation of addreſs, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons.

Was launched, at Woolwich, his Majeſty's ſhip the Bedford, of 74 guns, ſuppoſed to be the higheſt ſeaſoned ſhip in the navy. She is the third ſhip whoſe materials have been hardened and ſeaſoned under the inſpection of Humphry Jackſon, Eſq; F. R. S. by order of the Lords of the Admiralty. The durability of ſhips of war depends principally upon the high-dried ſtate of the timber; by Mr. Jackſon's invention it becomes perfectly ſeaſoned in half the uſual time. This is effected by introducing certain matters into the pores of the wood, which ſpeedily dry up the internal ſap-juices, and which cannot

not be re-diſſolved by any water: conſequently the ſhip remains perfectly dry in moiſt, foggy weather, which is the reverſe when ſalts are uſed to preſerve wood, which always re-diſſolve, corrode the iron, render the timber damp, and prejudicial to the health of ſeamen. Ships of war in general laſt only 12 or 14 years: it is ſuppoſed the durability will be increaſed to 20 years by this diſcovery; but this remains to be confirmed by experience. It is undeniable, however, that thro' the ſuperior dry ſtate of this prepared timber, the Intrepid of 64 guns, launched five years ago, and lately returned from the Eaſt-Indies, where ſhe was ſent purpoſely on trial, has been examined and reported to the Navy-board as perfectly ſound, although ſhe proved leaky by running a-ground on her homeward paſſage. And it is no leſs certain, that the Intrepid and Acteon frigates at launching proved more buoyant than two other ſhips exactly under ſimilar circumſtances, the former drawing one inch and half, and the latter one inch leſs water, by which acquiſition they were enabled to ſtow thirty-five tons more proviſions, &c. than any other ſhips of ſimilar ſcantling; a circumſtance of no ſmall importance, where a long voyage produces a ſcanty allowance to the mariner. A great number of large vats, and other brewing utenſils, which have been prepared after the ſame manner many years ago, by ſtill continuing in a perfectly ſound ſtate, afford the ſtrongeſt preſumptive proofs of the future utility of the above invention in naval architecture.

In conſequence of a reſolution paſſed the council, orders were lately given, that no perſon whatever ſhall be admitted into any of the dock-yards, public magazines, or fortreſſes of this kingdom, without previous leave obtained from the governors.

The vintage this year about Bonn, and in other parts of Germany, has been ſo exceedingly favourable, both in quantity and quality, that on the Moſelle they were obliged to order that no cyder ſhould be made, there not being a ſufficient quantity of caſks for the wine alone.

The fields of Martinico have been of late infeſted with ants to ſuch a degree, that the deputies from the different pariſhes of that iſland have unanimouſly reſolved to aſſure 50,000 l. of their currency to the perſon, of any nation, who ſhall diſcover a method effectually to deſtroy them.

Some years ago, the ſhipwrights in the king's yards were looked upon as a very happy ſet of mechanics. They had two ſhillings and one penny a day beſides their chips, which might be worth four pence a-day more. Winter and ſummer, they were in conſtant pay and employment; and in the ſummer months they might work extra, which, at one tide, was ſeven pence half-penny a-day; they might beſides remain in the yards as long as they lived; and accordingly, many were known to remain there after they had been paſt their labour. At length, however, moſt of them grew diſcontented with their condition, or at leaſt affected to be ſo; and, having petitioned their ſuperiors for redreſs, it was thought proper to pay them, for the future, according to their earnings, as practiſed in the merchants yards, juſt withholding the chips, the allowance of which was thought to be attend-

ed

ed with a much greater loſs to the public, than with advantage to thoſe who enjoyed it. But this regulation putting it, ſo at leaſt their advocates aſſerted, in the power of any petty officer to deprive them of the hard-earned reward of their labour, inſtead of remonſtrating, as there might be occaſion, againſt any ſuch oppreſſion, they again petitioned for what they called redreſs; and, on their not obtaining it, numbers of them quitted the yards in May, June, and July laſt; at a time the government ſtood moſt in need of their labour. Nay ſome at Woolwich, adding violence to complaints, made it neceſſary to call the military power, as the readieſt part of the poſſe comitatus, to the aſſiſtance of the civil, to prevent miſchief; whilſt others elſewhere contented themſelves with abetting the petty outrages by women and boys belonging to them, as too mean objects to have any thing to fear from the ſeverer diſcipline of the law; and, in the mean time, all the five yards petitioned his majeſty himſelf by their deputies for redreſs, ſetting forth, it has been affirmed, that they were ſorry to acquaint him, that "their earneſt ſolicitations to the boards having proved ineffectual, they were under the neceſſity of quitting for ever his majeſty's yards, unleſs redreſſed in all their grievances;" though it has been affirmed, and not contradicted that we can recollect, that, under the preſent regulation, they had earned from 3s. 8d. to 4s. 5d. a-day: a circumſtance his majeſty cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ignorant of. Be that as it will, the petitioners not only had no anſwer from his majeſty, but the lords of the admiralty publiſhed an advertiſement ſetting forth their defection as tending at leaſt, if not actually intended, to diſtreſs government in a critical conjuncture, and offering great encouragement to other ſhipwrights to come in and ſupply their places; their lordſhips even ordered the commiſſioners at the ſeveral yards to employ a certain number of houſe-carpenters; and it was not long before this ſpirited behaviour had the deſired effect. The abſentees, finding their places likely to be ſoon filled on the one hand, and their credit for neceſſaries, whilſt unemployed, ſo much the more likely to fail on the other, even independent of the odium which the charge of an unmanly and ungenerous deſertion had caſt upon their cauſe, began to think better of the matter; accordingly they applied by degrees for the favour of being re-admitted into the king's ſervice, and reſtored to their former privileges in it; and were by degrees re-admitted and reſtored, after ſome little menaces and delays, which were probably thought requiſite to make them, for their own good and the public's, more ſenſible of their miſtake. By the beginning of this month, they were all entered again, even the old ones, in whom a longer experience of the government's goodneſs ſeemed to render the abuſe of it more criminal; and we have great reaſon to believe, that both young and old have ever ſince behaved with the greateſt diligence and alacrity.

NOVEMBER.

The town of St. George, the capital of the iſland of Grenada, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by fire. 1ſt.

St. John's

2d. St. John's Fort, in Canada, ſurrendered, by capitulation, to the Americans.

A great powder magazine, half a league from Carthagena, in Old Spain, containing between three and four thouſand quintals, was blown up by lightning, together with the guard of ſeven ſoldiers. Several houſes in the country were ſhaken by the exploſion, and almoſt all the windows broken in Carthagena.

3d. A cauſe was tried before Judge Gould and a ſpecial jury of merchants: the action was brought for the value of a bale of muſlins ſold to the defendants, which they, on examination of the goods, and finding that they had been exported to obtain the drawbacks, and afterwards ſmuggled back, to the great injury of the fair trader, and the defrauding of the revenue, immediately carried to his majeſty's warehouſe; where, on informing the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms of the circumſtances, the muſlin was ſeized and condemned. A verdict was given for the defendants without going out of court. The judge, and the counſel on both ſides, agreed that it was eſtabliſhed by many precedents, 'that no perſon, ſelling ſmuggled goods, can ever bring an action legally to recover of the purchaſers, the property of ſuch goods being, at all times, his majeſty's.'

A petition of the merchants of London, trading to the Weſt-Indies, was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, ſetting forth, that the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands have hitherto been ſupplied with very large quantities of flour, bread, rice, and Indian corn, from the continent of America, from which ſupply they are now cut off by reaſon of the preſent interruption of commerce with America; and that the quantity of wheat and meal flower, bread and biſcuit, now allowed by law to be exported to the ſaid colonies from the port of London, will be greatly inſufficient for the ſuſtenance and uſe of the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies during the continuation of ſuch interruption; and therefore praying the houſe will take the premiſes into conſideration; and grant ſuch relief as to them ſhall ſeem meet.

Some days ago thoſe miſcreants the white-boys, in a viſit they paid to Johnſtown, in the county of Kildare, Ireland, beſides breaking the windows of the inhabitants, and other ſimilar outrages, buried a prieſt to the neck, firſt incloſing him naked in brambles and thorns; and threatened the like uſage to every prieſt they could lay hands on, on account of their endeavouring to diſſuade them from their wicked practices.

8th. The ſeſſions of gaol-delivery, for the High Court of Admiralty, was held at the Old-Bailey, when two priſoners were tried, viz. Thomas Sawyer, on two indictments, for feloniouſly aiding, aſſiſting, and comforting Samuel Brown in the wilful murder of William Barbut, maſter of the ſhip or veſſel Hannah, and of Samuel Henley, mate of the ſaid veſſel, on the high ſeas, within the juriſdiction of the Admiralty of England, viz. in the latitude of 30 deg. north, on the 23d of June, 1774, and who were thrown over-board by Brown, Sawyer being preſent. On theſe indictments Sawyer was acquitted. He was alſo indicted for

for feloniouſly making a revolt on board the ſaid ſhip, turning pirate, and running away with the ſame, the cargo of which he and Brown ſold to two merchants, who came on board near Trinidada, and delivered at Curaſſow; after which, returning to the Granades to receive the money, he was, on the information of one of the mariners, apprehended and brought to England. On this indictment he was capitally convicted, and received ſentence of death; and was ſoon after executed at Execution Dock. Brown eſcaped out of the Marſhalſea. A mate of the York Indiaman was tried for the wilful murder of Robert Patterſon, on the high ſeas, about three leagues from Bencoolen, and acquitted.

9th. His Grace the Duke of Grafton reſigned the ſeals.

Mr. Wilkes, on going out of office this day at Guildhall, made a long ſpeech to the livery, full of the ſevereſt reflections on two great aſſemblies and the miniſtry. He charged the firſt with endeavouring to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, in New-England; and Popery, in Canada: the ſecond, with an attack upon every commoner of England, and the eſſential privileges of London, in the perſon of a citizen of London, Mr. Randal, whom they ordered, unheard, into cuſtody, without any appeal to a jury, only for diſreſpectful words againſt a member of their houſe; and the miniſtry, with adviſing the King not to receive their petitions and remonſtrances on the throne. Then, after expatiating on his oppoſition to all theſe meaſures, and his diligence in the diſcharge of all his other duties, as Lord Mayor of the city of London, he renounced the uſual exemption from public buſineſs during the enſuing twelvemonth.

12th. Being Sunday, about ſeven in the afternoon, three villains got into the houſe of a baker in Wincheſter-ſtreet, by means of a pick-lock key; but the houſe having been attempted for ſeveral Sundays paſt, nearly about the ſame hour, a proper guard was kept; and the robbers hardly entered, when the foremoſt of them received a ſhot in the head, which killed him on the ſpot; upon which the other two immediately made off, though it is thought one of them was wounded by the ſame ſhot which killed his accomplice. A pair of piſtols, four guineas, and three half guineas, were found in the pockets of him that was killed; who proved to be one Armſtrong, formerly employed in the Eaſt-India warehouſes, but who had been tranſported ſome time ago for a theft. The fellows had got a mourning-coach in waiting to carry off the effects.

The town of Montreal, in Canada, ſurrendered, by capitulation, to the Americans under General Montgomery.

13th. General Gage arrived in town from Boſton.

The lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

14th. A moſt dreadful ſtorm aroſe on the eaſtern coaſts of Great-Britain, and the oppoſite coaſts of the continent. The following being the fulleſt, as well as moſt authentic account, of the melancholy effects of this ſtorm on the Dutch coaſt, where it did moſt miſchief, as oppoſing the diſcharge of their great rivers into the ſea, is taken from the London Gazette of the 28th inſtant.

Hague,

Hague, Nov. 21. The effects of the late ſtorm of the 14th inſtant appear, by accounts from all parts of this province, to have been much more dreadful than was at firſt apprehendad. Commerce has ſuffered greatly by the many veſſels loſt on our coaſts, near the Texel; in the Zuyder ſea; at the mouth of the Maëſe; and more particularly on the ſea-coaſt of Holland, which is in many places covered with wrecks and merchandiſe. The violence of the north-weſt wind (which blew on the 14th the whole day) had raiſed the tide in the morning to a very uncommon height; and the waters on the ebb being prevented, by the continuance of the ſtorm, from returning, in the evening were increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to occaſion inundations in many parts of North and South Holland, and even in the province of Utrecht. Among the towns partly or entirely overflowed, are thoſe of Amſterdam, Munikendam, Edam, Horn, Dort, Rotterdam, Beverwyk, Delfshaven, and Maaſsluys. All the diſtricts in the neighbourhood of Heuſden were under water, as alſo the country bordering on the river Y, between Haarlem and Amſterdam, and on the oppoſite ſhore of that river in North Holland, and the country lying at the mouth of the Maëſe near Rotterdam, particularly the iſlands of Blackenbourg and Rooſenbourg. The force of the wind and waves was ſo great, that a ſhip at Amſterdam, bound to Peterſburg, was carried over two dykes between Muiden and Amersfort, and carried to the diſtance of 200 yards on the land. The dykes are damaged in many places by this tempeſt; but, wherever there appeared any breaches, the inhabitants, by their great diligence and activity, immediately repaired them, and by that means prevented the ruin of the country. But, notwithſtanding their vigilance, the waters roſe above the level of the dykes, and overflowed the country, carrying away, with the torrent, houſes cattle, furniture, &c. and ſome perſons have periſhed. The fiſhing-towns have alſo ſuffered greatly by the loſs of their boats. By the moſt exact inquiries it has been found, that the riſe of the waters was, at this time, eight inches higher than in the year 1682, and two inches higher than they were in the year 1717. Workmen are employed in repairing the damages; and the communication between Haarlem and Amſterdam, which had been interrupted, is now opened. [So far the London Gazette.]

During this ſtorm, the Cranbrook, of London, burthen 500 tons, Charles Suttie, maſter, laden with cloth, bales, and ſundry other merchandize, bound for Jamaica, having been wrecked about eight o'clock in the forenoon of the 14th, on the Goodwin Sands off Deal, Mr. Suttie with four others betook themſelves to the pinnace, whilſt the reſt of the crew and the paſſengers got into the long boat; which laſt was, between three and four in the afternoon of the ſame day, driven aſhore on the coaſt of Sangatte, off Fort Lapin, near Calais, having on board thirty perſons, mariners and paſſengers. As ſoon as the people on ſhore diſcovered the long boat in the road, driving at the mercy of the winds and waves, they flocked to the coaſt, in order to be ready to give immediate aſſiſtance

ance to the unfortunate people, and by their diligence and activity moſt of them were ſaved, after having been expoſed for ſix hours to all the violence of the ſtorm.

Monſieur Porquet, the Commiſſary of the marine at Calais, attended by a ſurgeon, with the greateſt humanity, afforded all poſſible aſſiſtance to the unhappy ſufferers; and by the uſe of proper methods, a ſailor and a negroe, who were taken up with little ſigns of life, were with great difficulty perfectly recovered. The phyſicians, ſurgeons, and the inhabitants of Calais, behaved likewiſe, on this occaſion, with the utmoſt tenderneſs to theſe unfortunate people.

There is great reaſon to think, that above 2500 ſouls periſhed on ſhip-board during this and the late ſtorm in October.

But perhaps one of the moſt remarkable events which attended them, is the ſtilling of the waves during the laſt by means of oil, as deſcribed in the following letter:

Leyden, Jan. 20, 1776. In conſequence of a premium of thirty ducats offered by a citizen of this place, to whoever ſhall moſt effectually try the experiment of appeaſing the waves which ſurround a ſhip in a ſtorm, by pouring oil into the ſea, the following letter has been received:

"We left the Texel the 3d of November, 1775, on board a merchant ſhip, Capt. Jurrien Jurrenſon, commander, and arrived the 14th in the evening, on the coaſt of Jutland in Denmark. Our intention was to enter a determined port, but the Captain thinking it ſcarce poſſible to make it, on account of the great quantity of ice, we put out to ſea to make another: the night following a great tempeſt aroſe, which continued till the next morning, and drove us towards the coaſt, where we found a road, and were near a port. This ſituation ſeemed to flatter our hopes, but the waves ran ſo high and ſtrong, that we had no command of the ſhip. The Captain alarmed at our ſituation, and ſeeing no other way to prevent a ſhip-wreck, gave orders for ſix barrels of oil, which he had on board, to be brought on the deck, and ordered them to be poured out ſlowly on each ſide of the ſhip, by which means the waves were by degrees abated, the ſhip began to anſwer her rudder, and ſoon afterwards entered the port in ſafety." See p. 70.

Their Majeſties and the Royal Family came to the Queen's palace for the winter. 15th.

The Houſe of Commons went into a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of a petition from the province of Nova Scotia, when they came to the following reſolution, which was moved by Lord North: "That the propoſitions contained in the addreſs, petition, and memorial, of the Council and Houſe of Aſſembly of the province of Nova Scotia, of granting to his Majeſty, in perpetuity, a duty of poundage, *ad valorem*, upon all commodities imported into the ſaid province, not being the produce of the Britiſh dominions in Europe and America (bay ſalt excepted), the ſaid duty to be under the diſpoſition of Parliament, is fit to be accepted; and that the amount of the ſaid duty ſhall be eight pounds per cent. upon all ſuch commodities."

Nine old women were burnt at Kaliſk in Poland, charged with having bewitched and rendered unfruitful

fruitful the lands belonging to a gentleman in that Palatinate.

17th. At a court of common council held at Guildhall, it was reſolved, at the inſtance of Mr. Wilkes, that the proceedings at the ſeſſions of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery of Newgate, for London and Middleſex, be publiſhed by the Recorder, and authenticated with his name: and that 130l. be paid out of the chamber of London, to the Lord Mayor, in lieu of the profit ariſing from the Seſſions Paper; that the ſhort-hand writer ſhould be allowed 150l. per annum; that the Seſſions Paper ſhould be printed on fine paper, in two numbers only; and that a copy of the ſaid proceedings be ſent to every member of the court, and the judges, and to thoſe officers of the city who have uſually received the ſame.

Letters from Nantz, by a ſhip juſt arrived from St. Domingo, adviſe, that they have had a moſt terrible ſtorm there, which had damaged all the buildings on the iſland, deſtroyed many ſhips, and totally waſhed away the ſugar in the warehouſes.

In the afternoon, a fire broke out at the Blue Bell alehouſe in Swaffham, Norfolk; the wind blowing very hard at North Weſt, the flames were ſoon communicated to ſeveral contiguous dwellings, which burnt with ſuch rapidity, that in a ſhort time between twenty and thirty houſes were laid in aſhes, and the families reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. One man fell from the top of a houſe and was killed.

In order to ſuppreſs the pernicious practice of inſuring tickets during the drawing of the Lottery, orders were given that there ſhould be no ſeats built for clerks to take down the numbers at Guildhall; but it does not appear that this order has taken place; for what reaſons, we are not able to determine. See page 188.

The Unity, late Neale, belonging to Sunderland, with troops from Stade for Gibraltar, ſprung a leak at ſea about four days ago in the Bay of Biſcay, in company with ſeveral other veſſels bound from Hamburgh to Gibraltar, with Hanoverian troops on board. Captain Neale, being apprehenſive ſhe would ſink, took to his boat with his mate, and all the officers of the troops, except the quarter maſter; but they had hardly left the ſhip's ſide before the boat overſet, and every ſoul on board her periſhed; as there remained but ſix ſailors on board with the ſoldiers, and all ignorant of navigation, they ran her on ſhore on the Iſle of Rhe, where Count Taube was ſoon after ſent by his Majeſty to take care of the poor men, who thus ſo providentially ſaved their lives, perhaps by being deſerted by their officers; and conduct them to the place of their deſtination.

19th. One Smart, charged with coining, and likely to ſuffer for it, the evidence againſt him being remarkably ſtrong, contrived to make his eſcape out of Clerkenwell Bridewell, by the following odd ſtratagem. His wife went into the priſon cloathed in two gowns, two pair of ſtockings, four petticoats, and in ſhort an aſſortment of cloaths for two women; ſoon after which the huſband paſſed out, dreſſed in what the wife had worn as the under ſuit of cloaths, and with his face painted. Soon after he was gone, the woman came down ſtairs;

ſtairs; and meeting two men at the door, who aſked how her huſband did, ſhe ſaid, very ill in his room, and then went off with them. The woman, however, was ſoon after apprehended, and lodged in New Priſon.

20th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to

The bill for continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry;

The indemnity bill;

And to three private bills.

21ſt. At the firſt court of Lord Mayor, &c. held this day, the court returned thanks, with but one diſſentient voice, viz. that of the Right Hon. Mr. Alderman Harley, to John Wilkes, Eſq; late Lord Mayor of this city, for his indefatigable attention to the ſeveral duties of that important office; for the particular regard and politeneſs which he has been pleaſed at all times to ſhew the members of this court; for his wiſe, upright, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; for his diligence, on all occaſions, to promote the welfare and true intereſt of this city; and for his unblemiſhed conduct, and exemplary behaviour, during the whole courſe of his mayoralty. The court likewiſe voted Mr. Wilkes 100l. to be ſent him, for the care he took of the plate, furniture, &c. at the Manſion-houſe.

25th. Was determined, at Guildhall, Weſtminſter, a trial between Amie Garnault, Eſq; of Bull's-croſs, Enfield, plaintiff, and Eliab Breton, Eſq; of Fourtree-hill, in the ſaid pariſh, and lord of the manor, defendant. The cauſe of action was, that Mr. Breton, ſome months before, riding by the plaintiff's door, followed by ſome dogs, the houſe dog ran after them, to the great terror of the defendant's horſe. Upon Mr. B's return home, his youngeſt ſon, attended by his coachman, went to the plaintiff's houſe; and, the gate being opened to them, fired repeatedly at the dog, without further notice, till he had diſpatched him. The jury, after examining ſeveral very reſpectable witneſſes, who concurred in giving the deceaſed dog a moſt excellent character, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 50l. damages.

27th. Two propoſitions having been made to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons; 1. That 4000 troops, out of the 12,000 voted for the defence of that kingdom, be ſpared for his Majeſty's ſervice abroad, the ſame to be no charge to Ireland after quitting the kingdom. 2. That 4000 foreign proteſtant troops be received to replace the like number ſent abroad; theſe likewiſe to be no charge to Ireland. The firſt propoſition was agreed to; but the latter rejected by a majority of 106 againſt 68.

Came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield, at Guildhall, London, a cauſe, the deciſion of which materially concerns unfortunate tradeſmen liable to become dupes to the deſigning arts of the wretches diſtinguiſhed by the name of Swindlers. In the preſent action, a perſon in a public office under the Sheriffs of London was plaintiff, and a tradeſman in the Strand defendant; the ſuit was commenced to recover the ſum of 100l. upon a note of hand drawn by the defendant, and indorſed over to the plaintiff, by a notorious Jew Swindler,

ler, who obtained the ſame from the defendant in the following curious and artful manner. He went to the tradeſman, and told him that he reſpected him much; that he had a long time obſerved his induſtry and care in buſineſs, and that he would willingly ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power. The tradeſman caught the bait, and told his pretended friend that he only wanted a little caſh to ſet all his affairs right: 'Oh then (ſaid the Swindler) I'll procure you that, tho' I have not at preſent much about me; here's my friend (meaning a genteel well dreſſed young man who was with him); he is a man of known reſponſibility, give him your note for 100l. he ſhall give you his for the like ſum, which any perſon will give you caſh for; and, as for your's, no uſe whatever ſhall be made of it, but by way of acknowledgment of the debt, when your affairs will permit you to pay it. The credulous defendant accordingly gave his note for 100l. which was the ſubject of this action. When he came to know how he had been tricked, he brought an action againſt the perſon who gave him the counter-note, to which the latter pleaded non-age; and, as the plea was grounded upon fact, the tradeſman had no remedy. The plaintiff proved giving a conſideration for the defendant's note. Lord Manſfield in his charge to the jury ſaid, that, if they were ſatisfied the plaintiff was any way privy to the fraud by which the note had been obtained, they ought to find for the defendant; that, though it had been proved the defendant had, when the note was ſent for that purpoſe by the plaintiff, acknowledged having received a valuable conſideration for his note, yet, as he was then ignorant of the fraud which had been practiſed upon him, it ought not to operate againſt him; that the ſending to the defendant ſignified a ſuſpicion of the goodneſs of the note, and the manner whereby the ſame was obtained; that the character of the perſon from whom the plaintiff received it, was ſo notoriouſly infamous, and as it was proved, ſo well known to him, that he could not be ſuppoſed to have paid a conſideration for it, with any other view, than to become a nominal plaintiff in the action, and thereby to give it that appearance of credit, which, had it been commenced by the Swindler, it would have wanted. The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the defendant, with full coſts of ſuit.

Mr. Ambroſe Power, of Clonmell, in Ireland, was moſt inhumanly murdered by a gang of the wretches called White-boys, after putting himſelf in their power in conſequence of their promiſing and ſwearing not to do him any injury; but the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having iſſued a proclamation, in order to ſuppreſs ſuch barbarous and inhuman proceedings, and offering a reward of one thouſand pounds for the firſt perſon who ſhould be diſcovered as an accomplice in the ſame, and three hundred pounds for each of the next twelve, with a pardon to the informer, except he be one of thoſe who actually perpetrated the murder; and the gentlemen of the neighbourhood having exerted themſelves with uncommon ſpirit to detect and apprehend the murderers; ſome of them were ſoon after apprehend-

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ed, particularly one —— Downey, alias Capt. Slasher, and William Hayes, who being tried by a Special Commission at Clonwell, and convicted on the clearest evidence, were immediately hanged and quartered, by the light of torches, at the Court-house door.

29th. In the court of King's-Bench, before Lord Mansfield, an action was tried, brought against a noble Peer for necessaries sold and delivered to his Lady; it was in proof, that her Ladyship, having some time since got diamonds from a jeweller, kept them for several months; that the jeweller, on calling for the money, was informed that her Ladyship had sent them to a person skilled in their value, and desired he would go for them; that the jeweller complied, went as directed, got the diamonds, and a letter to her Ladyship, mentioning their value; that the jeweller returned in hopes of receiving his money, but was informed her Ladyship would not see him, or accept of the diamonds; that the jeweller, being in distressed circumstances, pawned the diamonds for money to convey him out of the kingdom; and they since came to the hands of his assignee, who brought this action for the recovery of the value of the diamonds, they not being saleable, having already been used. The jury, contrary to the opinion of Lord Mansfield, found for the assignee.

30th. Being St. Andrew's day, several Scotch Baronets appeared at court, in the ensigns of an order which has lain dormant upwards of one hundred and fifty years: it was originally called, The Nova Scotia Order, and has but lately been revived.

The Royal Society held their anniversary meeting at their house in Crane-court, Fleet-street; when the President, Sir John Pringle, Bart. in the name of the society, presented the gold medal (called Sir Godfrey Copley's) to the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, astronomer royal, for his curious experiments in Scotland, on the attraction of mountains, and delivered an elegant oration on the subjects contained in Mr. Maskelyne's paper. Afterwards the Society proceeded to the choice of the council and officers for the ensuing year; when, on examining the ballots, it appeared that the following gentlemen were chosen officers: Sir John Pringle, Bart. President; Samuel Wegg, Esq; Treasurer; Matthew Maty, M. D. and the Rev. S. Horsley, LL.D. secretaries.

Letters from Lisbon gave a melancholy account of the loss of a French Indiaman, outward bound, by fire. Of 300 souls on board only one officer and seven seamen escaped. The fire broke out so suddenly, that the people on board, had no time to hoist out the boats. The few that survived saved themselves in a small skiff, and were nine days at sea with only a small cask of brandy to subsist on. The ship was valued at five millions of livres.

The Pope has lately given a striking example of toleration, with regard to religion. As he was going alone, according to his usual custom, to St. Peter's church to pray, he perceived a young man copying with great attention an altar piece. The Holy Father stopt, fixed his eyes on him without interrupting him, and took delight in viewing the young man's work, of which he conceived an advantageous idea in proportion as the work advanced; but his approach-

ing ſtill nearer, diverted the attention of the painter. The latter had not yet ſeen much of Rome; he thought that an heretic, found in a church at Rome, ran the riſk of being puniſhed, as Chriſtians are, when caught in Mahometan Moſques. Struck with dread at the idea, he fainted away at the Pope's feet, who immediately called for aſſiſtance; but ſome perſons coming in all haſte, brought the young ſtranger to himſelf. "My friend (ſaid the Holy Father to him) I am charmed to ſee you poſſeſs ſuch diſpoſitions for drawing; you do well to copy good pieces; your drawing is very bold and correct; I will get you received among the young pupils that are taught here at my expence." "Ah! Holy Father (replied the young man in a faultering tone) I am a Proteſtant." "A Proteſtant (anſwered his Holineſs) I would rather you were a Catholic; but there are great painters among the Proteſtants; religion has nothing to do with painting; I ſhall take care to procure you all the neceſſary helps to render you perfect in your art." The Pope kept his word, without requiring the young artiſt to change his religion; and even ordered that no ſteps ſhould be taken to incline him to change it.

The reader may remember our having mentioned ſome great diſturbances, during the firſt months of this year, in Bohemia and Moravia, occaſioned by the hereditary oppreſſion of the poor peaſants of theſe countries by their lords; and ſome others in France, owing to the ſcarcity and dearneſs of corn; and that both had been ſo far appeaſed, as not to leave much room to apprehend their breaking out again. But this ſecurity has ſince proved, from whatever cauſe, a great deal too premature. Some time about the middle of May, Bohemia and Moravia were again in a flame, and the violences attending it more ſhocking than ever, the authors of them expreſſing the greateſt indifference concerning the conſequences, ſaying, it was equal to them whether they periſhed by the ſword, by fire, by the hands of the hangman, or by the diſtreſs which purſued them, and which drove them to theſe acts of deſpair. Accordingly, when fired upon ſome time after by the troops ſent againſt them, they kept their ground, and returned the fire; ſo that from a ſpirit of policy as well as humanity, the troops were early enjoined to act more on the defenſive than on the offenſive, againſt theſe too juſtly it ſeems enraged peaſants; eſpecially as, in one of ſeveral memorials publiſhed by them, they were ſaid to require nothing but one day in the week to themſelves to take care of their bodies; and another, to beſtow on their ſouls; leaving the remaining five to the diſpoſal of their lords. At length, therefore, the court of Vienna, ſome time in September laſt, ſent a patent, regulating the affairs of Bohemia, to General Wallis, commander in chief of the troops in that kingdom. He was to cauſe it to be publiſhed in the moſt remarkable places, and the perſons, entruſted with the execution of his orders, were to be accompanied by a ſtrong military eſcort. By the new regulations contained in this patent, the peaſants are ſtill obliged to work at the corvees three days in a week; before, they were obliged to work the whole week; thoſe who pay

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no more than nine florins per ann. contribution to the prince, are only to furniſh their perſons and the ſtrength of their heads; but thoſe, who by reaſon of their poſſeſſions pay more, are obliged to do the ſame corvees, and to furniſh horſes or oxen in proportion to their charge. And it is probable, that theſe conceſſions were well received, as we have not ſince heard of any freſh violences committed by the wretched mortals in whoſe favour they were made.

As to the diſturbances in France, it was not in any diſtant province, but in the very heart of the kingdom, they broke out again, and that with uncommon indications of deſign as well as fury; ſince bread had been often dearer without occaſioning ſuch murmurs; and many of thoſe who joined in the outrages committed on the bakers and dealers in corn, appeared not to want money to pay for what they took away by force. The capital itſelf was, for two or three days, a ſcene of the utmoſt terror and confuſion; the people crowded in from the country, and required four pounds of bread for eight ſols, (about 4d ¼ Engliſh) inſtead of fourteen ſols, (about 7d ½ Engliſh) which was then the ſtatute price of that neceſſary; and, on being refuſed, pillaged the bread markets and bakers ſhops, and obliged the bakers to bake more bread for them at their own price. At length the King, not content with employing the military to reſtore and maintain the public tranquillity with as little effuſion of blood as poſſible, on the 5th of May, ordered the parliament of Paris to attend him in a body at Verſailles, where, in a bed of juſtice, he informed them, 'that, in the preſent circumſtances, he was obliged to deviate from the uſual courſe of buſineſs; that he both ought and would put an end to the preſent murmurs, which might cauſe a rebellion; that he would take care to provide for Paris and the kingdom; that it was on this account he called the parliament, and that the keeper of the ſeals would more amply explain his intentions.'

The King cloſed the bed of juſtice with telling the parliament, that he forbad them to make any repreſentations on the ſubject of that ſitting; but, on the other hand, he treated them with uncommon marks of reſpect. They were kept to dine at court, and entertained at three tables; a compliment which had never before been paid them.

The King, though he had thus provided againſt any claſhing between the civil and military powers, thought proper however to ſteer a ſomewhat middle courſe between both; his majeſty commiſſioned the provoſt of the Marchauſée, or half civil and half military guards of the high roads, with the care of diſperſing the enraged multitude, and doing juſtice, in a ſummary way, on ſome of the moſt guilty; with an offer of pardon, at the ſame time, to all thoſe, except the ring-leaders, who ſhould make reſtitution for the corn they had taken away at the current price. This numbers of them had already done at the remonſtrances of a prieſt in the neighbourhood of Paris, to whoſe pariſh they belonged; and their example was now followed by many more. Several of the reſt

fell under the hands of juſtice. A lady, who had complained of her country ſeat having been plundered by a body of ſeventy peaſants, had the ſad ſatisfaction, or rather mortification, to ſee fourteen out of eighteen of the unhappy wretches, who happened to be taken ſoon after, executed, without much ceremony, in her court-yard. In the mean time the King iſſued an edict, allowing all veſſels, as well French as foreigners, that ſhould arrive with foreign corn in any French ports, from the 15th of May to the 1ſt of Auguſt enſuing, a premium of 18 ſols for every quintal of wheat, and 12 ſols for every quintal of rye; and exempting all ſuch ſhips from any duty of freight, or of any other ſort, in any French ports, during the above period: the above bounty to be immediately paid by the King's officers in the ſeveral ports where the ſhips arrived.

But, tho' theſe meaſures quickly allayed the dangerous ferment, it was feared they had not entirely extinguiſhed it; and therefore the troops ſtill remained at the places where they had been originally poſted, and eſcorted all the boats and carriages laden with corn, while the reputable inhabitants of all the country towns attended the markets under arms, little thinking of the dark deſigns of wicked men abroad in the country, and in other parts of the kingdom. A man, they tell us, was arreſted at Mantes, who had twenty-five circular letters found upon him, which were ſummonſes for a night rendezvous, to go among the corn in the fields, and ſpoil it in the ear; but the patroles of troops which were ſent thither, and a permiſſion granted to all reputable perſons in town and country to fire at any perſons whoſe conduct might juſtly raiſe any ſuſpicions, fruſtrated the infernal deſign, if any ſuch had ever been formed. In the mean time, a few perſons were taken up; but, it was thought, merely for the engroſſing of corn: and even of this it is to be preſumed they were not guilty, as we do not hear of any executions having followed.

There were likewiſe ſome diſturbances, of the ſame kind, in the Breſſan, before the harveſt; and in Viterbo, after it. In Bavaria, the poor peaſants in ſimilar circumſtances declared, that, if they did not receive immediate relief, they would deliver themſelves from the burthen of life, under the very eyes of the Elector himſelf; but his Highneſs took ſuch methods as left them no temptation to carry into execution their deſperate purpoſe.

DIED lately, at Siara, the capital of a province of that name in Brazil (by a letter from the governor of Fernambuco, in that country, to his Majeſty of Portugal), Andrew Vidal, of Negreiros, at the great age of 124 years. He enjoyed the uſe of his memory and ſenſes till the day of his death. In the year 1772 he was chief magiſtrate of the city, and, notwithſtanding his great age, performed the office of judge to the entire ſatisfaction of every one. He was father of thirty ſons, and five daughters.

The 8th inſtant, in Hatton Garden, Mr. Warne, engraver, aged 103.

The 12th, in Suffolk-ſtreet, Dr. Chriſtopher Nugent, the ingenious and learned author of a new and ſucceſsful theory of the Hydrophobia.

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The 21ſt, at Pinner, in Middleſex, Mr. William Skillingſby, aged 119 years, two months, and a few days.

The 22d, at London, Sir John Hill, knight of the Swediſh order of Guſtavus Vaſa, botaniſt to the royal garden at Kew, &c. &c. For a further account of this gentleman, pleaſe to turn to our article of Characters. In the mean time, it may not be improper to obſerve, that he was not, as ſome think, the author of the Adventures of Pompey the Little. There is not a doubt of this pleaſing romance being a *jeu d'eſprit* of the Rev. Mr. Coventry, of Magdalen college, Cambridge, to whom the public would probably have been much more indebted, had he not been cut off by the ſmall pox ſoon after he had been preſented by his relation, Lord Coventry, to the living of Edgware, in Middleſex. To him we alſo owe a fine poem on Penſhurſt, (where he frequently viſited the late Mr. Perry,) inſerted in Dodſley's Miſcellanies, J. D.

The 24th, at Aſkham, in Weſtmoreland, the Reverend Mr. Milner, aged 80, 53 of which he had ſpent as vicar in that pariſh.

The 27th, at Lilly, in Hertfordſhire, Sir George Hawkinſon, knight, and phyſician to George I. aged 105.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. *St. James's.* The King has been pleaſed to grant unto the preſent maſter, governors, and aſſiſtants of the Scottiſh hoſpital of the foundation of King Charles II. his licence to erect an hoſpital in ſome convenient place within London or Weſtminſter, or the liberties thereof, which ſhall in future be called, The Scottiſh Hoſpital of the Foundation of King Charles II. and to ordain, that the ſaid corporation ſhall hereafter have one Preſident, ſix vice-preſidents, and one treaſurer, (to be annually elected) and ſuch a number of governors as ſhall pay, and continue to pay, ſuch annual ſum or ſums as, under a bye-law of the ſaid corporation, ſhall be declared duly qualified, and be appointed to that office.

A new regulation has been lately made in Sweden, with reſpect to the manufacturing of ſalt-petre, by which the directors of the works, in the ſeveral diſtricts, are confined to the ſums advanced to them by the crown; and obliged to deliver in a certain yearly quantity of that article, in proportion to thoſe advances. It is very remarkable that ſalt-petre ſhould be made in ſo many different climates and ſoils, from the line almoſt to the frigid zones, and not in England.

The ſeaſon, which laſt month ſet in very cold, in France, changed all on a ſudden to very hot, which ſo affected the conſtitutions of the Pariſians, that there was ſcarce a family unaffected in all that great capital. A great mortality enſued, which was ſtopt only by the change of weather. London, indeed, and Dublin, and other contiguous places, were equally affected; but the mortality was not remarkable in them. To aſcertain the cauſe of this epidemy, Mr. W. Stevens, of Bayens's Row, Spaw Fields, Clerkenwell, tried an experiment, of which the following is an account given by himſelf. He made a paper

kite, about four feet high; ſpread it over thinly with treacle; and flew it in the air about half an hour. When he took it down, it was covered very thick with inſects, ſo ſmall that the eye could not diſcover their form, without the help of a glaſs. They were made much like a hedge-hog, covered with thick hair, ſtanding perpendicular. What is ſtill more remarkable, when he got within five yards of the kite, he found the ſmell very ſtrong and offenſive. But this multitude of inſects in the air might be rather a concomitant effect with the diſorder, than the cauſe of it; and the ſtrong and offenſive ſmell might be quite natural to them, as peculiar ſmells are to other animals.

4th. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for granting an aid to his Majeſty by a land-tax.

The bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

The bill to enable his Majeſty to call out and aſſemble the militia in all caſes of rebellion in any part of the Britiſh dominions, for a limited time.

The bill to enable the preſent Vice Treaſurers of Ireland to take the oaths of qualification in Great-Britain. And alſo to ſuch other bills as were ready for that purpoſe.

At the fulleſt veſtry ever known at Lambeth church, the propriety of charging the archbiſhop to the poor's rates, and other aſſeſſments of that pariſh, was taken into conſideration; when, after ſeveral hours debate, during which it was proved that former archbiſhops for ſeveral ſucceſſive years had been rated, the veſtry determined, by a majority of twenty-ſix, that the archbiſhop ſhould, in future, be charged to all pariſh taxes.

St. James's. The King has been pleaſed to incorpo- 5th. rate the governor, deputy-governor, and many other perſons mentioned in the charter, into one body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Commiſſioners and Governors of the Royal Hoſpital for Seamen at Greenwich, in the county of Kent," who ſhall be governors of the goods, revenues, rents, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, already given, granted, appropriated, or belonging, or which ſhall hereafter be given, granted, appropriated, or belonging unto the ſaid hoſpital; and by the ſame name, they and their ſucceſſors ſhall have perpetual ſucceſſion.

The Norwich ſtage was this morning attacked, on Epping foreſt, by ſeven highwaymen, three of whom were ſhot dead by the guard; but his ammunition failing, he was ſhot dead himſelf, and the coach robbed by the ſurvivors.

By virtue of a warrant from Sir Charles Aſgill, was brought before that magiſtrate, at Guildhall, the clerk of an eminent hop-factor in Goodman's-fields, upon ſuſpicion of being concerned with a perſon, not yet apprehended, in defrauding a lottery-office keeper, near the 'Change, of a large ſum of money. This matter being undertaken by the commiſſioners of the lottery, the ſolicitor of the treaſury appeared againſt the priſoner, and for him attended, as counſel, Mr. Cox. The firſt witneſs examined was the lottery-office keeper; he ſaid, that about a fortnight ago the priſoner inſured No. 21,481 ſix

times

times over for the ſubſequent day of drawing; that the converſation he had with the priſoner at that time, and the ſeeming poſitiveneſs there appeared in the latter, that the ticket would come up, cauſed him to enquire at other lottery-offices, when he found the ſame number inſured in the priſoner's name, at all the principal offices about the 'Change; that the ticket was drawn the firſt hour of drawing the ſubſequent day. This, with his former ſuſpicion, alarmed him, and he immediately went to Chriſt's hoſpital, and ſaw the boy who drew the ticket; that he interrogated him, whether he had clandeſtinely taken that number out of the wheel, or whether he had been ſolicited ſo to do, which the boy poſitively denied; that obſerving he anſwered rather faintly, he importuned him to divulge the truth, which, after ſome heſitation, produced an acknowledgment of the fact. The next witneſs was the blue-coat boy. He ſaid, that about three weeks ago, the perſon who is not in cuſtody, and whom he had known before he went into the hoſpital, took him to a coffee-houſe, where they breakfaſted together; that he wanted to know of the witneſs, whether it was poſſible to get a ticket out of the wheel; to which the latter anſwered, No; that being afterwards ſolicited for the ſame purpoſe by him to ſecrete a ticket, he at length promiſed to do it; that accordingly he took two at one time out of the wheel, gave one to the perſon who called it over, and put the other in his pocket; that the perſon who induced him to do it was then in the gallery, and nodded his head to the witneſs to ſignify when was a proper time; that after the witneſs came out of the hall, he gave the ticket to the perſon who ſat in the gallery, and who was then waiting for the witneſs in Guildhall-yard; that the next time the witneſs drew the lottery, the perſon before mentioned returned him the ticket, which the witneſs put in the wheel, and drew out the ſame day; that he did this three ſeveral times, and received from the perſon for whom he did it, ſeveral half guineas; that he has heard the priſoner's name mentioned by him, but never heard the latter acknowledge any connection between them in inſurance; and never before ſaw the priſoner. The priſoner acknowledged he inſured the ticket 79 times for one day. The mother of the perſon who was not apprehended was next examined; ſhe proved an acquaintance between her ſon and the priſoner; but denied any remembrance of ever hearing the latter mention any thing relating to inſurance. The priſoner was diſcharged.

It is ſaid, that the perſon who abſconded got about 400l. by the above fraud; and would have got 3000l. had he been paid in all the offices where he inſured.

Prince Juſtiniani, from Venice, was introduced to his Majeſty, and graciouſly received. He left Venice on a family difference, and came to England as a ſailor before the maſt; but was no ſooner arrived, than waited on by the Venetian ambaſſador, who furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to reſume his real character, having received diſpatches for that purpoſe from his father, who is a principal member of the Venetian ſtate. 6th.

At a general court of proprietors of East-India ſtock, called together to deliberate on the diſputes that have lately happened in the ſupreme council at Bengal, the chairman acquainted the court, that the directors had come to ſome reſolutions on that ſubject, which they were deſirous to lay before the proprietors; but that nothing final could be determined till the arrival of the Anſon Indiaman, which was daily expected. The reſolutions already formed implied a cenſure on the late government of Bengal; but, while the court were debating on theſe reſolutions, the company's ſecretary received a letter, with intelligence, ſaid to be communicated by the purſer of a Dutch Eaſt-Indiaman off Dover, That the Marattoes had blockaded Bengal, in ſuch a manner, that no ſhips could paſs or repaſs; that they had taken one of the King's ſhips of 20 guns, and had likewiſe taken the Seahorſe Indiaman with 30 lacks of rupees. This for a while threw the court into great confuſion; but reference being had to the company's books, as to the time of ſailing, and other particulars, it manifeſtly appeared that the whole was a Dutch manœuvre to ſink the price of ſtock; and as ſuch it was reprobated by the general court, who again reſumed the conſideration of the buſineſs relative to the diſpute, which, it appeared, had originated between the new judges and the old council; the laſt, in the general opinion, being moſt to blame. Proofs, however, were wanting to ſupport the facts; ſo that nothing final could be concluded on, and the court broke up.

8th. Orders were lately ſent to the keepers of the ſeveral gaols, throughout the kingdom, to tranſmit to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, a compleat liſt of the convicts under ſentence of tranſportation in each, mentioning their reſpective crimes.

By letters from New-York of this date, the aſſembly of 9th. Rhode Iſland had paſſed an act, by which they had forfeited the real eſtates of Thomas Hutchinſon, late governor of Maſſachuſets; Gilbert de Blois; Dr. Moffet; Samuel Sewel; George Rome; Jahaleel, and Benjamin Brenton; to be ſold for the uſe of the public: the amount to be applied to the defence of the liberty of America. The preamble ſets forth, that the above perſons were traitors to the liberty of America.

Being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the 11th. royal academy of painting, &c. a general aſſembly of the academicians was held at Somerſet houſe, for the purpoſe of electing officers for the year enſuing, when Sir Joſhua Reynolds was elected preſident; and the premiums of three ſilver medals given this year were adjudged as follows: one, for the beſt drawing of an academy figure, to Mr. F. Stepanoff; one, for the beſt model of an academy figure, to Mr. William Huggins; and the third, for the beſt drawing of architecture, being the front of Somerſet-houſe, to Mr. William Moſs.

There was an intereſting 12th. diſpute at Guildhall, between the meal-weighers and the bakers concerning the price of wheat, which the former delivered in to the lord-mayor and aldermen to fix the price of bread by. The bakers aſſerted, that the meal weighers

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do not deliver in the beſt price; the others admitted that they did not, becauſe the beſt wheat was ſold to the diſtillers to draw ſpirits from, and not for making of bread; but they affirmed that they always delivered in the higheſt price the bakers gave for what they uſed, and did not think themſelves bound to deliver in the price given by the diſtillers. The lord-mayor and alderman Wilkes were of the ſame opinion, and therefore bread was ordered to continue at its former price. What a pity it is the beſt grain of the beſt kind ſhould be thus waſted, or rather proſtituted to the purpoſe of making a ſlow but ſure poiſon, for the ſouls as well as bodies of that ſo uſeful part of the community, the working poor!

A dreadful fire broke out ſo ſuddenly in a houſe on Ex-bridge, Exeter, that a number of travelling poor, who lodged in the upper part of it, periſhed in the flames; ten of their bodies were found, and the remains of ſome others; but ſeveral were burnt to aſhes. In a few hours the fire was extinguiſhed, after burning two houſes only, and damaging ſome others.

13th. A ſeizure of money, to the amount of 8000l. (being ſhipped for America on board a man of war, at Spithead, contrary to law) was made by Mr. Miles, comptroller of Portſmouth; and, after ſome ſmart oppoſition, brought on ſhore, and ſecured in his Majeſty's warehouſe in that port.

The Abby, Herbert, from Virginia to Liverpool, laden with tobacco and ſtaves, having lately gone to pieces, on the Stags near Kenrule, in Ireland, the captain, mate, and two common men, who alone eſcaped of all the crew and paſſengers, were caſt upon the lower ſtags, which are waſhed over every tide when the ſea runs high. The captain, therefore, ſenſible that they muſt ſoon periſh in that ſituation, determined to endeavour to reach ſome of the adjacent rocks. He accordingly plunged into the ſea, and very providentially got ſafe to a high one, where he could ſtand dry, and be ſeen at a great diſtance, which proved the means of ſaving his own life, and the life of his companions:—an inſtance of courage and preſence of mind worthy of being recorded, were it only to ſuggeſt the ſame conduct in ſimilar critical circumſtances of diſtreſs.

At the public office in Bow-ſtreet, before Sir John Fielding, and the reſt of the magiſtrates, an apothecary from Dublin was put to the bar, charged with attempting to defraud the county of Middleſex of 373 guineas. Sir John then ordered the priſoner's information to be read, which was to the following purpoſe, viz. That laſt Saturday, as he was coming to town from Highgate, he was ſtopped near Kentiſh-Town, by three footpads, and robbed of 373 guineas. In the deſcription of the features, dreſs, and behaviour of the robbers, he was very accurate. During the reading of the above information, however, he ſeemed greatly affected, and immediately acknowledged the whole of what he had ſaid in his information to be falſe; owned who he was; ſaid, that being obliged to leave Dublin for debt, his friends adviſed him, when he got to England, to concert ſome ſcheme like the above, in order to raiſe a ſum of money. He begged for mercy, and ſaid he would not have been guilty of ſuch an iniquitous proceeding,

proceeding, but "that he was ignorant of the Engliſh laws." On the whole, he ſeemed a mixture of low craft and ignorance. However, as his fraudulent intentions were timely diſcovered, and there appeared a thorough contrition in him, he was diſcharged.

Monſ. Kerguelin has been appointed, by the French King, to the command of a fine new man of war, of ſeventy-four guns, in order to make diſcoveries in the South-Seas; and is to be accompanied by two frigates of 32 guns each. They are to put to ſea the beginning of next month.

14th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when twelve capital convicts received ſentence of death, viz. one, for murdering her baſtard child; two, for treaſon, in counterfeiting the current coin; five, for houſe-breaking; three, for robbing on the highway; and one, for robbing his maſter. The unhappy wretch, who murdered her child, was executed, as the law directs, immediately. And, on the 17th of January, 1776, the two coiners; two of the houſe-breakers; one of the highwaymen; with the unfortunate brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau, were likewiſe executed, all at Tyburn. At this ſeſſions, Captain David Roche, and Mrs. Margaret Caroline Rudd, were likewiſe tried and acquitted. [We already promiſed to give ſome account of the latter in the Appendix to this article; and we ſhall likewiſe ſay ſomething of the Captain's caſe, under the ſame head.]

16th. *War-Office.* It is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now ſubſiſting in North-America, every perſon, who ſhall enliſt as a ſoldier in any of his Majeſty's marching regiments of foot, ſhall be entitled to his diſcharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the ſaid rebellion, at the option of his Majeſty.

17th. Maximilian, Baron de Rodt, brother to the late prince and cardinal of that name, has been unanimouſly elected Prince Biſhop of Conſtance.

19th. By letters from Naples of this date, Mount Veſuvius had for ſome days thrown out fire, and ſeemed to indicate an approaching eruption, which had drawn thither a great number of foreigners. The Margrave of Bareith, with his whole retinue, was already arrived there. And by letters from Vienna of the 21ſt, they had in Croatia a continual ſucceſſion of earthquakes for two months, particularly in the town of Bedekaveſima, and in the mountainous parts near the city of Waradin.

By the laſt advices from Philadelphia, the committee of that province, appointed to draw inſtructions for the delegates in congreſs aſſembled, did not ſeem willing to carry things to ſuch lengths as many other provinces have done; for, among other things, they ſay, "Though the oppreſſive meaſures of the Britiſh parliament and adminiſtration have compelled us to reſiſt their violence by force of arms, yet we ſtrictly enjoin you, that you, in behalf of this colony, diſſent from, and utterly reject, any propoſitions, ſhould ſuch be made, that may cauſe, or lead to, a ſeparation from the mother country, or a change of the form of this government."

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20th. The dividend on East-India ſtock was declared to be 3 per cent. for the half-year ending at Chriſtmas.

22d. The attorney-general was attended at his chambers at Lincoln's Inn, by counſel on behalf of the Ducheſs of Kingſton, to ſupport an application made to him for granting a *noli proſequi*, to ſtop all proceedings againſt her in the affair expected to be heard before the Lords. The ground of the application was the ſentence obtained in the ſpiritual court; but, it is ſaid, the attorney-general was of opinion that he had not authority to grant the writ on this occaſion, as the offence for which her Grace is indicted, was created by a penal ſtatute; and the Bill of Rights in expreſs words ſays, penal laws muſt not be ſuſpended; and that the king's ſign manual would not juſtify him if he iſſued the writ, and any future miniſtry were to call him to an account; as no command ſhould induce a ſervant of the crown to act in his official capacity illegally.

23d. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with the North-American colonies, now in actual rebellion, viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, New York, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, during the continuance thereof.

The bill for the better regulation of his Majeſty's marine forces while on ſhore.

The bill to encourage adventurers to make a diſcovery of the northern paſſage from Europe, by Britiſh ſubjects only, to the weſtern or ſouthern ocean of America, and for penetrating to the North Pole.

The bill to explain and amend an act for widening certain paſſages, and for better paving the pariſh of Shoreditch.

And alſo to ſuch other private bills as were ready.

At night, the Rockingham tranſport was loſt, by miſtaking (as is ſuppoſed) Robert's Cove, about ten miles from Corke, for the Cove of Corke, it blowing a gale of wind, and being thick weather. There were on board three companies of the 32d regiment, Lieut. Marſh and his wife, Enſign Sandiman, Lieut. Barker's wife, and upwards of 90 ſoldiers, beſides the Captain and crew, were drowned. Five officers and twenty ſoldiers ſaved themſelve in the flat-bottomed boat. By a ſimilar miſtake, during the laſt war, the Ramilies, of 90 guns, and 850 men, (taking the Bolt-head for the Ram, near Plymouth) periſhed, with all on board, except twenty ſeamen, and one midſhipman. Theſe, among innumerable other inſtances, ſhew the great neceſſity of ſea-lights, particularly diſtinctive ones.

About forty Americans, among them Col. Nathan Allen, taken priſoners in Canada, arrived, as ſuch, in England, on board the Adamant. They were lodged in Pendennis caſtle, and, by the beſt accounts, well treated. But, whilſt their friends in London were preparing to bring them up by *habeas corpus*, to have the legality of their confinement diſcuſſed, they were ſent back to North-America to be exchanged. A few days after, the Liberty, Thompſon, arrived at Briſtol from Quebec, brought over one of the American riflemen, who

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was taken priſoner there; but, being carried before the mayor to be examined, he was diſcharged, as no crime was alledged againſt him, of which his worſhip thought he could take cognizance.

This night his Majeſty's proclamation, for the diſtribution of ſuch prizes as ſhall be taken from the Americans, during the preſent rebellion in America, appeared in the London Gazette; and on the 28th it was, by order of the Lord-mayor, read at the Royal Exchange and at Holborn Bars, by the Common Cryer. The diviſion is to be made in the ſame proportion with that of the prizes taken from the French and Spaniards during our late wars with them.

The French King having thought proper, among many other reformations, in the military department of his dominions, ſuggeſted by his new miniſter of war, the Count de St. Germain, to ſuppreſs the Mouſquetaires, that well-known body, as being entirely compoſed of young gentlemen, of the beſt families in France, one of the commiſſaries of the war-office went this day to ſignify to them, aſſembled for that purpoſe, his Majeſty's pleaſure. Monſieur de la Chaiſe, Commander of the Grey, fainted away upon the occaſion, and all of them appeared overwhelmed with grief, at the thoughts of being thus torn aſunder. From this moment they were diſpenſed from going as uſual every day to Verſailles, to take the King's orders. A few days after, they put up their fine horſes to ſale; and the hotels they occupied are, it is ſaid, deſtined as follows: that of the grey, to be converted into a market; and that of the black, to be a priſon for debtors.

Gen. Burgoyne arrived in town from Boſton, which he left the 5th inſtant: the troops at that time were well ſupplied. 25th.

A young man of good family was carried before Sir Charles Aſgill, (who ſat for the Lord Mayor) for attempting to put off to a Quaker ſome counterfeited bills, drawn on Alderman Plomer for 700l. But on the Quaker's refuſing to make oath of the affair, he was only ordered to go into the Eaſt-India company's ſervice, and bailed out till a proper ſtation in it could be procured for him. 26th.

The money-bill lately framed by the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, having been altered in England, was, on its return, unanimouſly rejected; by which there was at this time no law in Ireland to collect what is called the additional duties on rum, tobacco, and other goods imported into that kingdom; in conſequence whereof ſeveral gentlemen came from Dublin, &c. to Whitehaven, purchaſed large quantities of tobacco, ſhipped them this day, and the veſſels ſailed with the evening tide, in hopes of reaching Ireland, to ſave the ſaid duties, before the new bill, formed immediately on rejecting the one before ſent over, could arrive, to receive the aſſent in Ireland. Something ſimilar happened in December, 1771. 27th.

At forty-two minutes after ten in the morning, the Sieur Maſſier, aſtronomer at Corbeil, near Paris, felt a ſhock of an earthquake. It laſted but one moment. Its direction was from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt. And on the ſame day, at the ſame time, a ſmall ſhock was felt in Paris. The ſame morning, an earthquake was felt at Caën, at 30th.

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thirty-two minutes after ten in the morning; and therefore was probably the ſame, allowing for ſome miſtake in point of time. At this laſt place, the ſhocks were preceded by a noiſe which reſembled the haſty driving of carriages; this noiſe laſted about two or three ſeconds, and was followed by three violent ſhocks, which all together laſted five or ſix ſeconds: their direction was from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt; and while they laſted, a noiſe was heard in every houſe, as if they were going to fall, and every body was very much alarmed.

The greateſt danger was to the ſouth-weſt; ſeveral public edifices, and other buildings, were much damaged; a croſs of ſtone, which was on the portal of the church of the Viſitation, fell down, and above 200 chimnies were thrown down, and almoſt every houſe has received ſome damage. One perſon was wounded by the fall of a piece of ſtone. The ſteeple of Cormelles, a pariſh at about half a league to the ſouth of this city, was thrown down. At Ouſſieres, a pariſh in the ſame direction, the ſhocks ſplit ſome rocks in the neighbourhood. This earthquake was likewiſe ſharply felt at the abbey of Fontenay, and at Trouaru, where it was ſaid that ſome houſes were damaged.

The ſame day, about eleven in the morning, a fourth ſhock was felt; but it was a very ſlight one, and did no damage.

31ſt. The Americans before Quebec miſcarried, with great loſs, in a coup de main on that place; owing partly, it is ſaid, to the defection of a great number of Canadians, who had at firſt joined them, in conſequence of the impolitic rudeneſs of the latter to the prieſts of the former, &c. and partly by the latter's having ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by falſe intelligence and falſe promiſes from within the place. By the beſt accounts that had arrived at the going of this ſheet to the preſs, (all from and through the hands of the Americans themſelves, the communications between Quebec and every navigable part of the American ſeas being quite ſtopt up) the loſs of the Americans on this occaſion conſiſted in about 60 killed and wounded, and three hundred taken priſoners. Among the ſlain were General Montgomery, his Aid-de-camp, Captain John Mac Pherſon, two other Captains, and two or three Lieutenants; amongſt the priſoners were, Colonel Arnold, wounded; one Lieutenant-colonel, two Majors, and ſeveral Captains and ſubaltern officers. The priſoners were treated with great humanity, and every poſſible mark of diſtinction was ſhewn to the corpſe of Gen. Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec the ſecond day after the action. And it was ſaid, that the continental congreſs had ordered a magnificent cenotaph to be erected to his memory, with the following inſcription:

Montgomery falls! Let no fond breaſt repine
That Hampden's glorious death, brave chief! was thine.
With *his* ſhall Freedom conſecrate *thy* name,
Shall date her riſing glories from thy fame,
Shall build her throne of empire on thy grave;
——What nobler fate can patriot virtues crave!

During the courſe of the preſent month, the court of ſeſſions in Scotland decided an intereſting queſtion;

tion; by which it appears, that perſons, whoſe reſidence is in England, cannot be arreſted in Scotland on ſummary warrants for debts contracted in England, and due to perſons in that kingdom; ſo that by this deciſion it ſhould ſeem, that Scotland is now an aſylum for Engliſh debtors.

The following are ſome of the particulars of the dreadful fire, which almoſt entirely deſtroyed the town of St. George, the capital of the Iſland of Grenada, the 1ſt ult. About three o'clock in the morning a fire was diſcovered in the ſhop of a negro carpenter in the windward part of the town; and every poſſible means were uſed to extinguiſh it, but without effect. In the ſpace of three hours from its being perceived, the whole town was in one continued blaze. The houſes being in general built of wood, the flames raged with ſuch amazing rapidity, that it was with difficulty any eſcaped with their lives. It is ſuppoſed, that the loſs cannot be much leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds. It is particularly unfortunate, that thoſe, who were the principal ſufferers in the fire of 1771, were the perſons who ſuffered moſt by the preſent great calamity; which, it was feared, would occaſion many failures, as few or no goods were ſaved, and few of the ſufferers had the precaution to cover themſelves by inſurance.

Some pages back, we mentioned the government's having contracted for a great number of oxen and ſheep, and a great quantity of porter and potatoes; the ſheep to be ſent abroad alive, along with the porter and potatoes, for the uſe of the troops ſhut up in Boſton. To the ſheep, we ſhould have added hogs; and to the potatoes, cabbages, made into ſour-crout, a kind of pickle, but uſed, in lieu of common food, in ſome parts of Germany, &c. where the earth is ſo bound up by the froſt during ſeveral months of the year as not to afford any freſh vegetables; and what animal food the poorer inhabitants can get at, is almoſt entirely of the ſalt kind; notwithſtanding which, ſuch is the virtue of the cabbages, and the vinegar and ſpices combined with them, the ſcurvy makes much leſs havock in theſe countries than in ſome others where freſh fleſh and fiſh are, in almoſt all ſeaſons to be had by the loweſt ranks.

Much about the ſame time, two ſubſcriptions were opened; one, for the relief of the common men of the ſame troops, and particularly the widows and orphans of ſuch among them as had periſhed by ſickneſs or the ſword; another, for that of ſeveral clergymen of the church of England, in North-America, who had ſuffered ſeverely in conſequence of their attachment to government: and both ſubſcriptions were attended with the greateſt ſucceſs. But ſome of the ſhips carrying the live ſheep and hogs, &c. to Boſton, were taken by the Americans; very few of thoſe animals on board the ſhips which eſcaped outlived the paſſage; and what did, eſpecially the ſheep, were ſo waſted by the time they arrived, as, in the language of the ſailors, to be fit only to make lanthorns of. A great deal of the oxen contracted for on this occaſion was at about 34 s. per hundred. At 35s. it would be juſt three-pence and one half farthing per pound; from which, and the ſtatute price of bread

bread in London, at the concluſion of harveſt [as given p. 150], the condition of the working poor, by taking the rate of wages and frequency of employment into the account, may be pretty well aſcertained, eſpecially for the capital.

There were ſome other ſhips taken by the Americans during the ſame period, loaded by the government with military ſtores for Boſton, &c. particularly one, whoſe cargo was ſaid to be worth 30,000l. and withal as well aſſorted, as if it had been done by the ſpecial direction of the continental congreſs.

In the courſe of this month, a new muſeum, under the title of Spectacle Mechanique, was opened in King-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, of ſo wonderful a nature, that we thought it due to the ſingular merit of the artiſt, and the natural curioſity of our readers, to lay a ſhort account of it before them. It conſiſts of three capital mechanical figures, and a paſtoral ſcene, with figures of an inferior ſize.—The figure on the left-hand ſide (a beautiful boy as large as life) writes any thing that is dictated to him in a very fine hand.—The ſecond on the right-hand (of the ſame ſize) draws various landſcapes, &c. &c. which he finiſhes in a moſt accurate and maſterly ſtile.——The third figure is a beautiful young lady, who plays ſeveral elegant airs on the harpſichord, with all the baſs accompanyments; her head gracefully moving to the tune, and her boſom diſcovering a delicate reſpiration: during her performance, the paſtoral ſcene in the center diſcovers a variety of mechanical figures, admirably grouped, all of which ſeem endued with life.—The laſt curioſity is a canary-bird in a cage, that hops to and fro upon its perch, and then whiſtles two or three airs in the moſt natural manner imaginable.—Upon the whole, no exertion of art ever perhaps trod ſo cloſe on the heels of nature. The ingenious artiſt is a young man, a native of Switzerland.

It may be gathered from authentic papers,

That our ſtage-coaches generally drive with eight inſide, and often ten outſide paſſengers each.

That there are now of theſe vehicles, flies, machines, and diligences, upwards of 400; and of other four-wheeled carriages, 17,000.

That 12,300,000 news-papers are now annually printed.

That the number of packs of cards, ſtampt laſt year, amounted to 428,000; and of dice, to 3000.

That there has been coined, at the Tower of London, ſince the year 1772, about 13,000,000 l. in gold.

That the public pays the Bank of England 50,000l. a year for management; and that the proprietors do not divide more than 240,000 l. a year.

An Account of the Value of Corn *imported into* England *and* Scotland *ſince the Commencement of the* Corn Regiſter-Act, *in* 1770, *the Value of* Corn *exported in each Year being firſt deducted.*

	£.
Balance paid for Corn in 1771 —	105,200
in 1772 -	84,400
in 1773 -	569,820
in 1774 -	1,022,230

The year 1775 is likely to exceed 1774, from the very large quantities imported ſince Chriſtmas laſt.

The imports into Great-Britain from Virginia and Maryland, before the war, were 96,000 hogſheads of tobacco, of which 13,500 were conſumed at home; and the duty on them, at 26 l. 1 s. each, amounted to 331,675l.; the remaining 82,500 l. were exported by our merchants to different parts of Europe, and brought a great deal of money into the kingdom. This ſingle trade conſtantly employed 330 ſhips, and 3960 ſailors.

DIED, the 7th inſtant, Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Knight of the Bath, Member for Heydon in Yorkſhire, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, Lieutenant-General of the Marines, and Elder Brother of the Trinity-Houſe, in Spring-Gardens. [For a more particular account of this great ſeaman, ſee our article of Characters.]

The 13th, at Haltwhiſtle, in Northumberland, Dr. Alexander Maxwell, aged 103.

The 20th, in Queen-ſquare, Ormond-ſtreet, Dr. Campbell, author of many valuable works.

A General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 13, 1774, to December 12, 1775.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	8,876	Males	10,134
Females	1,753	Females	10,380
In all	17,629	In all	20,514
Increaſed in the Chriſtenings this year	631	Decreaſed in the Burials this year	370
Laſt year's Chriſtenings	16,998	Laſt year's Burials	20,884

Of thoſe who died this Year, there were,

Under 2 years	—	7,496
Between 2 and 5	—	2,087
5 and 10	—	715
10 and 20	—	675
20 and 30	—	1,535
30 and 40	—	1,782
40 and 50	—	1,824
50 and 60	—	1,589
60 and 70	—	1,291
70 and 80	—	1,025
80 and 90	—	418
90 and 100	—	73
100	—	1
106	—	1

The Kind and Manner of Caſualties *among the foregoing Deaths were as follows:*

Bit by mad dog	2
Broken limbs	0
Bruiſed	1
Burnt	8
Choaked	0
Drowned	104
Exceſſive drinking	2
Executed	24
Fractured	0
Found dead	2
Killed by falls, and ſeveral other accidents	64
Killed themſelves	29
Murdered	3
Overlaid	4
Poiſoned	0
Scalded	1
Smothered	0
Stabbed	0
Starved	2
Suffocated	4
Total	250

We ſhould likewiſe give the kind and number of diſeaſes, but that the

the accounts of these particulars, published in the London Bills of Mortality, have been long given up as altogether erroneous by the best judges.

The births at Paris for 1775, were 19,650, of which there were 10,247 boys, and 9403 girls; the deaths, 18,490; and the marriages, 5016; 6505 children were brought into the Foundling Hospital. The deaths of 1775 exceeded those of 1774 by 2601; the births of 1775 those of 1774, by 299; the marriages of 1775 were fewer than those of 1774, by 98; and 178 foundlings were received more this year than the last.

By the Amsterdam annual bill it appears, that this year proved very unhealthy, 1246 more deaths having happened in that city than in the preceding year.

The depopulation caused within these few years in Poland, by fire and sword, and their constant attendants, famine and sickness, may be better conceived than expressed. The accounts of this calamity, and of the distress of great numbers of the surviving inhabitants, are truly shocking. To remedy these evils, especially by engaging persons in good circumstances to settle in her provinces, that unhappy republic has made a law, in the course of the present year, to allow her native subjects of the middle rank, except Jews, peasants, and those subject to particular lords, to purchase estates, for ready money. The same inducement has been held out to foreigners; but, though they are promised every kind of security, they are not to expect the right of nobleſſe.

BIRTHS for the Year 1775.

Jan. 4. The Queen of the Two Sicilies, of a prince, at Caserta, in Italy.

Lady Charlemont, of a son and heir, at Castle-Caulfield, in Ireland.

9. The Hon. Mrs. Fielding, Lady of Capt. Fielding, of a daughter.

28. The Duchess of Argyle and Hamilton, of a daughter, in Argyle-buildings.

Feb. 1. The Lady of Sir Richard Wolseley, Bart. of a son, in Dublin.

Lady Townshend, of a daughter, in Portman-square.

March 1. The Lady of Thomas Pitt, Esq; Member for Old Sarum, of a son and heir, at Mr. Pitt's seat in Cornwall.

28. The Lady of Major-General Scott, of a daughter, at Bellveu, near Edinburgh.

April 16. The Countess of Cavan, of a daughter, in Sackville-street.

The Countess of Galloway, of a son, in Duke-street, St. James's.

20. The Countess of Donegall, of a son, in St. James's-square.

25. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Asturias, of a princess, at Aranjuez. The infanta was immediately christened by twenty-four names, the first of which was Charlotte.

29. The Countess of Essex, of a son, in Stanhope-street, May-fair.

May 1. The Princeſs of Naſſau Wielburg, of a prince, at Kircheim, Poland.

13. The Archdutcheſs of Auſtria, Conſort to the Archduke Ferdinand, Governor-general of Auſtrian Lombardy, of a prince, at Vienna.

22. The Lady of Sir Sampſon Gideon, Bart. of a ſon.

24. Lady Stanley, of a ſon and heir.

June 3. The Lady of Sir Rowland Wynn, Bart. of a ſon and heir, in St. James's ſquare.

5. Mrs. Montgomery, Lady of the Lord Chief Baron of Scotland, of a ſon.

July 1. The Lady of the Hon. Henry Erſkine, Eſq; of a daughter; at Edinburgh.

3. The Ducheſs of Chartres, of a prince, at Paris.

6. The Counteſs Dowager of Rothes, Lady of the Hon. Patrick Maitland, of a daughter, at Hatton, in Scotland.

9. The Ducheſs of Beaufort, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

16. The Lady of Sir William Wake, Bart. of a ſon, in Cheſterfield-ſtreet.

19. The Marchioneſs of Lothian, of a ſon, in Park-lane.

Lady Mountſtewart, of a ſon, in Hill-ſtreet, Berkley-ſquare.

21. The Marchioneſs of Caermarthen, of a ſon, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

26. The Lady of Sir Beaumont Hotham, of a daughter, in Norfolk-Street, Strand.

Aug. 6. Her Royal Highneſs the Comteſſe d'Artois, of a prince, the Duc d'Angouleme.

11. The Lady of his Excellency the Portugueſe Ambaſſador, of a daughter, in South-Audley-ſtreet.

23. Lady Mary Hogg, of a ſon, at Hatton, the ſeat of the Earl of Lauderdale.

Sept. 12. The Hon. Lady Betty Delme, of a ſon, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

13. The Lady of Sir John Whiteford, Bart. of a ſon, at Edinburgh.

26. Viſcounteſs Grimſton, of a ſon and heir, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

27. The Landgravine of Heſſe Homburg, of a prince.

Oct. 3. The Ducheſs of Portland, of a daughter, in Piccadilly.

9. The Lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. of a ſon, at Winſtay, in Denbighſhire.

13. The Lady of Sir Alexander M'Donnald, of a ſon, at Edinburgh.

19. The Ducheſs of Grafton, of a daughter, in Albemarle-ſtreet.

20. The Lady of the Honourable Archibald Douglas, of Douglas, of a ſon, at London.

26. The Lady of Sir Stanier Porter, of a ſon, St. James's Place.

Nov. 3. Viſcounteſs Beauchamp, of a ſon, in Upper Brook-ſtreet.

5. The Ducheſs of Athol, of a daughter, in Groſvenor-Mews.

15. Her

15. Her Sicilian Majeſty, of a princeſs, at Caſerta. The private baptiſm was immediately performed, and the names of Marianna-Guiſeppa - Guiovanna - Antonia-Tereſa-Amelia-Gaetana - Clementina, were given to the infant.

23. Lady Hinchinbroke, of a daughter, in Manſell-ſtr.

Dec. 14. Lady Cochrane, of a ſon, at Annsfield, near Hamilton.

MARRIAGES, 1775.

Jan. 5. The Hon. and Rev. Charles Digby, brother to Lord Digby, to Miſs Mellier, daughter of the late William Mellier, Eſq; at Caſtle-Cary, in Somerſetſhire.

William Hope, Eſq; muſter-general-general for Scotland, to Miſs Sophia Corrie, daughter of Mr. Joſeph Corrie, of Dumfries.

7. Col. Fleming, of the guards, to Miſs Mills, daughter of William Mills, Eſq; of Richmond, in Surry.

9. Francis Wadman, Eſq; gentleman uſher to her royal highneſs the Princeſs Amelia, to Miſs Comyns, of Northfleet in Kent.

12. The Right Reverend Dr. Thomas, Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Lady Elizabeth Yeates, relict of Sir Joſeph Yeates, Knt. late one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench; at Weſtminſter Abbey, by a ſpecial licence.

The Right Hon. Sir John Shelley, Bart. treaſurer of his majeſty's houſhold, to Miſs Woodcock, only daughter of Edw. Woodcock, Eſq; of Lincoln's Inn; at Stoke Newington.

15. Naſh, Eſq; ſon to the late Naſh, Eſq; lord mayor of the city of London, to Miſs Darker, daughter of John Darker, Eſq; treaſurer of St. Bartholomew's hoſpital.

18. Stephen Sayer, Eſq; banker in Oxford-ſtreet, to Miſs Noel, daughter of the hon. William Noel, Eſq;

20. The hon. Clotworthy Rowley, Eſq; of the fifth regiment of dragoons, to Miſs Major Croſbie, of Kildare-ſtreet.

27. Sir Philip Hales, Bart. member of parliament for Downton, in Wilts, to Miſs Smith, of Shrewſbury; at St. George's, Hanover-ſquare.

28. Joſeph Vander Meulen, Eſq; St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford, to Miſs Suſanna Hitch, daughter of John Hitch, Eſq; ſheriff of the county of Cambridge; at Melborne.

John Grey, Eſq; brother to Sir Henry Grey, Bart. of Howick, in Northumberland, to Miſs Wikett, of Dorſet-court, Weſtminſter.

The Rev. John Cayley, rector of Terrington, in Yorkſhire, to Miſs Fanny Cayley, youngeſt daughter of Sir George Cayley, of Brompton, in the ſame county, Bart.

—Eſdaile, Eſq; ſon to Sir James Eſdaile, alderman, to Miſs Hadfield, of Mancheſter.

March 1. Alexander Leith, Eſq; member for Tregony, in Cornwall, to Miſs Cope, of Grafton-ſtreet, only daughter of the late lieutenant-general Sir John Cope, Knt. of the Bath; at St. George's, Hanover-ſquare.

2. Mr. Mervin Dillon, to Miſs Goddard, the only daughter of Parke Goddard, Eſq, and niece to Sir Henry Parker, Bart. of Talton, in Worceſterſhire; at Marybone,

5. Sampſon Carter, Eſq; to Miſs Sophia Coppleſtone, daughter of the late Sir William Coppleſtone, of Baſingſtoke, in Hampſhire; in North-Audley-ſtreet.

7. Thomas Frankland, Eſq; member for Thirſk, to Miſs Smelt, niece to Leonard Smelt, Eſq; ſub-governor to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales.

24. Colin Wallace, Eſq; to Miſs Briggs, daughter of Sir Joſeph Briggs, of Wooborn in Bedfordſhire; in Portman-ſquare.

April 11. Sir Stair Agnew, of Lochnaw, Bart. to Miſs Peggy Naſmith, daughter to Thomas Naſmith of Drumblair, Eſq; at Glaſgow.

12. Henry Laſcelles, Ord, Eſq; to Miſs Duff, a near relation of Lord Fife; at Berwick.

14. Iſaac Guedes, Eſq; ſon of Baron Guedes, to Miſs Moore, of Bethnal-green, daughter of the Reverend Doctor Moore.

16. The Hon. George Grenville, Eſq; nephew to Earl Temple, to the Hon. Miſs Nugent, daughter to Lord Clare

18. Sir John Gordon, of Earlſtown, in Scotland, Bart. to Miſs Anne Mylne, youngeſt daughter to the deceaſed Mr. Thomas Mylne, of Powder-hall.

26. Sir John Eykin, of Eckleton, Shropſhire, to Miſs Browning, of Smithfield-bars.

30. Hon. Geo. Sempill, brother to Ld. Sempill, to Mrs. Jodrell, of Yeardſley, Cheſhire.

May 1. Charles Baldwyn, Eſq; knight of the ſhire for the county of Salop, to Mrs. Palmer, relict of the late Benjamin Palmer, Eſq; of Alton, in the county of Warwick.

6. Governor Bouchier, to Miſs Foley, daughter to Tho. Foley, Eſq, member for Herefordſhire.

7. William Gooch, Eſq; ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. of Benacre Park in Suffolk, to Miſs Villa Real, only daughter

ter and heireſs of the late William Villa Real, Eſq; of Edwinſtow, in Nottinghamſhire, and niece to Lady Viſcounteſs Galway.

9. At Redbraes, Major Generall Henry Campbell of Boquhan, to Miſs Mary Crawfurd, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Crawfurd, of Jordanhill, Bart.

10. Brackley Kennet, Eſq; alderman of Cornhill Ward, to Mrs. Smith, near Cheltenham, Glouceſterſhire.

Angus, Eſq; to Miſs Treadway, niece to Sir Andrew Lindſay, Bart.; at Theobalds, Hertfordſhire.

15. The hon. Frederick Irby, eldeſt ſon to the right hon. Lord Boſton, to Miſs Methuen, the only daughter of Paul Methuen, Eſq; of Corſham houſe, Wilts.

The Rev. John Arden, of Longcrofts, in Staffordſhire, to Miſs Hamar, only child of the late Admiral Hamar, of Hampſtead.

25. The Earl of Lincoln, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by a ſpecial licence, to the honourable Miſs Conway, daughter of the Earl of Hertford; in Groſvenor-ſtreet.

Nathaniel Gundry, Eſq; of Dorſetſhire, to Miſs Palmer, a relation of the Duke of Northumberland.

June. 2. Earl Cowper, to Miſs Gore, of Southampton.

3. Robert Stewart, Eſq; of the county of Downe, in Ireland, to the hon. Miſs Pratt, daughter to Lord Camden; at Lambeth chapel.

8. Lord Algernon Percy, ſecond ſon of his grace the Duke of Northumberland, to Miſs Burrell, daughter of Peter Burrell, Eſq; of Beckenham, in Kent; at Sion-houſe.

10. Sir Robert Tilſon Deane, of Dromore, Bart. to Miſs Fitzmaurice, ſole heireſs to the late John Fitzmaurice, of Springfield, in the county of Limerick, in Ireland, Eſq;

15. Robert Mayne, Eſq; member for Gatton, to Miſs Otway, one of the coheireſſes of the late Francis Otway, Eſq;

17. The Earl of Roſebery, to Miſs Vincent, only daughter of the late Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.

21. Sir Alexander Purvis, Bart. to Miſs Mary Home, daughter to Sir James Home, Bart. of Coldingham, in Scotland.

25. Monſ. de Fitte, at Languedoc, lieutenant of the marſhals of France, to Miſs Nancy Edgecumbe, ſecond daughter to lady Fenoulhet, and niece to Lord Edgecumbe.

July 1. Charles Brown Moſtyn, Eſq; brother of Sir Pyers Moſtyn, of Talacre, in Flintſhire, Bart. to Miſs E. Witham,

E. Witham, ſiſter of William Witham, of Cliffe, Eſq;

10. Sir James Tylney Long, of Draycot, in Wiltſhire, Bart. to the hon. Miſs Harriot Bouverie, youngeſt daughter of the late lord viſcount Folkſtone, and ſiſter to the earl of Radnor.

13. Alexander Grant, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Ludovick Grant of Dalvey, Bart. to Miſs Sarah Gray, eldeſt daughter of John Gray, Eſq; of Ibbley.

14. Capt. M'Bride, of the navy, to Miſs Folkes, ſiſter to Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington-hall, Norfolk.

16. Sir Thomas Lang, to Miſs Hannah Turner, niece to William Turner, Eſq; and commiſſioner Hanmore.

17. The Hon. Capt. Herbert, of the royal navy, to Lady Carolina Montague, ſiſter to his grace the Duke of Mancheſter.

18. Rev. Mr. Hallam, Canon of Windſor, to Miſs Roberts, daughter of the late Richard Roberts, Eſq; of Abergavenny.

27. The hon. Edward Percival, brother to the Earl of Egmont, to Miſs Haworth, daughter of John Haworth, Eſq; of Mancheſter.

31. Rev. Mr. Wodehouſe, ſon of Sir Armine Wodehouſe, to Miſs Nourſe, of Wood-Eaton, Norfolk.

Aug. 4. Charles Pigot, Eſq; to Miſs Cope, ſiſter to Sir Chrles Cope, Bart.

15. Charles Hotchkin, Eſq; Mayor of Briſtol; to Mrs. Fiſher; at Briſtol.

Sept. 2. Capt. John Barlow, of the 10th regiment of dragoons, to Miſs Knott, daughter of the late Fettiplace Knott, Eſq; high ſteward of Litchfield, in Staffordſhire.

4. Sir Brownlow Cuſt, Bart. to Miſs Bankes, the only daughter of the late Sir Henry Bankes.

6. George Rogers Eſq; an Eaſt-India gentleman, to Miſs Eſther Coombes, niece to Lady Cornwallis.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Piedmont, eldeſt ſon to the King of Sardinia, to her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Clotilda, of France, ſiſter to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; at Paris, by proxy.

7. The right hon. the Earl of Belvedere, to Miſs Bloomfield, ſecond daughter of the late John Bloomfield, of Redwood, Eſq; at Dublin.

9. John Hart, Eſq; ſheriff of London and Middleſex, to Miſs Spencer, daughter of John Spencer, Eſq; of Upper Holloway; at Aldenham, in Hertfordſhire.

12. The Rev. Mr. Moſs, archdeacon of St. David's, to Miſs Roberts, of Great Plumſtead,

Captain

Captain M'Donogh, in his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's ſervice, to Miſs Roſe Plunket, youngeſt daughter to Lord Dunſany.

16. Captain Parke, of Cork, to Miſs Browne, granddaughter to the Lord Archbiſhop of Tuam.

The hon. Alexander Duff, brother to Lord Fife, to Miſs Mary Skene, eldeſt daughter of Geo. Skene, Eſq;

18. The Earl of Ely, of the kingdom of Ireland, to Miſs Bonfoy, daughter of the late Hugh Bonfoy, Eſq; a captain in his majeſty's navy.

19. John Hancock, Eſq; preſident of the continental congreſs in America, to Miſs Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy, Eſq; of Boſton.

20. Hugh Owen, Eſq; of Orielton, in Pembrokeſhire, knight of the ſhire for that county, to Miſs Colby, of Bletheſton.

Sir Richard Worſley, of Pilewell, in Hampſhire, Bart. member for Newport, in the iſle of Wight, to Miſs Seymour Fleming, daughter of the late Sir William Fleming, of Rydal, in Weſtmoreland, Bart.

Sir Alexander Douglas, Bart. phyſician in Dundee, to Miſs Barbara Carnagy, daughter to the deceaſed James Carnagy, Eſq; of Finhaven.

Charles Auguſtus Louis Frederick Baron de Bode, an officer in the French ſervice; to Miſs Mary Kynnerſley, ſiſter to Clement Kynnerſley, Eſq; of Loxley, Staffordſhire.

Oct. 1. The marquis of Spinola, a noble Genoeſe, and the richeſt ſubject in Europe, to the youngeſt daughter of Count Joſeph de Stahrenberg.

2. The right hon. Sir Arthur Brook, Bart. of Clogher, in Ireland, to Miſs Foord, ſiſter to Bernard Foord, Eſq; of Weſt Heſterton, in Yorkſhire.

7. William Baker, Eſq; of Bagfordbury, in Hertfordſhire, to Miſs Sophia Conyers, third daughter to the late John Conyers, Eſq; knight of the ſhire for the county of Eſſex.

10. Abraham Bracebridge, jun. Eſq; to Miſs Holte, daughter of Sir Charles Holte, Bart; at Litchfield.

14. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Halifax, Regius profeſſor of Law, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and one of his majeſty's chaplains in ordinary, to Miſs Cooke, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Cooke, provoſt of king's college in that Univerſity.

16. The reigning Prince of Saxe-weimar, to the youngeſt of the princeſſes of Heſſe-Darmſtadt.

26. William Surtees, Eſq; to Miſs Lewis, eldeſt daughter

ter of the Dean of Oſſory; in the county of Northumberland.

30. The reigning Prince of Salm Salm, at Liege, in Flanders, to Maria-Anna, Counteſs of Horion.

Nov. 1. The Duke of Leinſter, to the hon. Miſs St. George, daughter to the late right hon. Lord St. George.

Edward Gould, Eſq; of Woodham Mansfield, in Nottinghamſhire, of the 4th regiment of foot, to Lady Barbara Yelverton, only child of the Earl of Suſſex.

7. Aſtley Palmer of Bury St. Edmunds, Eſq; to Miſs Cullum, ſiſter of Sir John Cullum, of Hardwick, Bart.

14. Patrick Heron, of Heron, Eſq; to Lady Betty Cochran, daughter of the Earl of Dundonald; at Edinburgh.

24. John Milbank, Eſq; to Miſs Cornelia Chambers, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Chambers.

30. John White, Eſq; to Miſs Mary Heathcote, ſiſter of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.

Dec. 2. John Belſches, Eſq; advocate in Fifeſhire, Scotland, to Lady Jane Leſlie, eldeſt daughter to the Earl of Leven and Melvil.

4. William Roe, Eſq; to Miſs Thomas, daughter of Sir William Thomas, Bart. of Yapton, in the county of Suſſex.

12. Sir William Seton, of Pitmeden, Bart. to Miſs Margaret Ligertwood, eldeſt daughter of James Ligertwood, Eſq; of Tillery; at Aberdeen.

15. Thomas Lloyd, Eſq; of Gray's Inn, to Miſs Mary Whitworth, third daughter of Sir Charles Whitworth.

18 Peter Auriol Drummond, Eſq; ſecond ſon to his grace the Archbiſhop of York, to Miſs Milnes, only daughter of Pembroke Milnes, Eſq; of Wakefield.

22. John Betterſworth, Eſq; of Eaſt-Hade, in Bedfordſhire, to Miſs Reynolds, ſiſter to Lord Ducie.

23. The Rev. Dr. Muſgrave, Vicar of Barking, Eſſex, brother to Sir Philip Muſgrave, Bart. to Mrs. Parfect, of Hatton Garden.

26. Marquis of Granby, to Lady Mary Iſabella Somerſet, youngeſt ſiſter to the Duke of Beaufort.

28. Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington Hall, Norfolk, to Miſs Turner, youngeſt daughter of Sir John Turner, of Warham, in the ſame county, Bart.

Francis Dugdale Aſtley, Eſq; high ſheriff of Wiltſhire, to Miſs Mary Buckler, youngeſt daughter of William Buckler, Eſq; of Boreham.

31. Lately, the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, Knt. of the Bath, to Miſs Elinor Dobſon, heireſs of Robert Dobſon, Eſq; of Ann-Grove,

Grove, in Yorkſhire; at Dublin.

Lieutenant Ball, of the marines, to Miſs Ann Hamilton, niece to Sir Henry Hamilton, Bart.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1775, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

January. The Reverend Dr. Hurd, to the ſee of Litchfield and Coventry.—The Rev. Dr. Moore, to the ſee of Bangor.—His Grace the Duke of Gordon, created a Knight of the moſt ancient and moſt noble Order of the Thiſtle.—John Cookſon, John Soley, Tho. Nuthall, Richard Capper, and William Moreton Pleydell, Eſqrs. to be his majeſty's commiſſioners, for licenſing hackney-coaches and chairs within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ſuburbs thereof.—George Roſe, Eſq; to the office of ſurveyor of his majeſty's revenue ariſing by all and all manner of fines, forfeitures, and ſums of money, commonly called green wax monies.

February 3. William Gordon, Eſq; his majeſty Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the court of Bruſſels, created a Knight of the Bath.

— 13. Captain John Gunning, of the 43d regiment, to be Deputy Adjutant General in North-Britain, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Lord Napier, deceaſed.

— 28. Lately, the Rev. Mr. George Watſon Hand, Prebendary of Warminſter, Saliſbury.

William Blair, John Kenrick, James Bindley, William Baillie, and William Waller, Eſqrs. to be his majeſty's Commiſſioners for managing the duties on ſtamped vellum, parchment, and paper, &c.—John Brettel, Eſq; to be Secretary, or Chief Clerk to the ſaid Commiſſioners.—Paul Henry Ourry, Eſq; to be one of the Commiſſioners, in quality of a principal officer of his majeſty's navy, for the affairs of his majeſty's yard at Plymouth.—Edward Toms, Eſq; to the office of Serjeant of all Trumpets, Drums, and Fifes.

March 27. Charles Sheriff, to be Fort Adjutant and Barrack Maſter of Fort St. Auguſtine, in North-America.—Surgeon Jonathan Mallet, to be Purveyor to the Hoſpital at Boſton, in North-America.—Doctor Michael Morris, to be Phyſician; Alexander Grant, Surgeon; Robert Roberts, Apothecary; John Jones, Chaplain; John Charlton, Surgeon; to the hoſpitals in North-America.—Colonel Robert Watſon, to be Lieutenant Governor of Portſmouth.—Lieutenant Colonel Edward Matthews, to be Aide de Camp to the King.

—31. Admiralty Office. This day, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet were promoted, viz.——Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White.—Francis Geary, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Red, to be Admiral of the Blue.—James Young, Eſq; Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Sir John Moore, Bart. and Knt. of the Bath, Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-admirals of the Red.—Samuel Graves, Eſq; William Parry, Eſq; Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-

Vice-Admirals of the White.—Sir Peter Denis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Eſq; Robert Man, Eſq; Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.—Clark Gayton, Eſq; John Barker, Eſq; Sir Richard Spry, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.—John Montagu, Eſq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. James Sayer, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.—The Right Hon. Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, to be Rear-Admiral of the White.——And the following Captains were alſo appointed flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet, viz.—The Right Hon. Waſhington, Earl Ferrers; Hugh Pigot, Eſq; Molineux Shuldam, Eſq; Sir Joſeph Knight, Knt. John Vaughan, Eſq; to be Rear-Admirals of the White.—John Lloyd, Eſq; Robert Duff, Eſq; John Reynolds, Eſq; Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. Hon. John Byron; Right Hon. Auguſtus John Earl of Briſtol, to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

Lately, the Right Reverend Dr. Browne, Biſhop of Eldhin, to the Archbiſhopriek of Tuam, with the united Biſhoprick of Enoghdoen, and the Biſhoprick of Ardagh, Ireland.—The Right Reverend Dr. Dodgſon, Biſhop of Oſſory, to the Biſhoprick of Elphin.—The Right Reverend Dr. Newcome, Biſhop of Dromore, to the Biſhoprick of Oſſory.——The Rev. Dr. Hawkins, Dean of Elmy, to the Biſhoprick of Dromore.—The Rev. Mr. John Hallam, to the place and dignity of a Prebendary of his Majeſty's free Chapel of St. George, in the caſtle of Windſor.—The Rev. Dr. Warren, to the Archdeaconry of Worceſter.—The Right Hon. George, Earl of Dalhouſie, to be one of the Commiſſioners of Police, in that part of Great-Britain, called Scotland.—Alexander Lockhart, Eſq; to be one of the ordinary Lords of his Majeſty's Seſſion in Scotland.——Samuel Tooker, Eſq; to be Recorder of Doncaſter.—Dr. Noah Thomas, to the honour of Knighthood, and to be one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in ordinary.—Jacob Reynardſon, Eſq; to be a Commiſſioner for licenſing hackney-coaches and chairs.

April 1. Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bart. to be one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in the room of the preſent Earl of Briſtol, who reſigned.—Captain Suckling, of the royal navy, to ſucceed Sir Hugh, as Comptroller of the Navy.

— 4. Thomas Graves and Robert Digby, Eſqrs. to be Colonels of his Majeſty's Marine Forces, in the room of Hugh Pigot, Eſq; and the Right Hon. the Earl of Briſtol, appointed Flag-officers of his Majeſty's Fleet.

— 7. The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Weymouth, to be Groom of the Stole, in the room of the late Earl of Briſtol; and the Hon. Col. Gordon, to be Groom of the Bedchamber, in the room of the Hon. Auguſtus John Hervey.

— 8. The Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Montgomery.—The Right Hon. Lord Clive, to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop.

— 24. Robert Duff, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, to be Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the iſland of Newfoundland, and its dependencies.

— 30. The Rev. James Cornwallis, LL. D. to be Dean of Canterbury.

terbury.—The Rev. Dr. Wetherell, to be a Canon of St. Peter, Weſtminſter.

May 2. Adjutant James Webb, of the 8th regiment of foot, to be Deputy-Commiſſary of the Muſters in North-America.

— 12. His Grace the Duke of Chandos, ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council.—The Right Hon. Stephen Earl of Ilcheſter, to be Comptroller of the Army Accounts.—Owen Saluſbury Brereton, Eſq; to be Conſtable of the Caſtle of Flint, and the office of Keeper of the Gaol of the Caſtle of Flint, and the office of Comptroller of the Records within the counties of Cheſter and Flint, and the office of Comptroller of the Pleas, Fines, and Amerciaments of North Wales, in the county of Caernarvon; in the room of Other Lewis Windſor, Earl of Plymouth, deceaſed.

— 16. Lieut. Col. William Egerton, to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Iſlands of Scilly, vice George Boſcawen, deceaſed.

— 31. The Rev. Dr. Fothergill, to be a Canon of Durham.—The Rev. Mr. Henry Bathurſt, to be a Canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxford.—The Rev. Mr. Smallwell, to be a Canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxford.—Lieutenant-General John Irwine, to be Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Land-Forces in Ireland; and alſo to be Governor of Londonderry and Culmore Fort, in the ſaid kingdom, and a Privy-Counſellor.—Beaumont Hotham, Eſq; to the honour of Knighthood, and to be one of the Barons of the Exchequer.—John Borlace Warren, Eſq; and John Boyd, Eſq; to the dignity of Baronets of Great-Britain.—William Lee, Eſq; late one of the Sheriffs of this city, to be Alderman of Aldgate Ward.

June 10. Hugh Owen, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the county of Pembroke, to be Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the ſaid county, in the room of Sir William Owen, Bart. who reſigned.

— 16. Cavin Delane, Eſq; to be Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary, to attend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, with all fees, &c. belonging to the ſaid office.

— 30. Lately, the Rev. Mr. Francis Le Breton, to the Deanry of the iſland of Jerſey.—The Rev. Mr. Richard Lucas, to be a Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury.—Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. to be Lieutenant of the county of Merioneth, and to be Cuſtos Rotulorum of the ſaid county.—James Montgomery, Eſq; to be Chief Baron of his Majeſty's court of Exchequer, in Scotland.—Henry Dundas, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Advocate, in Scotland.—Alexander Murray, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's ſole Solicitor, in Scotland.—Stamp Brookſbank, Eſq; to be one of the Commiſſioners for the Receipt of his Majeſty's Revenue of Exciſe.

July 11. Col. Hugh Earl Percy, to be Major-General in America only.

— 13. William Beard, Eſq; of the Middle-Temple, to be a Welch Judge.

— 31. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Montagu North, to be a Prebendary of Windſor.—The Rev. Dr. Matthew Lamb, to be a Prebendary of Worceſter. Robert Byres, Eſq; to be Conſul at Memel.—John Wallace, Eſq; to be Conſul at Bergen.

Auguſt

Auguſt 5. The Right Hon. Ch. Jenkinſon, Eſq; to be Clerk of the Pells in Ireland.

All Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, reduced with their corps, at the laſt peace, and ſtill remaining on half-pay on the Engliſh eſtabliſhment, who deſired to be again employed in their preſent rank, were directed, from the War-office, to ſignify the ſame to the Secretary at War.

—15. Walter Fletcher Gaſon, of the ſecond troop of Horſe-guards, to be Sub-Brigadier and Cornet.

— 31. Lately, the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, to be Aulnager, and Collector of the Subſidies of Aulnager, Ireland. —— Mariot Arbuthnot, Eſq; to be one of the Commiſſioners for the Naval Affairs in North-America.

September 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Burton Phillipſon, of the firſt regiment of Dragoons, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.—Lieutenant-Colonel James Murray, of the third regiment of Foot-Guards, to be Governor of Upnor Caſtle.

— 20. Robert Ainſlie, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Ottoman Porte, in the room of John Murray, Eſq; deceaſed.

30. Lately, the Rev. Mr. Carrington, to a Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral.—Daniel Bomeeſter, to be his Majeſty's Conſul in Sicily, Malta, and the adjacent iſlands.—John Sharrart, Eſq; to be Conſul at Carthagena, in Spain.—— Joſeph Curtoys, Eſq; to be Conſul at Barcelona.

Octob. The Right Hon. Robert Lord Viſcount Clare, the Right Hon. Wellbore Ellis, and the Right Hon. Henry Flood, the office or offices of his Majeſty's Vice-Treaſurer and Receiver-General and Pay-Maſter General of all his Majeſty's Revenues, Profits, and Caſualties whatſoever, in the Kingdom of Ireland.—The Right Hon. Edward Lord Clive, to be Recorder of Shrewſbury,—— The Rev. Mr. Clarke, to the Deanry of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, in Tuam, Ireland.—The Rev. Mr. Thurlowe, to the Deanry of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, in Rocheſter.

Nov. 7. Lieutenant-Colonel John Douglas, of the ſecond Regiment of Dragoons, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.—Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Leſlie, of the 64th regiment of Foot, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.

— 10. The Right Hon. William Earl of Dartmouth, to be Keeper of the Privy Seal.—The Right Hon. Thomas Viſcount Weymouth, to be one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.—The Right Hon. Lord George Sackville Germaine, to be one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.

— 11. Alexander Leith, of Burgh St. Peter, in Norfolk, Eſq, a Baronet of Great-Britain.—— Henry Etherington, of Kingſton upon Hull, Eſq; a Baronet of Great-Britain.

— 17. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Lyttelton, to be of his Majeſty's Privy Council; and Warden and Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all his Majeſty's Foreſts, &c. beyond Trent.

— 18. The Right Hon. the Earl of Aſhburnham, to be Groom of the Stole, and Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Majeſty.—The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, to be Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.—George Colman, Eſq;

to

to be Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and to attend the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Time of Parliament.

—28. Charles Blagden, Eſq; to be Phyſician; John Mervin Nooth, Eſq; Purveyor and Phyſician Extraordinary;—Field, and Thompſon Forſter, Surgeons; James Jameſon, and ——— Paine, Apothecaries; to the hoſpital in North-America.—Col. Charles Rainsford, to be Governor of Cheſter, vice James Cholmondeley, deceaſed.

—30. Lately, the Right Hon. the Earl of Galloway, created a Knight of the Thiſtle.—Sir John Stepney, Bart. to be Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Dreſden.—The Rev. Dr. Farmer, Maſter of Emanuel College, to be Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.—The Rev. Dr. Buckworth, to be a Canon or Prebendary of Canterbury.——George Payne, Eſq; to be Keeper of the Lions, in the Tower of London.

Dec. 1. George Hall, Eſq; to be Comptroller of his Majeſty's Salt Duties, in the room of Francis Burton, Eſq;—Francis Bartlam, Eſq; to be Clerk of the Wardrobe.—Matthew Lewis, Eſq; to be the Deputy of Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, in room of Anthony Chamier, Eſq;——The Hon. Mr. Sackville, to be private Secretary to Lord George Sackville Germaine, Secretary of State for the American Department.

—15. The Right Hon. Lieutenant-General Sir John Irvin, created Knight of the Bath.

—31. Lately, John St. John, Eſq; to be Surveyor-General of all his Majeſty's Honours, Caſtles, Lordſhips, Manors, &c. in England and Wales.—The Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, Knt. of the Bath, to be Captain-General and Governor in Chief of his Majeſty's iſlands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, in America.

DEATHS, 1775.

Jan. 1. The Marquis de Botta d'Adorno, Field Marſhal of their Royal and Apoſtolic Majeſties Armies, Imperial Vicar of Italy, &c. at Pavia.

2. Lord St. George, Baron of Hatley St. George, in the kingdom of Ireland, at Nice, in Italy. His Lordſhip was created Baron of Hatley St. George, on the 19th of April 1763, and married Elizabeth daughter of Chriſtopher Dominick, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue one ſon and a daughter, the former of whom died in December 1765.

10. Major-General Laurence, in Bruton-ſtreet. He was the firſt officer who introduced military diſcipline into India, where for 20 years he commanded the Company's troops.

Edward Codrington, Eſq; brother to Sir William Codrington, Bart. in the South of France.

11. Monſ. le Duc d'Urſell, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Lord of the Bed-chamber, Lieutenant-general, and Governor of Bruſſels, at Bruſſels.

The Rev. Richard Webb, A. M. Vicar of Downton, Wilts, and Prebendary of Saliſbury and Lincoln cathedrals.

19. The Rev. Dr. Powell, Maſter of St. John's College, in Cambridge, Archdeacon of Colcheſter, and

and Rector of Freſhwater, in the Iſle of Wight.

20. The Hon. Thomas Hervey, ſecond ſon to the late, and uncle to the preſent Earl of Briſtol, in Old Bond-ſtreet, aged 77.

21. Sir John Brown, Bart. at Sunning, near Reading.

26. Dame Mary Jane Buckworth, relict of Sir John Buckworth, Bart.

30. The Hon. Mrs. Bellenden, at Southampton.

Feb. 1. The Hon. Nicholas Herbert, brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent Earl of Pembroke, member for Wilton in this and ſeveral other parliaments, and ſecretary of the iſland of Jamaica, at Great Glenham, Suffolk.

————Myer, Eſq; Governor of Senegal.

2. Cardinal Ferdinand Maria de Roſſi, at Rome.

Don Angelo Gabrielle, Prince of Praſiedi, at Rome. He has left a ſum towards portioning the daughters of the pooreſt of his vaſſals.

3. The Right Hon. Lady Viſcounteſs Primroſe, at her houſe in Clarges-ſtreet.

4. The Rev. Dr. John Ryder, Archbiſhop of Tuam, in Ireland, in the 78th year of his age, at Nice, in Italy. He was created Biſhop of Killaloe, in 1741; was tranſlated from thence to the ſee of Down and Connor, in 1743; and from thence to the Archbiſhopric of Tuam, in 1752.

Sir George Francis Hampſon, Bart. of the iſland of Jamaica.

Lately, the Hon. Archibald Campbell, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Lord Stonefield, in France, where he went for the recovery of his health.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles William Pearce, the oldeſt officer in his Majeſty's ſervice, in Ireland.

6. The Right Hon. William Dowdeſwell, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Shire for the county of Worceſter, at Nice, in Italy, where he went for the recovery of his health.

9. Miſs Elizabeth Johnſon, eldeſt daughter to Sir William Johnſon, Bart. in the 18th year of her age, at Aberdeen.

10. Capt. Edward Cauldwell, of the royal navy.

14. Lady Cuſt, widow and relict of Sir John Cuſt, Bart. late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in Upper Brook-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare.

Alexander Colden, Eſq; eldeſt ſon to the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor Colden, Poſt-maſter and Surveyor-General of New-York, at New-York.

18. The Right Hon. William Lord Napier, at Bath.

20. Sir George Oxenden, Bart. at Dean, near Wingham, in Kent. Sir George ſucceeded his brother, Sir Henry, in the title, in 1720; and the title and family eſtate now deſcend to his ſon, Sir Henry Oxenden, of Broome, Bart.

21. Edward Denny, Eſq; member for Tralee, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland.

22. Capt. John Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of the Garriſon at Portſmouth.

Alexander Fraſer, Eſq; of Strichen, in Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, and General of the Mint in Scotland, at Strichen Houſe.

23. Lady Chriſtian Bruce, daughter

ter of the late Earl of Kincardine, at Balgonie, in Scotland.

Jean François Ogier, Honorary Preſident of the Parliament of Paris, at Paris.

24. The Hon. Charles Nugent, brother to the Earl of Weſtmeath, in France.

26. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Leiceſter, at her ſeat at Holkham, in Norfolk.

28. Lately, John Sydenham, Eſq; only ſurviving grandchild of the celebrated Dr. Sydenham.

March 1. Arthur Connell, Eſq; late Provoſt of Glaſgow.

4. Dame Elizabeth Twiſden, relict to the late and mother to the preſent Sir Roger Twiſden.

5. Richard Barwell, Eſq; late High Sheriff of the county of Surry.

6. Wm. Lowndes, Eſq; one of the Auditors of his Majeſty's Exchequer, in Duke-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

Dunbar Maxwell, Eſq; youngeſt ſon of the late Sir William Maxwell, of Monreith, Bart. and brother of the Ducheſs of Gordon, at Edinburgh.

Mrs. Blair, Lady of William Blair Eſq; Firſt Clerk of the Privy-Council, at St. James's.

7. The Right Hon. John Earl of Glaſgow, at his ſeat of Kelbourn, in Scotland. His Lordſhip ſucceeded his father in 1740. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Roſs, by whom he has left iſſue one ſon and three daughters.

12. The Rev. Dr. Richardſon, late Maſter of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

The Moſt Hon. William-Henry Kerr, Marquis of Lothian, Knight of the Thiſtle, Colonel of the 19th Regiment of Dragoons, and General of his Majeſty's Forces, at Bath. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded, in titles and eſtate, by his eldeſt ſon, the Earl of Ancram, Lieutenant-Colonel of the ſecond troop of Grenadier-Guards.

13. The Right Hon. Sir John Ruſhout, Bart. a Member of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and many years Repreſentative in Parliament for the borough of Eveſham, in Bloomſbury-ſquare, aged upwards of 90. He is ſucceeded, in title and eſtate, by his only ſon, now Sir John Ruſhout, Member in the laſt and preſent Parliaments for the ſame borough.

Mrs. ——— Erſkine, relict of Admiral Erſkine.

Thomas Lehunte, Eſq; Repreſentative in Parliament for the borough of Newnton, and one of the oldeſt Members in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, at Dublin.

16. Richard Price Thelwall, Eſq; a near relation of the Lord Viſcount Bulkeley, at Rulace, in Merionethſhire.

Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Carolina-Auguſta-Maria, youngeſt daughter of the Duke and Ducheſs of Glouceſter, aged eight months, at London.

20. George William Hervey, Earl of Briſtol, of an apoplectic fit, in the 53d year of his age, at Bath. His Lordſhip was born Auguſt 31, 1721; ſucceeded to the title in 1750; was one of the ſupporters of the pall the next year at the funeral of his Majeſty's father; was nominated Ambaſſador to Spain in 1751; and ſoon after his return was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; afterwards, Lord Privy-Seal;

Seal; and then, Groom of the Stole to his preſent Majeſty. Having never been married, he is ſucceeded by his brother, the Hon. Auguſtus Hervey, Commander in the Navy, to whom he has left an eſtate of 20,000 l. a year.

21. ——— Penn, Eſq; one of the proprietors of Pennſylvania, of New-ſtreet, Spring-gardens.

Mr. Samuel Boyce, originally an engraver, author of ſeveral pretty poetical pieces.

George Wilmot, Eſq; father to Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart. and Firſt Clerk in the Lord Chamberlain's office, at Briſtol, where he went for the benefit of the waters.

24. The Right Hon. Lady Milton, daughter to the late Duke of Dorſet, and ſiſter to Lord George Germaine, in Tilney-ſtreet, May-fair.

25. The Marquis Hubert Pallavicini, at Parma, in Italy, Grand Chamberlain to the Infant Prince of Parma.

31. The Right Hon. William Lord Boſton, Baron of Boſton, in the county of Lincoln, at London. His Lordſhip was born in 1707, created a Peer by his preſent Majeſty in 1761, and alſo appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, having been her Royal Highneſs's Chamberlain from the time of her marriage. His Lordſhip married Albinia, daughter of Henry Selwyn, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue Frederick, now Lord Boſton, William-Henry, and Auguſta Georgina Elizabeth, married to Thomas de Grey, Eſq; ſon of the Right Hon. Lord Chief Juſtice de Grey.

April 1. The Lady of Joſeph Dacre, Eſq; daughter of the late Sir George Fleming, Bart. Biſhop of Carliſle.

5. The Lady of Mr. Baron Grant, of the court of Exchequer of Scotland, and daughter of Lord Milton, in Dean-ſtreet, Soho.

The Right Hon. Lady Margaret Ogilvie, ſpouſe to Sir John Wedderburne, of Ballendean, in Scotland, at Ballendean aforeſaid.

——— Cocks, Eſq; Clerk of the Patents, a near relation to the Earl of Hardwick. The reverſion of his office goes to Robert Willmot, Eſq; ſon of Robert Willmot, Eſq; Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Mrs. Catharine Herbert, relict of the late Arthur Herbert, Eſq; and ſiſter to Sir Rowland Watts, aged 96.

11. Charles James Downall, Eſq; a member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in Bolton-row.

The Rev. Dr. Roger Moſtyn, rector of Chriſtleton, Cheſhire; prebendary of Windſor and Cheſter, uncle to Sir Roger Moſtyn, Bart. at Chriſtleton aforeſaid.

14. Lady Fowler, relict of Sir Hans Fowler, Bart. of Richmond-buildings, Soho.

16. Sir Anthony Thomas Abdy, Bart. of Aibyne in Eſſex, and Cobham in Surry, Member of Parliament for Knareſborough in Yorkſhire. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his brother, now Sir William Abdy, Bart. a Captain in his Majeſtys' navy,

Miſs Sophia Mawbey, daughter of Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. at Vauxhall.

Cary Creed, Eſq; of Caſtle-Cary, aged 88; leaving the bulk of his fortune to charitable uſes.

17. Lady Gertrude Hotham, ſiſter to the late Earl of Cheſterfield, in New Norfolk-ſtreet.

20. Mrs. ——— Stukeley, aunt

to Sir George Pocock, Knt. a widow lady of fortune, in Bennet-ſtreet, St. James's.

23. The Rev. Dr. Daniel Burton, Canon of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, and Rector of St. Peter le Poor, London.

25. Mrs. Geary, relict of Admiral Geary, in Chapel-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare.

26. The Hon. Henry Grimſtone, of a paralytic diſorder.

The Rev. Peter Boehler, a Biſhop of the Brethren's Church in Fetter-lane.

28. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Curteis, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral at Canterbury, Rector of Sevenoaks, in Kent, Rector of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, and one of the Proctors in Convocation for the Dioceſe of Rocheſter.

29. The Hon. Arthur Dawſon, late one of the Barons of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, at Dublin.

May 2. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Montague, in Privy-Gardens.

3. The Hon. George Boſcawen, Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's Land-forces, Colonel of the 24th Regiment of foot, and Brother to Lord Viſcount Falmouth, in York-ſtreet, St. James's.

The Hon. George Hamilton, in King's-mead-ſtreet, Bath.

4. The Rev. Samuel Holcombe, M. A. Prebendary of Worceſter, and Rector of Severn, in that county.

Mrs. Saintloe, relict of John Saintloe, Eſq; a Rear-admiral of his Majeſty's Navy.

5. Col. John Blenerhaſſet, of Balliſerdy, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, which county he repreſented in Parliament.

7. The Right Hon. Lady Sophia Lambert, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Cavan, in Sackville-ſtreet.

Lady Williams, of Gwernwell Lodge, in Brecknockſhire.

9. Miſs Elizabeth Mill, ſiſter of Sir Thomas Mill, Bart. at Edinburgh.

10. Her Majeſty Carolina Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway, ſiſter to his Majeſty, of a malignant fever, at Zell, aged 23 years, and 10 months. [See our article of Characters.]

George Quarme, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners of Exciſe.

12. Her moſt Serene Highneſs, Frederica, Ducheſs Dowager of Saxe Weiſſenfels, aged 60.

13. The Rev. Mr. Nott, one of the Minor Canons of Worceſter Cathedral, Rector of St. Martin in that city, and Chaplain to the Lord Biſhop of Oxford.

14. The Hon. W. Leybourne Leybourne, Eſq; Governor of the iſland of Grenada.

17. The Right. Hon. Lady Blaney, in Ireland.

19. John Shakeſpeare, Eſq; Alderman of Aldgate ward, and Sheriff in 1769, at Mile-End.

20. The Hon. Mr. Montagu, uncle to the Earl of Sandwich, in Hill-ſtreet, Berkley-ſquare.

The Hon. Miſs Johnſon, one of the Maids of Honour to her Majeſty.

22. Sir Francis Vincent, of Stoke D'Aberton, near Cobham in Surry, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the ſaid county, in Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, now Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.

23. The Rev. Dr. Cruſius, Prebendary of Worceſter and of Brecknock,

nock, Rector of Shopdon in Herefordshire, and of St. John's near Worcester, in Charter-house-square.

Count Lasberg, an officer in the Hanoverian service, in the Stable-yard, St. James's.

27. Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Conti.

Sir Archibald Seton, of Pitmedden, Bart. at Aberdeen.

28. Lady Letitia Trelawney, in Portman-street.

June 2. The Rev. Francis Payne, LL. D. and F. R. S. in the island of Jersey, Dean of the said island, and Rector of the parish of St. Martin there.

Barlow Trecothick, Esq; who some time ago resigned his gown as Alderman of the ward of Vintry, at his country-house, near Croydon, in Surry.

5. Sir Charles Burton, Bart. senior Alderman, and Father of the city of Dublin.

6. Fettiplace Nott, Esq; High Steward of the city of Litchfield.

7. The Right Hon. the Countess of Kelly, at Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh.

8. The Hon. Miss Vernon, daughter of Lord Vernon, in Park-place, St. James's.

10. Sir John Thorold, of Cranwell, in the county of Lincoln, Bart. on his return from Bath.

12. The Lady of Sir Edmund Head, Bart. at Charles-Town, South Carolina.

20. The Right Hon. Ann, Countess Winterton, at Shillinglee Park, in Sussex.

22. His most Serene Highness the reigning Prince of Nassau Usingen, near Mentz.

The Hon. Edward Seymour, Esq; of University-college, Oxford, eldest son of Lord Seymour, Dean of Wells, and nephew to his Grace the Duke of Somerset.

25. Hugh Mackay, Esq; Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of a Scotch regiment, in the service of the States-General, at Breda.

26. Finnes Eddowes, Esq; Surveyor-General of the Customs for Hants and Dorsetshire, at Portsmouth.

27. The Right Hon. Francis James Lesly, Lord Lindores, near the Tay, in Fifeshire, Scotland.

28. Eleanora Oglethorpe, widow of Eugene Marie de Bethisy, Marquis de Mezieres, Lieutenant-General of the French King's armies, Governor of the town and citadel of Amiens, &c. &c. at the seat of the Marquis de Mezieres, her son, in France.

The Lady of the Right Rev. Dr. Cumberland, late Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and mother of Dr. Cumberland, author of the West-Indian, Brothers, and several other dramatic pieces.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Maynard, upwards of ninety years old, at Much-Easton, in Essex. He is succeeded in title by Sir Charles Maynard. His Lordship is said to have expended 3000 l. a year in acts of charity.

July 4. The Right Hon. Henry Lord Willoughby of Parham, aged seventy-nine, in Frith-street, Soho. His Lordship took his seat in the House of Peers, in consequence of their Lordships order on the hearing of his claim to the title, in March, 1767. His honours and fortune devolve on his only nephew George Willoughby, Esq; late of Queen's College, Cambridge.

7. Col.

7. Col. Thomas Gardner, of Cambridge, in America, of the wounds he received in the battle at Bunker's Hill, near Boſton.

John Holwall, Eſq; Commander of his Majeſty's ſhip Reſolution, a guardſhip at Portſmouth.

Rev. John Ratcliffe, D. D. upwards of thirty-ſeven years Maſter of Pembroke College, in the univerſity of Oxford.

15. The Right Hon. Lady Erne, at Dublin.

Thomas Bayles, Eſq; Mayor of Colcheſter.

18. The Hon. and Rev. Ambroſe St. John, Rector of Bletſtow, in the county of Bedford.

20. John Delaval, Eſq; in the 20th year of his age, ſon to Sir John Huſſey Delaval, Bart. at Briſtol.

21. The Hon. Miſs Maria Conſtantia Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, in the ninth year of her age, at Sunbury.

Col. Demetrius James, late of the 43d regimeut of foot, at Hythe, in Kent.

Robert Pratt, of Coſcomb, in Glouceſterſhire, Eſq; one of the Maſters in Chancery, and nephew to Lord Cambden.

Simon Boerum, Eſq; of Long Iſland, New-York, one of the repreſentatives in the General Aſſembly for King's County, and one of the delegates to the Continental Congreſs.

22. The Lady of the Biſhop of Kildare, at Holyhead, on her way to Dublin.

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Newcombe, Dean of Rocheſter, and Rector of St. Mildred, in the Poultry, at Rocheſter.

24. John Pollen, Eſq; late one of the Welch Judges, at Andover.

Ralph Warburton, Eſq; only ſon of the Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter, in his nineteenth year, at the Hot Wells, Briſtol.

30. Mrs. Barnett, relict of the late Curtis Barnett, Eſq; Commander of his Majeſty's ſquadron, in India.

31. The Hon. Mrs. Helen Gray, ſpouſe of William Stirling, Eſq; at Calder.

Auguſt 8. Major-General Deane, in Thrift-ſtreet, Soho.

Robert Lennox, Eſq; many years Chief of Bencoolen in the Eaſt-Indies, in Southampton-ſtreet.

9. His Excellency John Murray, Eſq; his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Ottoman Porte, at Venice.

10. Col. Boiſrond, of the Marines, at Portſmouth.

12. The youngeſt ſon of the Right Hon. Lord Mountcaſhell, in Ireland.

Sir Gregory Page, Bart. aged near 90. He has left the bulk of his immenſe fortune to Sir Gregory Turner, Bart.

15. Sir Lynch Saluſbury Cotton, Bart. who repreſented the county of Denbigh in the three laſt parliaments, in an advanced age, at his ſeat at Combermere, in Cheſhire. The title and family eſtate of about 9000l. per annum, deſcend to his eldeſt ſon, now Sir Robert Saluſbury Cotton, Bart.

16. His Highneſs Prince Michael Czartoriſki, Great Chancellor of Lithuania, &c. &c. at Warſaw.

Gerald Fitzgerald, Eſq; one of the repreſentatives in parliament for Harriſtown, in Ireland.

The Rev. Dr. Latablere, Dean of Tuam, &c. in Ireland.

Lady Dyer, wife of Thomas Dyer, Eſq; at Kenſington.

20. Michael Obrien Dilkes, Eſq; General, and Colonel of the 50th regiment now at Jamaica, at Dublin.

Col.—— Macdonal, at Harrogate, in Yorkſhire.

Miſs Helen Ogilvie, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Ogilvie, of Inverquharity, Bart. at Kinnardy.

22. Lady Gordon, at Inver-Gordon Caſtle, in Roſsſhire, Scotland.

The new-born daughter of Lord Viſcount Weymouth.

24. The Hon. Mrs. Bridget Hamilton, relict of the late Hon. George Hamilton, in King's-mead-ſtreet, Bath.

27. Mrs. Frances Newman, daughter of the late Sir Richard Newman, of Preſton Deanery, Northamptonſhire, Bart.

30. The Hon. Col. Beauclerk, late of the 3d regiment of Guards, and Governor of Pendennis Caſtle.

Lately, George Dyndon, LL. D. Regiſter of the dioceſe of Dublin.

The Rev. Dr. Francis Corbett, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, aged 92. He ſucceeded the celebrated Dr. Swift.

Sept. 2. The Right Hon. Lady Mary Herbert, only ſurviving daughter of the late Duke of Powis, in her ninetieth year, at Paris.

Walter Biddulph, Eſq; uncle to the preſent Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Bart. at Barton under Needwood, in Staffordſhire.

4. The Rev. Dr Cholwich, Vicar of Ermington and Holbeton, in Devonſhire, and Prebendary of the cathedral of Exeter.

8. Sir Joſeph Knight, Rear-Admiral of the White, at Harwich.

9. The Right Hon. Wm. Earl of Glencairne, Major-General in his Majeſty's ſervice; at Finlayſtown, Renfrewſhire. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, James Lord Kilmaurs.

12. The Hon. Charles Colvil, Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of his majeſty's 69th regiment of foot, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, at Fountain-Bridge, near Edinburgh.

The Hon. Lady Yonge, relict of Sir William Yonge, Bart. Knight of the Bath, and mother of the preſent Sir George Yonge, Bart. at Waltham-Houſe, in Eſſex.

16. The Right Hon. Allen, Earl Bathurſt, member of the privy-council, and father of the preſent Lord Chancellor, aged 91; at Cirenceſter, Glouceſterſhire. [See our article of Characters.]

Monſ. Strube, vice chancellor of the electorate of Hanover, in his eightieth year.

Dr. John Stevenſon, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Edinburgh.

The Right Hon. Conſtantine Phipps, Baron Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland; at the Spa, in Germany. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, the Hon. Conſtantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave.

The Hon. James Haberſham, Eſq; Preſident of his majeſty's council of Georgia, in America.

The Rev. Mr. Meredith, Rector of Roſs, in Herefordſhire, brother to Sir William Meredith, Bart. at Briſtol.

17. Charles Allanſon, Eſq; member of parliament for Rippon; at Bramhambiggen, in Yorkſhire.

Captain Thomas Forbes, aged 102 years; at Harwich.

18. John Conyers, Eſq; member for Eſſex; at Copped Hall, in that county.

The

The Hon. David Falconer, brother to Lord Halkerton; in Bury-court, St. Mary Axe.

Miſs Temple, only daughter of Sir Richard Temple, Bart. one of the commiſſioners of his majeſty's navy; at Hackney.

21. The Rev. Mr. Malet Rector of Combſlory, Somerſet, and of Maiden Newton, Dorſet, and Prebendary of Glouceſter.

23. The Hon. Captain John Bentinck, of his majeſty's navy, ſon of the late Count Bentinck, and grandſon of the Earl of Portland.

24. Her ſerene highneſs the Princeſs Amelia, of Mecklenburg Schwerin, youngeſt ſiſter to the reigning duke.

Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart. far advanced in years; in Queen's-row, near Buckingham-Gate. He married in Auguſt, 1730, Sarah, one of the daughters of Mr. Richard Righton, of Chippingnorton, in Oxfordſhire; by whom he has left two ſons, Richard, who ſucceeds him in his title, now Sir Richard Reynell, Bart. and Thomas, a Lieutenant in his majeſty's 62d regiment.

26. The right hon. Don Antonio Lopez Suaſſo, Baron and Lord of Auvernes le Graſs, in Brabant; at the Hague.

Lady Whitmore, relict of the Hon. Sir Thomas Whitmore, Knt. of the Bath; at Bath.

29. Mr. Stephen Winton, aged 99, Windſor Foreſt.

October 3. Cardinal Francis Koenraed, Baron von Radt, and Prince Biſhop of Conſtance.

4. The Hon. Miſs Mary Falconer, daughter of David, and ſiſter to the preſent Lord Falconer, of Halkerton; at Edinburgh, in Scotland.

6. Richard Lowndes, Eſq; late member for Bucks; at Hilleſden, in the ſame county.

8. The right hon. the Counteſs Dowager of Tankerville; at her houſe, in Kenſington-ſquare.

10. The hon. James Cholmondeley, uncle of the Earl of Cholmondeley, General of his majeſty's land forces, and Colonel of the 6th regiment of dragoons; at Roehampton.

Louis Nicholas Victor de Felix, Comte de Muy, Marſhal of France, Knight of the French King's Orders, Governor of Ville Franche, Miniſter and Secretary of State in the department of War.

11. The hon. Mrs. Hay, lady of his Excellency the Governor of Barbadoes; in Barbadoes.

12. Nicholas Bonfoy, Eſq; Serjeant at Arms to the Houſe of Commons; at his ſeat near Huntingdon.

14. Monſieur de Maſſow, miniſter of ſtate, in the revenue department, to his Pruſſian majeſty.

Scudamore Winde, Eſq; one of the Aſſiſtant Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and member of the Aſſembly, in Jamaica.

Miſs Elizabeth Gordon, eldeſt daughter of the hon. Alexander Gordon, and the right hon the Counteſs Dowager of Dumfries and Stair; at Perth, in Scotland.

15. Lieutenant-General Waterſleben, in the ſervice of his Pruſſian majeſty; at Berlin.

16. The Rev. David Durell, D. D. Principal of Hertford college, Oxford; Prebendary of Canterbury, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1765, 1766, and 1767.

—— Saunders, Eſq; late governor of Madraſs; in Upper Brooke-ſtreet.

Lady Murray, at Kenſington.

20. The right hon. Alexander M'Donnel, Earl of Antrim, one of the Lords of his majeſty's moſt hon. Privy Council in Ireland, and governor of the county of Antrim; in Granby-row, Dublin. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his only ſon, the hon. William Randall M'Donnel, commonly called Lord Viſcount Dunluce, now Earl of Antrim.

23. William Parry, Eſq; deputy comptroller of his majeſty's mint, and clerk in the navy office.

25. The right hon. the Counteſs Dowager of Kerry; in Wigmore-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare. Her ladyſhip was daughter to the Earl of Cavan. Her ladyſhip's firſt huſband was the Earl of Kerry, by whom ſhe had iſſue the preſent Earl, and Lady Anne, married to Maurice Fitzgerald, Eſq. She married, ſecondly, James Tilſon, Eſq; by whom ſhe had iſſue, one daughter, Mrs. Mahon, to whom ſhe has bequeathed the reſidue of her fortune.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Trail, Profeſſor of Divinity, at Glaſgow.

27. Sir Francis Whichcote, Bart. at Grantham, Lincolnſhire; he is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon Chriſtopher Whichcote, now Sir Chriſtopher Whichcote, Baronet, of Aſwarby, in the county of Lincoln.

The Baron Rotwell, in New Bond-ſtreet.

31. Lately, Sir John Moleſworth, Bart. member in the preſent parliament for Cornwall, and Colonel of the Corniſh regiment of militia; at Pencarrow, in Cornwall.

November 6. Peter Burrell, Eſq; ſurveyor of his majeſty's crown lands, father to the Lady of Lord Algernoon Percy, ſecond ſon to the Duke of Northumberland.

7. James Coke, Eſq; great-uncle to the preſent Lord Viſcount Grimſton.

10. Stephen Penny, Eſq; comptroller of the exciſe in Scotland.

Mrs. Peachey, ſiſter to Sir J. Peachey, Bart.

13. His moſt ſerene highneſs Chriſtian IV. Prince Palatine of Deux-Ponts, at his palace of Peterſheim. His highneſs is ſucceeded by his nephew, Prince Charles of Deux-Ponts.

Henry Forreſter, Eſq; firſt general accomptant of the revenue of exciſe, in Great Kirby-ſtreet, Hatton-Garden.

Dr. Henry Seaſon, phyſician and aſtronomer, and writer of the Almanack under his name; at Bromham, in Wilts.

James Smollet, of Bonhill, Eſq; one of the commiſſaries of Edinburgh.

14. John Smith, Eſq; member in parliament for the city of Bath.

16. The hon. Mrs. Oſborn, only daughter of the Admiral Lord Viſcount Torrington, and grandmother to Sir George Oſborn, Bart.

Adam Hay, Eſq; member of parliament for the ſhire of Peebles, in Scotland.

21. Lieutenant-General Cadwallader; in Ireland.

The right hon. Lord Blaney, Colonel of the 38th regiment of foot, in Ireland.

Sir John Hill, Knt. of the Polar Star,

Star, a Swediſh order; in Golden-ſquare. [See our article of Characters for this year.]

28. Roger Hope Elletſon, Eſq; late Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, at Bath.

The right hon. Thomas Earl of Caſſilis, one of the ſixteen Peers for Scotland in the preſent parliament, at Callean. His Lordſhip is ſucceeded in titles and eſtate by his only brother, David Kennedy, Eſq; of Newark.

Lately, Sir George Hawkinſon, Knt. phyſician to King George the Firſt.

Dec. 3. Cardinal Vincent Malvezzi, at Cento, in Italy.

7. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Knt. of the Bath, member for Heydon, in Yorkſhire, Admiral of the Blue ſquadron, Lieutenant-General of Marines, and Elder Brother of the Trinity-Houſe, in Spring-gardens. [See our article of Characters.]

Lady Elizabeth Vanaxe Sambrook, relict of Sir Samuel Vanaxe Sambrook, Bart. and brother of the late Sir Jeremy, aged 94.

8. Cardinal Fabricio Serbelloni, Biſhop of Oſtia, at Rome.

12. The right honourable Lady Dowager Martha Ghedworth, in Leiceſter-fields.

15. Louis Caſimir, Sovereign Count of Yſemberg, Budingen, &c. at Budingen.

18. Robert Dods, Eſq; Marchmont Herald at Arms, at Edinburgh.

19. Sir Richard Spry, Rear-Admiral of the White, in Devonſhire.

20. John Scott, Eſq; Major-General of his Majeſty's forces, Colonel of the 26th regiment of foot, and member of parliament for the county of Fife, at Balcomie, in the ſaid county.

Lord Hobart, only ſon of the right hon. the Earl of Buckinghamſhire.

21. The hon. Mrs. Parker, Lady of John Parker, Eſq; one of the repreſentatives for the county of Devon, and ſiſter to Lord Grantham, at preſent Ambaſſador at Madrid, at Saltram, in Devonſhire.

22. The hon. Peyton Randolph, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Burgeſſes in Virginia, and late Preſident of the Continental Congreſs, in Virginia.

23. Lady Dowager Dering, at Denton, Kent.

John Owen, Eſq; Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces, and Colonel of the 59th regiment of foot, at Bath.

The Rev. Eraſmus Saunders, Rector of St. Martin in the Fields, and one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral of Rocheſter, at Briſtol.

30. Mrs. Monk, ſiſter to the late General Bligh, and aunt to the Earl of Darnley, in Cecil-ſtreet.

31. Charles Milborne, of Woneſtow, in Monmouthſhire, Eſq; brother-in-law to the Earl of Oxford.

Lady Irwine, mother to the preſent Lieutenant-General Sir John Irwine, K. B.

Cardinal Vecchis, at Rome.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Some Account of the new Entertainment, called a Regatta, *introduced from* Venice *into* England, *in the Courſe of the Year* 1775.

ON Friday the 23d of June, preparations were made in the morning for the celebration of this long-expected ſhow. Before noon ſeveral of the companies and great numbers of pleaſure-barges were moored in the river, with flags, &c. Half a guinea was aſked for a ſeat in a common barge.

Early in the afternoon, the whole river from London-bridge to the Ship tavern, Milbank, was covered with veſſels of pleaſure, and there ſeemed to be a general combination to make a gay evening.—Above 1200 flags were flying before four o'clock; and ſuch was the public impatience, that ſcores of barges were filled at that time.—Scaffolds were erected on the banks and in veſſels; and even on the top of Weſtminſter-hall there was an erection of that kind.—Veſſels were moored in the river, for the ſale of liquors, and other refreſhments.

Before five o'clock, Weſtminſter-bridge was covered with ſpectators, in carriages and on foot, and men even placed themſelves in the bodies of the lamp-irons. Plans of the regatta were ſold from a ſhilling to a penny each, and ſongs on the occaſion ſung, in which *Regatta* was the rhyme for *Ranelagh*, and *Royal Family* echoed to *Liberty*.—The tops of the houſes were covered, and the ſaſhes of many windows taken out; and perhaps there was not one boat diſengaged whoſe owner choſe to work. Before ſix o'clock it was a perfect fair on both ſides the water, and bad liquor, with ſhort meaſure, was plentifully retailed. The bells of St. Martin's were rung in the morning, and thoſe of St. Margaret's during the afternoon.

The whole river formed a ſplendid ſcene, which was proportionably more ſo nearer to Weſtminſter-bridge. A river barge, uſed to take in ballaſt, was, on this occaſion, filled with the fineſt ballaſt in the world—above 100 elegant ladies.—The avenues to the bridge were covered with gambling-tables. Occaſional conſtables guarded every paſſage to the water-ſide, and took money for admiſſion, from half a crown to a penny.—Soon after ſix, drums, fifes, horns, trumpets, &c. formed ſeveral little concerts under the ſeveral arches of the bridge. This was ſucceeded by firing of cannon from a platform before the Duke of Richmond's, who, as well as his Grace of Montague, and the Earl of Pembroke, had ſplendid companies on the occaſion. At half paſt ſeven, the Lord Mayor's barge moved, and falling down the ſtream made a circle towards the bridge, on which 21 cannon were fired as a ſalute; and juſt before it reached the bridge the wager-boats ſtarted,

ſtarted, on the ſignal of firing a ſingle piece of cannon. They were abſent near 50 minutes; and, on their return, the whole proceſſion moved, in a pictureſque irregularity, towards Ranelagh. The Thames was now a floating town. All the cutters, ſailing-boats, &c. in ſhort, every thing, from the dung-barge to the wherry, was in motion.

The company landed at the ſtairs about nine o'clock, when they joined the aſſembly which came by land, in the Temple of Neptune, a temporary octagon kind of building, erected about 20 yards below the rotunda, lined with ſtriped linen of the different coloured flags of the navy, with light pillars near the centre, ornamented with ſtreamers of the ſame kind looſely flowing, and luſtres hanging between each.—It happened, however, that this building was not ſwept out, or even finiſhed, when the company aſſembled, which prevented the cotillion dancing till after ſupper. This room diſcovered great taſte, but we cannot reconcile the temple of Neptune's being ſupplied with muſicians in Sylvan habits.

At half after ten the rotunda was opened for ſupper, which diſcovered three circular tables of different elevations, elegantly ſet out, though not profuſely covered. The rotunda was finely illuminated with pa.ty-coloured lamps, and thoſe diſplayed with great taſte and delicacy; the centre was ſolely appropriated for one of the fulleſt and fineſt bands of muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, ever collected in theſe kingdoms; the number being 240, in which were included the firſt maſters, led by Giardini; and the whole directed by Mr. Simpſon, in a manner that did him great credit. It was opened with a new grand piece compoſed for the occaſion, after which various catches, and glees were admirably ſung by Meſſrs. Vernon, Reinhold, &c. &c. But the illumination of the orcheſtra had been unfortunately overlooked, which gave that part of the deſign a gloomy appearance.

Supper being over, a part of the company retired to the temple, where they danced minuets, cotillions, &c. without any regard to precedence; while others entertained themſelves in the great room. Several temporary ſtructures were erected in the gardens, ſuch as bridges, palm-trees, &c. &c. which were inteuded to diſcover ſomething novel in the illumination ſtyle, but the badneſs of the evening prevented their being exhibited.

The company conſiſted of about 2000, among whom were the firſt perſonages of diſtinction, viz. their Royal Highneſſes the Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, Duke of Northumberland, Lords North, Harrington, Stanley, Tyrconnel, Lincoln, their reſpective Ladies, &c. alſo Lords Lyttelton, Coleraine, Carliſle, March, Milbourne, Cholmondeley, Peterſham, &c. the French, Spaniſh, Pruſſian, Ruſſian, and Neapolitan ambaſſadors, &c. &c.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, accompanied by Lord Cholmondeley, the Ducheſs of Bolton, and her ſiſter, went on board his Royal Highneſs's barge, at Somerſet Stairs, to ſee the regatta.

The Duke of Cumberland, accompanied by the Hon. Miſs Luttrell, the Ladies Ferrers, Ranelagh, &c. went on board his Royal Highneſs's barge, at Somerſet-Stairs, and

and was rowed to Weſtminſter-bridge to ſee the regatta. The royal ſtandard was hoiſted on board the barge.

A State of the Diſpute between the Count de Guines, *Ambaſſador from the Court of* France, *againſt his late Secretaries the Sieurs* Tort *and* Roger, *and the Sieur* Delpech, *with the Deciſion of the Judges*.*

The Count's State of the Matter.

THE Count, on being appointed ambaſſador to the court of London, at the commencement of the diſpute between the courts of London and Madrid reſpecting Falkland's Iſlands, employed the Sieur Tort as his chief ſecretary for private affairs, and the Sieur Roger as his deputy. The former of theſe, with one Delpech, and a teacher of French in London, he declares to have been concerned together in fraudulently ſmuggling goods into England, under his name. But this trade, however beneficial, was not, it ſeems, ſufficient to gratify the avarice of the Sieur Tort. He preſently formed an acquaintance with a woman, who aſſumed the title of Counteſs of Moriencourt, and who was intimately connected with Mr. Salvadore the Jew, and with a number of ſtock-jobbers. To them, and to the Sieurs Herzuello and Morphy, the Sieur Bordieu, the Sieur Chollet, the Sieur Theluſſon, and others, he offered to communicate his Excellency's diſpatches, on condition of being allowed a third of the profits which might accrue from their ſpeculations; and he even ſcrupled not to aſſure them, that the ambaſſador was not only privy to this proceeding, but was alſo to reap a ſeparate emolument from it himſelf.

It was by an anonymous letter, received by Prince Maſſerano in March, 1771, that the Count firſt obtained intelligence that Tort had the ſmalleſt connection with the public funds; in which clandeſtine practice, be it at the ſame time remarked, the Sieur Roger, and one Vauchon, who alſo belonged to the ambaſſador's ſuite, were concerned with him; in the belief, as they proteſted, that it was not without his excellency's approbation.

From this period, the Sieur Tort was denied all acceſs to the ambaſſador's diſpatches: and, from this period, all his tranſactions in the Alley, and thoſe of his aſſociates, were ſo abſurdly conducted, that they could not poſſibly have been directed by one in his ſecrets. The object of their ſpeculations was to lower the funds, when they ought to have raiſed them: inſtead of gaming on the certainty of a peace, they gamed on the certainty of a war; and the 19th of April convinced them of their error, by bringing events to light, of which the Count, in his public character, had received authentic information a conſiderable time before. Stocks roſe conſiderably; and, on the 20th,

* From Memoire pour le Comte de Guines, et Memoire contre le Comte, publiſhed lately at Paris.

the

the Sieur Tort, having obtained leave ſome time before to paſs a few days in the country with certain merchants of his acquaintance, eloped to France. On the 21ſt, the Counteſs of Moriencourt waited upon his Excellency, to whom ſhe was an utter ſtranger, and, with great agitation, begged to know if he could inform her where the Sieur Tort was; adding, that doubtleſs he could not be ignorant of the vaſt ſums, which, by Tort's orders, Mr. Salvadore had ſunk for his Excellency in the Alley. This viſit of the Counteſs opened the whole ſcene of impoſture; and as it then appeared, that the Sieurs Roger and Vauchon were acceſſary to it, the ambaſſador inſtantly diſmiſſed them both.

His Excellency omitted no meaſure which might remove a poſſibility of doubt of his own innocence, and bring to juſtice the offender Toſt, whoſe guilt appeared every day more flagrant. The firſt intelligence received of him was, that he was at Montreuil, where Salvadore, by appointment, preſently joined him. There they had a long private conference together; and from Montreuil they were traced to Chantilly, where a ſecond conference took place, and where Salvadore left Tort, and ſet out for Paris. From Chantilly, the latter wrote a letter to his Excellency, expreſſing, among other things, his contrition for what was paſt, and his hopes of meriting forgiveneſs, by his future conduct.

In order to facilitate the apprehending of him, the Ambaſſador immediately tranſmitted the contents of this letter to the Duke de la Vrilliere, then miniſter for foreign affairs. As for Salvadore, on his arrival in Paris, he ſent for the Sieur Boyer, the Count's *homme d' affaires*, and told him, that the Count de Guines owed him 85,000 livres, which, by his Excellency's private directions, he had ſunk for him in the Engliſh funds; that he was well aſſured the Sieur Boyer would reimburſe him; and that, for particulars, he referred him to M. Tort, at Chantilly. The Sieur Boyer accordingly went thither; and Tort, thinking to intimidate him, complained aloud of the Ambaſſador, and ſaid, he had ſacrificed himſelf to his intereſts. Borne away by paſſion, however, he inadvertently added, that, *if his Excellency gave him a ſtab before his face, he would give his Excellency a ſtab behind his back, which he little expected.*

At length an order was iſſued by the Duke de Vrilliere to arreſt Tort; of which, receiving information from Delpech, who then reſided at Paris, he ſtole away from Chantilly to the capital; where, from a counter information of the ſame Delpech, he was apprehended on the 28th of April, and committed to the Baſtille. On the 30th of June the Duke de la Vrilliere wrote to the Ambaſſador, requeſting his opinion, whether the baniſhing Tort from Paris, to the diſtance of 20 leagues, would be a proper puniſhment for him?--His Excellency inſiſted on more ſeverity; and, while matters were in this uncertainty, the Duke d'Aguillon ſucceeded to the department of foreign affairs. From this miniſter the Count unexpectedly received letters of recall, at the end of Auguſt; and, on his return, was informed, to his utter aſtoniſh-

aſtoniſhment, that the ſecret object of this recall was an accuſation brought againſt him by Tort, the very man whom he had himſelf accuſed, and delivered into the hands of government.

Though the Sieur Tort produced no proof of his charge, yet the Count thought it his duty, in ſeveral memorials, preſented to the King in council, to make it appear that the whole was an abſurd and contradictory piece of calumny. This he could not but ſuppoſe he had done effectually; as it was the condition on which he was to be reinſtated in the embaſſy. On the 10th of January, 1772, he returned to England. Tort left the Baſtille a few days after; and the firſt uſe he made of his liberty was to ſpread a report, that he had been juſtified by his Majeſty's council. This falſehood the Count contradicted, in a ſpirited letter to the Sieur Theluſſon, one of the perſons with whom Tort had ſpeculated in the funds; which being tranſmitted to the French miniſtry, ſerved as a pretext for the criminal proſecution to which he is now expoſed. By command of his Majeſty, however, a ſtop was put to the proceedings till the 4th of June, 1773, the King of England's birth-day, when his Excellency aſked and obtained leave to return, and vindicate his character in perſon.

Though it was not till ſome days after the ſtipulated time, that the letters of recall arrived, yet his Excellency found, that the Sieur Tort had already lodged a criminal information againſt him at Calais; and, on that account, in order to preſerve the repreſentative of his Majeſty's perſon from indignity, he found himſelf under the humiliating neceſſity of returning to France by way of Dieppe.

The Sieur Tort's *State.*

HE maintains, that, in all his tranſactions in the Alley, he was nothing more than an agent of the Count de Guines. On his arrival in London, ſays the Sieur Tort, his Excellency retained in his pay no leſs than fourſcore domeſtics, beſides a dozen *valets de chambre*, and a band of muſicians. By a letter of unlimited credit on Walpole, the banker, he was enabled to ſupport ſo expenſive a retinue, till about the end of December, 1770; when, that reſource failing, he was reduced to the neceſſity of either living with leſs ſplendor, or ſpeculating in the funds. The latter alternative he adopted; and, as ſecrecy was neceſſary, he employed in that ſervice, as every Ambaſſador ought to do, a man in whom he could confide.

That his tranſactions in the Alley were ſo unfortunate, adds the Sieur, there can be little cauſe to wonder, from his utter ignorance of what was going forward between the courts of London and Madrid, till the 19th of April, when it was publicly announced to the whole kingdom, that, the miſunderſtanding being adjuſted, there would be no war. It was by his Excellency's orders, given to him in private, that he left London on the 20th. He was not even allowed to delay his departure a moment, his Excellency being every minute afraid, that ſome of the perſons, who had ſpeculated ſo deeply on his account, ſhould appear before him as his creditors, and that he ſhould not have the confidence to declare, to his

his face, that Tort was not his agent. The Count had aſſerted, that the Sieur Tort eloped to France, under the pretext of paſſing a few days in the country, with certain merchants of his acquaintance, to which he had obtained his Excellency's conſent ſome days before. The preſent Memorialiſt refers to the Ambaſſador's letter, of the 24th of June, 1771, to the miniſter; in which he expreſly ſays, that, *on the 20th of April, at nine in the morning, he gave him leave to pay a viſit to the Counteſs of Moriencourt.**

His meeting with Salvadore at Montreuil, he inſinuates, was perfectly accidental. He even declares, that, though he had an interview with him at Chantilly afterwards, yet the only motive he had for ſeeking that interview was, to communicate to him in confidence what had happened to his Excellency, and to requeſt his advice upon it. He owns his having written a letter to the Ambaſſador from Chantilly, though by no means a *penitential* one, or at all the ſame with that alluded to by his antagoniſt. On the particulars of his interview with the Sieur Boyer, he is rather reſerved; though he exculpates Delpech from the charge of betraying him into the hands of government, and aſſerts, that Boyer ſent this man thither, in order to prevail with him to leave France †.

The Deciſion of this Diſpute.

ON the 2d day of June, 1775, the criminal chamber of the Chatelet paſſed ſentence in the cauſe between the Count de Guines and the Sieurs Tort and Roger, his ſecretaries. It is in ſubſtance as follows:

'The complaint of the Sieur Tort againſt the Count de Guines, reſpecting his gaming in the Engliſh funds, is declared calumnious, and he is condemned to make reparation to the Ambaſſador, according to a proceſs to be drawn up; he is further condemned in a fine of 300 livres for damages, to be given, with the conſent of the Count, to the priſoners in the Chatelet.

'With reſpect to the complaint of the Count againſt Tort and Roger, for having betrayed the ſecrets of the ſtate, the two latter are expelled from the court. The Sieur Tort is to pay five ſixths of the expence of the proceſs, and the Count the other ſixth. The other parties are to pay their own expences.'

* As a proof of the Ambaſſador's delinquency, the Sieur Tort aſſerts, that, on the morning after his departure, when the Counteſs of Moriencourt, full of alarm and apprehenſion, waited upon him to know if he could give her any tidings of the Sieur, his Excellency confeſſed to her he was ruined in London, ſqueezed her by the hand, and conjured her, in the name of God, *not to ſpeak ſo loud.*

† It would be a great pity to omit, on this occaſion, the very honourable teſtimony the Count de Guines gives of three French merchants, Meſſieurs Beaumont, Darnauld, and Fagan. He ſays that theſe honeſt men, being offered by Tort a ſhare in his dealings, were ſo ſhocked at the iniquity of the plan, on which they were founded, that they refuſed to have any concern in them.

All the memorials publiſhed by Tort are ordered to be eraſed, ſuppreſſed, and cancelled, with a ſtrict admonition to Mr. F. his advocate, never to publiſh any ſuch memorials on ſuch pains as ſhall appertain. Tort, Roger and Delpech, are not cleared from the accuſation made by Count de Guines againſt them, of having abuſed his name and diſpatches, and for other miniſterial objects; they are only put out of the Court by the Chatelet upon theſe points.

Some Account of the apprehending and trying of Robert Perreau, *of Golden-ſquare, Apothecary*; Daniel Perreau, *of Harley-ſtreet, and* Margaret Carolina Rudd, *for divers forgeries.*

ON Saturday evening, March the 11th, a gentleman came to the Public Office, in Bow-ſtreet, in company with a woman elegantly dreſſed, and inquired for one of the Magiſtrates. William Addington, Eſq; being then in the parlour, the parties were introduced, when the man, after a ſhort preface, in which he acquainted the Juſtice, that his name was Robert Perreau, and that he had lived as an apothecary, for ſome time in Golden-ſquare, in great reputation, ſaid he was come to do himſelf juſtice, by producing the perſon, who had given him a bond for 7500l. which was a forgery. The woman denying the circumſtance, and the parties mutually upbraiding each other, Mr. Addington thought proper, as there was great appearance of an iniquitous combination, to commit them both to Tothill-fields Bridewell, for further examination.

On the next day, from a variety of circumſtances, there being a ſtrong foundation to believe Robert Perreau's brother Daniel was alſo concerned in the forgery, he was detained in Tothill-fields Bridewell, upon his going to pay Robert a viſit.

The Wedneſday following, they were all three examined before the bench of Magiſtrates at Guildhall, Weſtminſter; but nothing material appeared at this, or any of the ſubſequent examinations previous to their trials, but what appeared again at the trials in a more ſatisfactory light; except ſome few facts, which have been ſince found to be falſe; and ſome others, the truth of which there is, on that, and many other accounts, all the reaſon in the world to diſbelieve: we ſhall therefore proceed to the trials, juſt taking notice, that, at the above-mentioned examination at Guildhall, Mrs. Rudd was, on making the uſual declarations, admitted an evidence for the crown.

Robert's trial firſt came on, on Thurſday, the firſt of June, at eight in the morning, before Mr. Juſtice Aſton, Barons Burland and Hotham, &c. at the Seſſions-houſe, in the Old-Bailey. He was indicted for uttering a bond of 7500l. under four counts, the firſt with an intent to defraud William Adair, Eſq; the ſecond to defraud Henry and Robert Drummond, Eſqrs. and the other two for uttering and publiſhing it, knowing it to be forged.

Mr. Howarth, counſel for the proſecution, opened the trial, by barely recounting the charges laid in the indictment; he was followed by Mr. Lee, on the ſame ſide, who

who expatiated more fully on the nature and circumſtances of the offence; at the ſame time remarking to the Jury, that as *public juſtice* was alone the object of the proſecution, they were entirely to be guided as the favourable or unfavourable circumſtances appeared to them.

Mr. Henry Drummond was the firſt witneſs called, who depoſed, that about the 15th or 16th of laſt January, the priſoner at the bar, whom he had known from being apothecary in ſeveral families he was connected with, came to him to borrow 1500 l. to aſſiſt him in perfecting a purchaſe, he had juſt made, which would come to 14 or 15000 l. that he offered to give him as ſecurity the bond of a man, whom he would hereafter name, who was very reſponſible. To this Mr. Drummond made anſwer, that the title deeds of ſuch an eſtate would alone be ample ſecruity; but this the priſoner objected to, as the buſineſs was to be tranſacted in the country. However, as he wanted the money but for *ten days*, he would give him as ſecurity the leaſe of a houſe in Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, with his own note for the proper execution of the aſſignment. This Mr. Drummond accepted of.

On the 7th of March following, the priſoner came to him, and after apologizing to him for not being punctual to his time of payment, told him he had a further favour to beg of him, which was to borrow the ſum of 7500l. more on a bond of William Adair, Eſq; out of which he would pay Mr. Drummond his firſt demand of 1500l. Mr. Drummond deſired to ſee the bond, which the priſoner produced. On Mr. Drummond's inſpection of it, he expreſſed his doubts of its being Mr. Adair's ſignature; the priſoner replied, there could not be the leaſt doubt of it, for that it was witneſſed by two of Mr. Adair's domeſtics, Jones and Stark; that he then talked much of Mr. Adair's friendſhip for him, and he *believed*, he ſaid, that this bond was given him by Mr. Adair as the balance of his account. Mr. Drummond's brother and partner coming in on this converſation, was ſhewn the bond, who likewiſe believed it *not* to be Mr. Adair's; they therefore told the priſoner to call the next day, and they would conſider of it. The priſoner at the bar then went away, but returned about two hours afterwards, who ſaid he ſaw Mr. Adair juſt going out airing; that he told him the circumſtance, and that Mr. Adair obſerved the only reaſon he could account for Mr. Drummond's thinking it *not* to be his hand-writing, was the difference of twenty years (much about the time Mr. Drummond had laſt ſeen his ſignature). This, however, did not ſatisfy Meſſrs. Drummonds; they ſtill doubted, and deſired he would call next day. In the evening of that day, however, Meſſrs. Drummond, being reſolved to be ſatisfied, waited on a friend of Mr. Adair, who aſſured them it was not his hand-writing.

About eleven o'clock next day the priſoner called; and, as a confirmation of the ſignature's being genuine, produced a letter from Mr. Adair, ſigned only with the initials W. A. to that purpoſe. This, however, would not ſatisfy Meſſrs. Drummonds; they therefore propoſed to the priſoner going down

down to Mr. Adair's to put an end to their doubts; to this he, at firſt, made a ſlight objection, by ſaying, Perhaps he is gone out; but, the others aſking it a ſecond time, he very chearfully conſented, and Mr. H. Drummond and he ſtept into the latter's carriage, and drove to Mr. Adair's. When they arrived, Mr. Adair not only denied the whole circumſtance, but even knowing any of the name of Perreau. This ſeemed to aſtoniſh the priſoner, as well as the reſt of the parties, which made the former reply, "Surely, Sir, you are jocular." However, on Mr. Adair's perſiſting in the contrary, the priſoner ſeemed to be agitated, and ſaid, "Send for Mrs. D. Perreau, and ſhe will explain this matter." Mrs. D. Perreau (Mrs. Rudd) was accordingly ſent for; who, upon being preſſed to tell what ſhe knew about it, confeſſed herſelf to be the perſon who forged the bond, and that ſhe made this diſcovery ſooner than let an innocent man, with a large family, ſuffer. Mr. Drummond then ſaid, he did not ſee her till the Saturday following at Sir John Fielding's, along with the priſoner and his brother.

Mr. G. Wheatly (Clerk to Meſſ. Drummonds bank) circumſtantially corroborated the above evidence, as did Mr. Drummond's brother, with this further circumſtance, that, when the latter doubted Mrs. Rudd's powers to forge Mr. Adair's name, ſhe took up a ſlip of paper, and wrote the name in every reſpect ſimilar to that at the bottom of the bond.

Sir Thomas Frankland depoſed, that the priſoner was his apothecary for fifteen years; he always believed him to be an honeſt man, and had lent him, at different times, ſeveral ſums of money on bonds, particularly one of Mr. Adair's, for 4000l. on the 24th December, 1774, which was to be paid the 29th of March laſt.

Mr. R. Wilſon depoſed, he filled the bond attempted to be paſſed to Meſſrs. Drummond; that he had it from the priſoner at the bar, with a minute in his own hand-writing, directing him to fill it up as a debt due from W. Adair, Eſq; to R. Perreau, Eſq; which minute he afterwards deſired him to burn, the priſoner at the bar firſt croſſing it with a pen.

Mr. Oglevie depoſed, that he was in a familiar acquaintance with Mr. Adair's hand-writing, and that *That* at the bottom of the bond was no way like it.

Mr. J. Adair depoſed the ſame, and Mr. Jones, one of the ſuppoſed ſubſcribing witneſſes, declared his name to be a forgery.

Theſe evidences being all gone through, the priſoner entered on his defence, which he read from his notes, Mr. Juſtice Aſton having previouſly pointed out to him *where* it was neceſſary for him to be particular. The priſoner was an hour and twenty minutes reading it, which principally conſiſted in a detail of the many artifices made uſe of by Mrs. Rudd to engage him to get thoſe bonds diſcounted.—That ſhe was conſtantly converſing about the intereſt ſhe had with Mr. William Adair.—That, among other things, Mr. Adair had, by his intereſt with his majeſty, obtained a promiſe of a baronetage for Mr. Daniel Perreau, and was about procuring him a ſeat in parliament.—That Mr Adair had promiſed to open a bank, and to take the two

Perreaus

Perreaus into partnerſhip with him. —That he received many letters ſigned William Adair, which he did not doubt really came from William Adair.—That Mr. Wm. Adair had promiſed to give them a very conſiderable part of his fortune during his life; and was to allow Mr. Daniel Perreau two thouſand five hundred pounds per ann. for his houſhold expences, and ſix hundred pounds per ann. for her pin-money.—That Mr. Daniel Perreau purchaſed a houſe in Harley-ſtreet for four thouſand pounds, which money Mr. William Adair was to give them.—That, when Daniel Perreau was preſſed by the perſon he bought the houſe of for the money, the priſoner underſtood they applied to Mr. W. Adair, and that his anſwer was, That he had lent the King ſeventy thouſand pounds, and had purchaſed a houſe in Pall-mall at ſeven thouſand pounds to carry on the banking buſineſs in; therefore could not ſpare the four thouſand pounds at that time. And that Mrs. Rudd told him, (the priſoner) that Mr. Adair deſired that he would get a bond for five thouſand three hundred pounds filled up, as he had done once before, and Mr. Adair would execute it.—That after Wilſon had filled up the bond, he delivered it to Mrs. Rudd, who gave it to the priſoner a day or two after executed.—That he borrowed the four thouſand pounds upon this bond, which was dated the 20th of December, of Sir Tho. Frankland, and delivered Sir Thomas's draught to Mrs. Rudd.——That about the 10th of March he told Mrs. Rudd, that Mr. Adair's bond that he had given to Sir Thomas Frankland in November was nearly due; and Mrs. Rudd told him, the next day, that Mr. Adair deſired he would once more borrow for him five thouſand pounds.—That he made many objections to being employed in ſo diſagreeable a buſineſs; but at laſt, ſuppoſing he ſhould oblige Mr. Adair, he conſented, and accordingly got a bond filled up by the Stationer for ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds, payable to himſelf.—That he delivered it to Mrs. Rudd, on Saturday the 4th of March, in the preſence of his wife, his brother, and Mr. Caſſadey.—That Mrs. Rudd returned it him executed on the Tueſday following. And that he never had the leaſt ſuſpicion but that the bonds were really executed by Mr. William Adair.—That, when he took the bond to Mr. Drummond's, he did not ſay that he had himſelf ſeen it executed by Mr. Adair, but that he knew it was Mr. Adair's hand-writing, as he had often ſeen letters from Mr. Adair to Mr. Daniel Perreau and his wife.—That when he informed Mrs. Rudd of the obſervations Mr. Drummond had made upon the ſignature to the bond, ſhe went out, and upon her return ſhe told him ſhe had ſeen Mr. Adair juſt as he was going out a riding; and that Mr. Adair told her, that the alteration in the ſignature was merely the difference between age and youth, and that it was his hand-writing, and that he told Mr. Drummond ſo; and that he knew nothing of its being a forgery till the interview with Mr. Adair.

All theſe circumſtances, he granted, made againſt his *underſtanding*; but he hoped the juſtice of the Court would judge of him by his *intentions*, which, he appealed to

God in the moſt ſolemn manner, were not in the leaſt degree criminal.

A croud of witneſſes were then called to the priſoner's character, and in particular a man and maid-ſervant of D. Perreau's, who both depoſed, That Mrs. Rudd uſed to write letters herſelf addreſſed to D. Perreau, and deſire them to ſay they were left by Mr. Adair for him; that a double rap was likewiſe often heard at the door, and that Mrs. Rudd uſed to be in waiting, ſtep aſide, write a card as if from Mr. Adair, and carry it up ſtairs to Mr. Daniel Perreau. Amongſt the witneſſes to his character were likewiſe many reſpectable perſons; ſuch as Lady Lyttelton, Sir John More, K. B. Sir J. Chapman, General Trapaud, Cæſar Hawkins, Eſq; Dr. Baker, and a number of reſpectable Phyſicians, who all were unanimous in giving him the beſt of characters.

The Judge then ſummed up the evidence to the Jury, with an accuracy and impartiality which did him great honour; and the Jury, after retiring for about ten minutes, brought in their verdict, "Guilty of publiſhing and uttering the bond, knowing it to be forged."

Daniel Perreau was then ſet to the bar, as charged in the indictment, with forging the above bond; but it not appearing on the trial he was the leaſt concerned in it, he was of courſe immediately acquitted.

The next morning, Friday, June 2, at nine o'clock, Daniel Perreau was ſet to the bar before Mr. Juſtice Aſton and Baron Hotham, charged on another indictment of four counts. The firſt for forging a bond on William Adair, Eſq; in penalty 62001. conditionally 31001. the ſecond, publiſhing that bond, with an intent to defraud Dr. Thomas Brooke; the third and fourth for uttering and publiſhing it, contrary to laws made and provided for that purpoſe.

Mr. Howarth, Counſel for the proſecution, opened the caſe to the Jury, and, after briefly ſtating to them the particular circumſtances of the forgery and publication chargeable on the priſoner, obſerved, that from the long and familiar intimacy the proſecutor, Doctor Brooke, had with the priſoner, it was with great pain of mind he was neceſſitated to appear againſt him; and that as nothing but the love of public juſtice could induce him thus to appear, all he wiſhed by it was, that it ſhould operate as it ought; he therefore ſaid he would urge nothing further for their conſideration than the evidences which ſhould be laid before them.

Dr. Thomas Brooke was therefore called upon, who depoſed, that he had a very great intimacy with the priſoner; that on the firſt of November, 1774, he applied to him to borrow a ſum of money for a little time; the Doctor told him, he had not then any money at his banker's, but what would be only ſufficient for his own private uſe; upon which the priſoner at the bar replied, "Have you not got ſome "*Air bonds?* (bonds belonging to "the late bank in Air) Let me "have them, and I will give you "as ſecurity a bond of Mr. Adair's "the late agent in Pall-mall." This the Doctor conſented to, and accordingly gave him (taking Mr. Adair's bond, payable to Daniel Perreau,

Perreau, witneſſed by Meſſrs. Jones and Stark, the ſame two ſubſcribing witneſſes as to Robert Perreau's bond) fifteen Air bonds, each of the value of 100l. which 1500l. was to have been paid in eight days time. Some time after the expiration of the eight days, Dr. Brooke called on him for the payment of the money; but the priſoner begged him to have a little further patience, for that he had lodged the bonds in Drummond's bank, and would take them out in a few days. Upon this Dr. Brooke was ſatisfied, and never heard more of it till he heard of Robert Perreau's being taken up for forgery, which led him to ſuſpect, that the bond which he had of the priſoner was of the ſame counterfeit ſpecies, and which, upon enquiry of Mr. W. Adair, he found to be fact.

Upon croſs-examination by Mr. Bearcroft, Dr. Brooke was aſked his opinion of the priſoner before this charge, who anſwered, he had the higheſt one both of his integrity and friendſhip, otherwiſe he would have had no dealings with him. He was likewiſe aſked, whether he knew the priſoner had ſurrendered of his own accord, or ſuffered himſelf to be taken? To which the Doctor ſaid, he did not poſitively know. The bond was then read.

Richard Wilſon (the ſcrivener who filled the bond on which R. Perreau was the day before convicted of publiſhing, knowing it to be forged) was next examined, who depoſed, he had filled up the preſent bond; but could not poſitively ſwear which of the two Perreaus brought it to him, though he knew he had filled no other bond with the name of Adair, but what was brought by either one of the other of them.

Mr. Ogilby, who lives with Mr. Adair, poſitively ſwore the ſignature of William Adair to the bond was not Mr. Adair's hand-writing, nor in any literal reſpect like it.

Theſe being all the evidences to ſupport the proſecution, the priſoner was called upon by the court for his defence, and informed by them *where* it was neceſſary for him to be moſt particular. He accordingly informed the Court in a few words, that "He was unfortunately the dupe of an artful woman, (Mrs. Rudd); and had implicitly believed the bond, which he depoſited with Dr. Brooke, to be a true one, and really ſigned by Mr. Adair." This he affirmed in the moſt ſolemn manner to be the real ſtate of the caſe, otherwiſe he would not for the world be guilty of ſo in famous an action.

John Moody and Mary Browne, two ſervants of the priſoner's, were then called, together with another maid-ſervant, who all ſeverally related the former circumſtances which they had given in evidence on Robert Perreau's trial.

Several reſpectable witneſſes were then called to his character (amongſt the reſt General Melville) all of whom gave him a very good one, both in reſpect to his conduct abroad and at home.

Mr. Juſtice Aſton then ſummed up the evidence to the Jury, and obſerved very equally on the ſeveral circumſtances.

The Jury withdrew for a few minutes, and brought in their verdict; "Guilty of uttering and publiſhing the bond, knowing it to be forged."

But, though these unfortunate men were thus found guilty, and the usual sentence accordingly passed upon them, they were not mentioned in any report to his majesty till the month of December following, for those reasons, probably, which we have ventured to assign in our Chronicle.

In the mean time, Mrs. Rudd, though she had not been called upon as king's evidence, at either of the foregoing trials, bestirred herself, to obtain the advantages of one. For this purpose, on Monday, the 3d of July, she brought herself from Newgate, by *habeas corpus*, before the Court of King's Bench, Westminster; when Mr. Davenport spoke as her counsel, and Mr. Wallace replied for the Crown. Mr. Justice Aston recited what passed at the Old Bailey, and Lord Mansfield gave his opinion of the matter as it then appeared. Mrs. Rudd herself said a few words on the occasion. After an hour had been spent in argument, she was remanded till next morning, when she was again brought up to the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, where Mr. Davenport, her Counsel, produced an affidavit sworn to by Sir John Fielding, Sampson Wright and William Addington, Esqrs. This affidavit, which was read by the proper officer, stated the circumstance of their admitting her an evidence for the Crown against the Perreaus, *as an accomplice*. Mr. Davenport renewed his arguments in order to induce the Court to admit her to bail. He was replied to by Mr. Wallace, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Howarth, who all denied the authority of the Magistrates to offer her protection, and rested their client's case on the illegality of the proceeding. Lord Mansfield then, in a very accurate and eloquent manner, delivered the opinion of the Court, entering into a definition of the different modes of admission of felons to give evidence against their accomplices as warranted by law, in the three instances of approvers, king's evidences agreeable to the Statutes of King William and Queen Anne, and persons to whom a pardon had been promised either by proclamation, or advertisement in the Gazette, with the King's sign manual. His Lordship very clearly pointed out the distinction in each mode; and after having as clearly proved that the prisoner fell under neither of the three descriptions, he mentioned that in some cases there arose circumstances, which rendered accomplices, even though illegally admitted evidences, objects deserving mercy; and these chiefly were a regular decent behaviour, and an invariable relation of the whole truth; which did not, he said, appear to be the case in the present instance; the Court therefore remanded her to Newgate.

In consequence of this determination, she was next brought to the bar of the Old Bailey to take her trial, but had it put off by an affidavit of her own, and another of her attorney's, that she had not as yet been able to procure a material witness in her behalf, though she had taken all the necessary steps for that purpose.

She was again brought to the same bar, for the same purpose, on Saturday, September the 16th; but her counsel insisting, that, as she had been already admitted an evidence for the king, it would be an

an unprecedented thing to detain her for trial, and the judges differing in opinion on the point of law, ſhe was remanded back to priſon, till the opinion of all the judges could be had on ſo important a queſtion. At length, the Judges having ſat on her caſe, ſhe was for the third and laſt time brought to the bar of the Old Bailey, on Tueſday, the 7th of December. The avidity of the public to hear her trial was ſuch, that the galleries were crouded ſoon after day-light. A little before nine o'clock, the Lord-Mayor, Judges, and Aldermen being aſſembled, the priſoner was called to the bar, and the buſineſs was opened by Mr. Juſtice Aſton's acquainting the priſoner with the opinion of the Judges reſpecting her caſe, which he did in an elegant ſpeech, explaining the reaſons on which that opinion was founded, which, in brief, were her not having diſcloſed the *whole* of what ſhe knew reſpecting the forgeries. She was then indicted for forging a bond of 5,300l. (penalty 10,000l.) as from William Adair, Eſq; to Robert Perreau, with an intent to defraud Sir Thomas Frankland, Meſſrs. Drummond, and Mr. Adair. She ſaid, "that as the Judges opinion was in her diſfavour ſhe chearfully ſubmitted to her trial, and pleaded Not guilty." She was a ſecond time indicted for a forgery for 6000l. a third for 3,100l. and a fourth for 7,500l. A chair was ordered, that ſhe might ſit when ſhe thought proper. A counſel now explained the nature of the indictment, expatiated on her pretended friendſhip with Mr. Adair, and her ſkill in different hand-writings. Mrs. Robert Perreau being called as an evidence, a counſel aſked her, "If Mrs. Rudd ſhould be convicted, whether ſhe did not think it would lead to an acquittal of her huſband? She replied, that ſhe hoped her huſband's innocence would fully appear." The counſel inſiſted upon a poſitive anſwer to his queſtion, when ſhe ſaid, "ſhe hoped it would tend to acquit him." He then objected to her being admitted an evidence, as ſhe was intereſted in the event. The next counſel inſiſted upon her inadmiſſibility, for the plain reaſon that an evidence ſhould "not be ſubjected to any temptation to falſify." Mr. Lucas, on the other ſide, argued, that it would be impoſſible to convict any offender, if perſons who had an advantage in ſuch conviction were denied to give evidence, and mentioned the caſes of accomplices who ſaved their lives, and perſons robbed, who recovered their property, by the conviction of the offender. Judge Aſton ſaid, Robert Perreau was not convicted of publiſhing the bond in queſtion, but for uttering another; and he ſaw no objection to the competency of Mrs. Perreau's evidence. Mr. Baron Burland concurred in opinion, obſerving, that her intereſt in the conviction of the priſoner, though it could not deſtroy the competency, yet might poſſibly leſſen the credit of her teſtimony with the Jury.

Mrs. Perreau ſwore, that on the 24th of December 1774, ſhe ſaw Mrs. Rudd deliver a bond for 6300l. payable to Robert Perreau, and ſigned William Adair, and that Mrs. Rudd ſaid ſhe would be obliged to him to procure 4000l. on it from Sir Thomas Frankland.

In the evening R. Perreau brought her ſomething leſs than 4000l. and paid her in drafts. That the next day the parties, and ſome friends from Wales, dined at Mr. Robert Perreau's, when the above bond was the ſubject of converſation between the brothers Perreau and the priſoner. The counſel, in croſs-examining her, were ſo extremely abrupt, that ſhe burſt into tears, and was near fainting. A lady gave her a ſmelling bottle, and ſome water being handed, ſhe recovered. The counſel apologized, and ſhe was aſked how ſhe could remember the particulars of the bond (for ſhe owned ſhe had never ſeen one before) at ſuch a diſtance of time? She ſaid it was owing to a good memory.

Sir Thomas Frankland ſwore, that Robert Perreau came to his houſe, and borrowed 4000l. on that bond, paying out of it near 10l. for intereſt due on a bond of 5000l. and that he lent the money on the credit of the ſaid Perreau. Sir Thomas being aſked if he had any property of Mrs. Rudd's, ſaid, all he had was by bill of ſale from the Perreaus. Were there any jewels? Yes; and he believed the poor jeweller was never paid for them. "And yet, (ſaid the counſel) you would keep thoſe very jewels the poor man was never paid for?" Sir Thomas ſaid, the jewels were ſold. Did he believe Mrs. Rudd uſed to wear them? He did not know if ſhe had any holes in her ears for earrings. Were there any women's cloaths? Yes. Did he think Mr. Perreau wore them? He did not know; he might go in maſquerade. Had Mrs. Rudd claimed the effects? She had claimed every thing that was Daniel Perreau's; but the right of the property was yet to be determined in a court of law. He owned having given an order on his banker to pay Robert Perreau 5000l. Had Sir Thomas heard of a Jane Williams, a Mrs. Pendilow, a Mrs. Groſeby, &c. and had he reaſon to think Mrs. Rudd had repreſented any, or all of them? He did not know but ſhe might.

Mr. Ogilby proved that the hand-writing to the bond was not Mr. Adair's; another gentleman proved the ſame; and David Caſſadey proved Mrs. Rudd's great anxiety for Robert Perreau's return from Sir Thomas Frankland, who was aſked if he knew any thing of Perreau's dealing in the ſtocks? He ſaid not. Mr. Batſon, banker, proved that Mr. Alexander, of the Union Coffee-houſe, Cornhill, received three notes of 1000l. one of 850l. one of 50l. and one of 40l. with nine ſhillings in ſilver, for Sir Thomas Frankland's draft; and Mr. Alexander acknowledged the having received it for Daniel Perreau.

Elias Iſaac proved Daniel Perreau's paying 4000l. at Bidulph and Cox's, on the 26th of December, at which time he had near 600l. in their hands.

John Moody (late ſervant to Mrs. Rudd) ſaid he knew her feigned, though not her common hand; that ſhe uſed to give him letters, of her own writing, for him to deliver, as coming from Mr. Adair; that ſhe wrote with crow quill and other pens; that he had ſeen her direct theſe letters, which he had delivered five or ſix times. Had he diſcloſed this tranſaction to Daniel Perreau?

No. Had he viſited him? Yes, in Bridewell, having been ſent for by him; and Mr. Perreau bad him go to his houſe, to meet his attorney.

Chriſtian Hart (formerly ſervant to the priſoner) depoſed, that ſhe went to Mrs. Rudd in Newgate, who wrote down a ſet of inſtructions for her to ſwear to, to ſave her life; and promiſed her 100l. or 200l. or even ten times that ſum for her trouble; that Mrs. Rudd told her what a bond was, that ſhe might acquaint the jury. Theſe inſtructions, being read, tended to criminate the Perreaus, and urged a connection and ſcheme between Mrs. Perreau and Sir Thomas Frankland, in order to take away Mrs. Rudd's life. Mrs. Hart had wrote her name on the paper of inſtructions, and writing it again in court, the hands appeared to agree. She was aſked if ſhe knew Counſellor Bailey; ſhe ſaid, no.

Sarah Dickenſon ſaid Mrs. Rudd could write more hands than one, and ſhe believed the papers her writing. John Hart ſaid that he went to Newgate, and found his wife in converſation with Mrs. Rudd. The papers were produced, and ſworn to by him; and Alexander Allen gave this Hart the character of an honeſt man. The forged bond was now read, and Sir Thomas Frankland's draft in favour of R. Perreau.

The priſoner, in her defence, attacked the credit of Chriſtian Hart and John Moody; obſerved how much Mrs. Perreau was intereſted in her being convicted; was ſevere on Sir Thomas Frankland's conduct; avowed her innocence in explicit terms; ſaid that her life was to be taken away to ſave the Perreaus; that ſhe had never appeared there as a priſoner, had ſhe not come as a witneſs; and (turning to the jury) added, "I have no reliance but on you; you are honeſt men, and I am ſafe in your hands."

Mr. Bailey (Mrs. Rudd's original counſel) ſwore that he remembered to have ſeen Mrs. Hart with her in Newgate; that he underſtood Mrs. Hart dictated every line Mrs. Rudd wrote; that he kept a copy of the ſcheme, but thought it too wild and romantic to be paid any regard to. That the next day he ſhewed that copy to Mr. Davenport, and, in a word, contradicted almoſt every thing that Chriſtian Hart had ſworn. Yet Mr. Bailey went to Hart's houſe in the evening, ſaw the huſband, and talked with him on the ſubject of thoſe papers.—Iſabella Wright ſaw Mrs. Hart in Mrs. Rudd's room, but could not remember when, or how often; but ſhe ſeemed rather to confirm Mr. Bailey's evidence.

Several perſons were now called to Mrs. Rudd's character, the firſt of whom, Mrs. Nightingale, had known her eight years; ſaid ſhe had 16,000l. fortune, 7900l. of which had been paid into the hands of a near relation of this evidence, but that Mrs. Perreau was in diſtreſſed circumſtances when her huſband left her.—Francis Carbery had known the priſoner ſome time, but knew not of any fortune ſhe had. The judge now proceeded to ſum up the evidence, and the jury (after being out about half an hour) brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.

There were the louded applauſes on this acquittal almoſt ever known in a court of juſtice. And ſhe appeared confounded with joy at her diſcharge.

The trial laſted from nine in the

morning, till three quarters paſt ſeven.

She was afterwards charged with the other three indictments, and acquitted, no evidence being given.

Mrs. Rudd was neatly dreſſed in ſecond mourning. During her trial ſhe wrote near 50 notes to her counſel, and diſplayed a moſt aſtoniſhing compoſure.

Whatever tendency the condemnation of Mrs. Rudd might have to ſave the life of Robert Perreau, her acquittal put an end to the reſpite he and his brother had ſo long enjoyed. They were included in the next report to his Majeſty, and ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 17th of January following, and executed accordingly, notwithſtanding a moſt moving petition preſented to her Majeſty in favour of Robert, by his diſconſolate wife, and their three young children, in deep mourning; and another petition in his favour likewiſe, to his Majeſty, ſigned by ſeventy-eight capital bankers and merchants of the city of London. The following are the moſt authentic particulars of their behaviour during their laſt moments.

On Wedneſday the 17th of January 1776, the morning of their execution, Daniel came in firſt from chapel, bowed to the company, and went to the fire, where he warmed himſelf with the greateſt compoſure. Robert ſoon after followed, and, looking at his brother for a moment, wiped off a falling tear, which he ſeemed anxious to hide; he then turned to a little table, where lay the ropes with which they were to be bound; his emotions were then ſo ſtrongly painted in his countenance, that the ſurrounding ſpectators gave vent to their ſympathy in loud lamentations. Daniel now aſſiſted in putting the rope properly round himſelf with decent firmneſs; but, when he ſaw the man do the ſame office for his brother, it quite unmanned him: he ſighed and wept. They then took a laſt farewell of their friends, and were conveyed to Tyburn in a genteel mourning coach; preceded by another convict for a highway robbery, and two Jews for houſe-breaking, all in one cart; and two for coining, in a ſledge. The proceſſion left Newgate a few minutes after nine, and arrived at the place of execution about half paſt ten, when the cart immediately drove under one part of the gallows, for there were two diviſions, diſtant from each other, a circumſtance never before remembered at Tyburn. As ſoon as the Jews were tied to the tree, a rabbi, or prieſt, got into the cart, and prayed with them till near the time it was drove away. The highwayman was now taken from out of the cart in which the Jews were, and carried to an empty one that had been driven under the other gallows. When the executioner had tied him to the gallows, the two coiners aſcended the ſame cart, and were tied up in like manner.

During this time, which might be about fifteen minutes, the two Perreaus remained in the coach with a clergyman. Daniel firſt entered the cart, and Robert immediately after. They both appeared in new ſuits of deep mourning, their hair dreſſed and powdered, but without any hats. After the uſual formalities of taking the cord from round the arms and waiſt, the executioner untying Daniel's neck-cloth, put the cord round his neck,

and immediately tied it to the tree; and then proceeded in the ſame manner with Robert.

All being made faſt, the clergyman entered into prayer with them; which being ended, he addreſſed himſelf to the two brothers, with whom he converſed for ſome time. When the ordinary addreſſed them to acknowledge the juſtice of their ſentence, they put each a paper into his hand. Then, after praying a ſhort time to themſelves, each having a prayer-book in his hand, the executioner put on their caps. The clergyman now took his leave. which Robert and Daniel returned by bowing, and immediately embraced and ſaluted each other in a moſt tender and affectionate manner. They then took hold of each other's hand, the caps having been drawn over their faces, and in this manner, the cart driving away, they launched into eternity.

Their hands remained clinched together about half a minute after the cart was driven away; when, by the motion of their bodies, they ſeparated. They both behaved with a firmneſs and reſolution rarely to be met with in men at the hour of death; yet, with a devotion becoming their unhappy ſituation. From the time they entered the cart, to the moment of their diſſolution, not the leaſt fear of death was diſcernible in either of their countenances.--They appeared calm and entirely reſigned to their fate.

They were both handſome men, about five feet nine inches high, were twins, very much alike in perſon, and appeared to be about forty years of age. The number of ſpectators preſent was incredibly great, ſuppoſed not leſs than 30,000.

Hearſes attended to receive their bodies, which were privately interred on the Sunday evening following, in the family vault of Robert Perreau, in St. Martin's in the Fields.

The papers left with the ordinary were ſoon after publiſhed. They contain the moſt ſolemn affirmations of the unhappy writers' innocence; but as their veracity is greatly invalidated by facts urged againſt them in a letter written by Mrs. Rudd to Lord Weymouth, two days before their execution; and perſons of credit appealed to for the truth of theſe facts, as concerned in them; and as ſome or all of theſe facts may not appear ſtrictly legal; we cannot help thinking ourſelves, for obvious reaſons, diſpenſed from ſaying any more on the occaſion.

Account of the Trial of Miſs Jane Butterfield, *charged with poiſoning* William Scawen, *Eſq; before Lord Chief Baron* Smythe, *on* Saturday, Auguſt 19, *at* Croydon.

AT ſeven o'clock the priſoner was brought in a poſt chaiſe, attended by the keeper of Tothil-fields Bridewell, and a young lady, her friend. Mr. Cochran was firſt ſworn and examined: he declared he had acted as Mr. Scawen's apothecary, and gave a very circumſtantial account of his ſtate of health for ſome time before he died: he told the court, that the deceaſed was greatly emaciated, was in a very ill habit of body, and had an ulcer in his arm, which bred maggots; that in March laſt he thought it expedient to rub it with ſome mercurial

mercurial ointment, in order to deſtroy the animalcula; that it threw Mr. Scawen into a ſalivation; ſoon after which he put himſelf entirely under the care of Mr. Sanxy, and he (the witneſs) did little more than make up the proper medicines.

Mr. Sanxy was a full hour giving his evidence. He began with deſcribing Mr. Scawen's ſituation when he ſaw him on the 4th of May, declared what food and medicines he preſcribed for him, and ſaid, that on the 14th of June he complained to him of a *braſſy taſte* in his mouth. Mr. Sanxy felt his pulſe, and on examining his mouth, diſcovered the ſymptoms of an approaching ſalivation. He ſaw him again on the 18th, when he again complained of the braſſy taſte, and was actually in a ſtate of high ſalivation. Mr. Sanxy ſuſpecting unfair treatment, queſtioned him as to the perſon who gave him his medicines, and was told by him, that he received them always from the hands of the priſoner. As the ſymptoms grew more and more violent, Mr. Sanxy preſcribed the decoction of the bark, in order to prevent a mortification; and when he next ſaw Mr. Scawen, the latter complained, that the doſes of the decoction which he ſwallowed, ſometimes had, and ſometimes had not, the braſſy taſte. In a ſhort time an ulcer appeared to be formed in his mouth, and the gums mortified. Mr. Sanxy then called in the aſſiſtance of Mr. Young, of St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital; and, upon their viſiting Mr. Scawen, Mr. Sanxy queſtioned him reſpecting the braſſy taſte, and aſked if he ſhould know it again: upon his replying in the affirmative, Mr. Sanxy made a weak ſolution of corroſive ſublimate, and touched Mr. Scawen's tongue with it, when he immediately ſaid, "that was the taſte." Mr. Sanxy then informed him of his opinion, that he had been poiſoned, which Mr. Scawen would by no means believe, but aſcribed his dreadful illneſs to a quack medicine for the rheumatiſm which he had taken; at length, however, he agreed to be moved to Mr. Sanxy's houſe, where he took more bark, but did not again complain of the braſſy taſte. Mr. Scawen made a freſh will at Mr. Sanxy's, and died there in a very few days. Mr. Sanxy was croſs-examined by the counſel for the priſoner, who deſired to know, whether he thought the ſecond ſalivation might not be cauſed by the mercury (which occaſioned the firſt) not being entirely out of the body. He replied in a very deciſive manner, that it could not, and enlarged upon the effects of mercurial preparations, laying it down as a doctrine which he had always ſubſcribed to, that after a ſalivation, no mercury remained in the ſyſtem; and a ſecond ſalivation, and a ſecond braſſy taſte, muſt owe their origin to a ſecond exhibition of mercury.

Baron Smythe aſked Mr. Sanxy what appearances there were on opening the body of the deceaſed? the latter replied, "he did not open the body, as there was not the leaſt occaſion for it." Upon which one of the priſoner's counſel obſerved, that, as Mr. Sanxy had poſitively declared the deceaſed was poiſoned, he apprehended it would have been right for him to have gained every poſſible information

ation of the ſtate and appearance of the internal parts.

Mr. Young was ſworn, and corroborated Mr. Sanxy's evidence as far as it related to the ſtate of the deceaſed, when he was called in to give his advice. Upon his croſs-examination, he rather differed from him reſpecting the effects of mercury, and the poſſibility of the ſecond ſalivation being in conſequence of the mercury which occaſioned the firſt.

Edward Wheelock, an old ſervant of Mr. Scawen, was examined, and depoſed, that his maſter made him take ſome of the rheumatic medicine with him. Upon his being aſked whether he found any *braſſy* taſte in it, he ſaid, he thought it had no taſte at all, or, if any, it was moſt like water-gruel.

It was proved that all the food Mr. Scawen took was boiled in ſilver; and that the quack medicine was bought of Mr. Harris in St. Paul's church-yard.

Mr. Dodd, the compounder of the medicine in queſtion, declared it had no mercurial ingredient.

Dr. Higgins, in a very ſenſible and clear manner, gave an account of his having analyzed a bottle of the tincture for the rheumatiſm, when it did not appear to have any mercury in its compoſition.

Mr. Godfrey gave a ſimilar evidence.

Dr. Saunders ſpoke to the effects of corroſive ſublimate, and the ſubtlety of its nature.

Theſe three gentlemen, upon their croſs-examination, diſſented from Mr. Sanxy's doctrine of the certainty of its being evacuated out the ſyſtem by ſalivation.

As ſoon as the evidence in ſupport of the proſecution was cloſed, the priſoner was aſked what ſhe had to ſay in her defence: ſhe replied, that her ſpirits were ſo agitated ſhe was not able to ſpeak what ſhe wiſhed the court to hear; ſhe begged therefore to be indulged with having her defence read by the clerk; this requeſt was granted. It conſiſted of ſeveral pages of paper, cloſely written, and took up near twenty minutes in the recital. It began with informing the court and jury, that at the early age of fourteen ſhe was ſeduced from her parents by one of her own ſex, and brought to Mr. Scawen; that through a variety of artifices ſhe was prevailed on to continue in his houſe; and that the circumſtance broke her father's heart: ſhe confeſſed that Mr. Scawen had ſpared no expence in perfecting her education, and that he had ſhewn ſo many inſtances of friendſhip and kindneſs to her, that ſhe tenderly loved him, and had, by a conduct of many years, convinced him of her affection and gratitude. During his illneſs, which was almoſt without intermiſſion for the laſt ſix years of his life, ſhe acted as his nurſe, had watched him with the moſt wary care, and the moſt conſtant attention, having ſacrificed night after night to wait upon him and give him his food and medicines. She declared ſhe had been treated by the whole family as Mrs. Scawen, and was received in the neighbourhood in the ſame character; that ſhe really and ſincerely loved the deceaſed; and, taking every circumſtance into conſideration, ſhe hoped no perſon would harbour a thought ſo injurious to her, as to ſuppoſe her a monſter

monſter capable of ſuch an inhuman act as the murder of her beſt benefactor.

Mr. Bromfield, ſurgeon of St. George's Hoſpital, was the firſt witneſs ſworn in behalf of the priſoner; he was examined merely with regard to the power of corroſive ſublimate, and the poſſibility of a ſecond ſalivation enſuing without a freſh exhibition of mercurials. He ſpoke on the ſubject with that preciſion and freedom which are generally the characteriſtics of ſkill and experience. He declared he had, in the courſe of his practice, met with a variety of caſes where a ſalivation had returned, after every effort had been made to evacuate the mercury from the ſyſtem. That mercury had often laid dormant and imperceptible in the habit for ſeveral weeks; and whenever its action was re-produced (which it might be by many caſual circumſtances incident to the human frame) the *braſſy* taſte was always a concomitant ſymptom.

Mr. Howard, ſurgeon of the Middleſex Hoſpital, confirmed Mr. Bromfield's evidence, by declaring he had frequently experienced the ſame, and that mercury was of ſo ſubtle a nature, it was not poſſible for any man to ſay for what length of time it might lie dormant before it re-appeared.

Dr. Brockleſby aſſerted, in like manner, that a ſecond ſalivation might happen without a freſh exhibition of mercury. With regard to the *braſſy* taſte, he affirmed, that he lately made a ſolution of a very ſmall particle of corroſive ſublimate, and wet his tongue with it, that it immediately gave him a *braſſy* taſte; that he dined heartily after it, and in the evening the *braſſy* taſte returned. He inſtanced Dr. Mead's works on poiſons, as a corroboration of his opinion.

Mr. Bromfield, Dr. Brockleſby, and Mr. Howard, ſeverally mentioned caſes in point to ſupport what they urged in oppoſition to Mr. Sanxy's evidence.

Mr. Ingram declared himſelf entirely of opinion with the three preceding witneſſes.

Mr. Parry, the ſurgeon, depoſed, that Mr. Scawen had in his laſt illneſs conſulted him about his complaints; that he mentioned to him ſeveral quack medicines which he had taken, in every one of which there were mercurial ingredients; and that he ſtrongly cautioned him againſt mercurials. He ſaid he bought a bottle of the rheumatic tincture before there was any report of Mr. Scawen's being poiſoned, and, upon taſting it, he found that it had ſome mercury in it, as it made him exceedingly ſick; and he well knew the taſte of corroſive ſublimate. That ſince the report, he had purchaſed a bottle, had analyſed it, when he diſcovered mercury diſguiſed with gum guaiacum. He complained of being unhandſomely treated in Bow-ſtreet, becauſe, before he was ſworn, he had vaguely ſaid, the rheumatic tincture had mercury enough in it *to kill a horſe*; an expreſſion which he uſed merely figuratively, without meaning to infer more from it, than that it was a very violent medicine. He inſtanced two caſes in which a ſalivation had returned, and the patients had died, without having taken any freſh mercury; the one of a perſon, who after a ſalivation, and an appearance of a perfect recovery,

covery, caught cold in a ſhower of rain, had a ſecond ſalivation in conſequence, and died within a few days; the other, of a lady who died, as Mr. Scawen did, of a ſecond ſalivation, which cauſed a mortification in her mouth.

The Rev. Mr. Lodge ſaid he had known Mr. Scawen's family for ſome time; that the priſoner always treated the deceaſed with unexampled tenderneſs; and that there was a mutual affection between them.

A gentleman, who had been intimate with the late Mr. Scawen for the two laſt years of his life, was ſworn, and depoſed, that he had repeatedly heard the deceaſed ſpeak of the priſoner in very recommendatory terms; and that he had once bought a bottle of Maredant's drops for him.

Miſs Smith declared ſhe had been acquainted with Mr. Scawen and the priſoner; that ſhe went to ſee him a few weeks before his death, and, while ſhe was in the room, ſaw him take a doſe of the rheumatic tincture, which made him very ſick; that the priſoner then expreſſed great uneaſineſs at his illneſs, and adviſed him not to take any more quack medicines, as they made him rather worſe than better. This witneſs declared ſhe did not believe that the priſoner poiſoned Mr. Scawen, as ſhe would be the laſt perſon in the world whom ſhe ſhould think capable of committing ſuch a crime.

The witneſſes on behalf of the priſoner having been all heard, the judge ſummed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury, who, after being out of court about a quarter of an hour, returned, and found the priſoner, Not-Guilty.

The trial laſted from about ſeven in the morning till between three and four in the afternoon. The counſel for the crown were Mr. Lucas and Mr. Cooper. For th priſoner Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Cox, and Mr. Peckham.

Some Account of the Proceedings againſt Captain David Roach, *ſome years ſince joint-candidate with Mr.* Wilkes *for the county of* Middleſex, *on a charge of having murdered Captain* John Ferguſon, *at the* Cape of Good Hope, *on the 4th of* September, 1773.

ON Wedneſday the 28th of June 1775, Captain Roach was taken on board the Thames Eaſt-Indiaman, juſt arrived in the Downs from Bombay; and, the Friday following, in conſequence of a warrant granted by William Addington, Eſq; and backed by —— Ruſſel, Eſq; of Greenwich, was brought to London, where he was twice examined, the ſame day, by the magiſtrates in Bow-ſtreet; but we need not dwell upon what paſſed upon that occaſion, as the whole appeared again upon his trial; for which, as the propereſt place, we ſhall accordingly reſerve it. We ſhall only obſerve, that Mr. Chamberlain, Solicitor of the Treaſury, attended in order to proſecute Captain Roach, at the ſuit of the crown; and that the magiſtrates at Bow-ſtreet thought proper to commit him to Tothil-fields Bridewell, upon a ſtatute made in the

the 33d of Henry VIII. for the trial of offences committed in foreign parts, not ſubject to the crown of England, under a ſpecial commiſſion to be iſſued by the crown for that purpoſe, there to abide the pleaſure of the privy-council.

There, accordingly, the Captain remained till Monday the 10th of July, when, after being examined by the privy-council, preſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Queenſbury, Lord Rochford, Lord North, and Lord Charles Spencer, he was committed to Newgate; and, on the 5th of Auguſt, a ſpecial commiſſion paſſed the great-ſeal for his trial.

On the 13th of September, the Captain, being brought by Mr. Akerman, keeper of Newgate, before the court of ſeſſions then ſitting at the Old Bailey, preſented a petition to be then tried, as his health, he urged, was greatly impaired by confinement, and he was conſcious of his innocence, having been already honourably acquitted of the crime with which he was charged, at the Cape of Good Hope; but the judges could not comply with his requeſt. However, being brought by habeas corpus, the 24th of the next month, before the court of King's-Bench, he was admitted to bail; on binding himſelf in 800l. with four other gentlemen in 200l. each, to appear before the commiſſion for his trial.

At theſe proceedings in the court of King's-Bench, the following extraordinary mode of proceeding by the Dutch judicatures, appeared in the depoſition of Mr. John Davies, of St. Martin's-lane, who had been many years reſident at the Cape of Good Hope. When any offence of a capital nature is committed there, application is made to the Fiſcal, or ſupreme judge, who immediately diſpatches officers in purſuit of the offender, armed with drawn ſabres, and attended by a number of fine large dogs, of ſurprizing ſagacity, by whom the criminal is generally diſcovered. If the criminal happens to be a perſon of diſtinction, he is given to the care of ſome friend, who becomes reſponſible for his appearance, in the penalties of life and fortune; if, on the contrary, he proves to be a perſon of low or middling repute, he is caſt into a dungeon. Depoſitions are there made before the Fiſcal, who ſolely determines thereon, and from whoſe ſentence, except in caſes of treaſon againſt the ſtate, there is no appeal; nor has the wretched culprit the leaſt opportunity of defending himſelf, but frequently ſuffers excruciating tortures, upon the partial evidence of relations and ſlaves, ſometimes perhaps ſuborned for that purpoſe.

At length, on the 11th of December 1775, the Captain was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, in conſequence of the ſpecial commiſſion iſſued for that purpoſe.

Andrew Cairncroſs, ſurgeon of the Vanſittart Indiaman, depoſed, that the priſoner and the deceaſed, having both had commiſſions in the Eaſt-India Company's land-ſervice, were paſſengers on board the ſaid ſhip; that they had ſeveral diſagreements while on their voyage to the Cape; and that, a day or two after their arrival there, as himſelf

himſelf and ſeveral officers were drinking tea together, about ſix in the evening, the deceaſed received a meſſage that Captain Matthews wanted to ſpeak with him; that the deceaſed went down ſtairs; and that, in a few minutes after, word was brought that ſome perſons were fighting in the ſtreet; that the witneſs ran down ſtairs, and met Captain Roach ſheathing his ſword, and, at about ten yards diſtance, found Captain Ferguſon in the agonies of death.

John Moody, ſurgeon's mate, depoſed, that he had frequently heard the priſoner declare, "that he wiſhed to ſhorten the race of the Fergusons;" that he had expreſſed an intention to challenge the deceaſed as ſoon as they ſhould land; and, if he did not meet him, to run him through the body; but of this he acknowledged he had given no intimation to the deceaſed, nor to any one elſe till after the affair was over.

Robert Young, Captain of the Vanſittart, corroborated the evidence of Mr. Cairncroſs, as to the differences between the priſoner and the deceaſed; that, before their landing at the Cape, the priſoner had complained to him that the deceaſed would not ſpeak to him; and added, that he *ſhould* ſpeak to him when he came on ſhore.

Captain Roach ſaid in his defence, that he had ſeveral inſtruments to prove his having been tried at the Cape, and honourably acquitted, for the offence now charged againſt him; that what he did was in virtue of his commiſſion, that made it neceſſary for him to ſupport his honour; that he had been barbarouſly aſſaulted; had one of his arms diſlocated, and had received a violent contuſion on his ſkull; and that he ſtood acquitted before God of any guilt, as his innocence would appear by his witneſſes. His witneſſes were James Goodwin and Guſtavus M'Guſty, who ſwore that the deceaſed was the aggreſſor, and had violently aſſaulted the priſoner before he drew his ſword. The jury brought in their verdict, Not Guilty.

The counſel for the proſecution were Mr. Serjeant Davy, Mr. Cox, Mr. Macdonald, and a young barriſter.—For the priſoner, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Howarth.

Some Account of the Proceedings againſt Stephen Sayre, *Eſq; on a Charge of High Treaſon.*

BETWEEN the hours of nine and ten on Monday morning, the 23d of October 1775, Mr. Staley, of Halfmoon-ſtreet, Piccadilly, and Mr. King, of Queen-Anne-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, both king's meſſengers, attended by a conſtable repaired to the houſe of Stephen Sayre, Eſq; in Oxford-ſtreet. As an excuſe to obtain an interview with Mr. Sayre, they pretended that a forged draft for 200l. had been iſſued by the bank in which Mr. Sayre was a partner; and Mr. Sayre no ſooner appeared, than the meſſengers acquainted him, that "they had an order ſigned by Lord Rochford, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to take him into cuſtody on a charge of high treaſon; and to ſearch for, ſeize, and carry with them, ſuch of his papers as they might

might deem effectual for their purpoſe."

Mr. Sayre heard the charge, and permitted them to ſearch his eſcritores, boxes, and bureaus, without oppoſition, from whence they took a letter from Mrs. Macaulay, ſiſter to the then lord-mayor elect, and another letter, addreſſed to the livery of London, under the ſignature of "Barnard's Ghoſt, &c." Mr. Sayre expreſſed his readineſs to accompany the king's meſſengers unto Lord Rochford's houſe, having previouſly diſpatched a ſervant to Mr. Reynolds, requiring his attendance with the utmoſt expedition. The meſſengers then conducted Mr. Sayre to the preſence of Lord Rochford, where Sir John Fielding was already ſeated. An information from Mr. Richardſon, an adjutant of the guards, was now read. The charge in this information was to the following purport: That Stephen Sayre, Eſq; had expreſſed to him, the ſaid Richardſon, an intention of ſeizing the king's perſon, as his Majeſty went on Thurſday to the parliament-houſe; alſo an intention of taking poſſeſſion of the Tower, and of overturning the preſent government."

After this information had been read, Mr. Sayre replied to the ſeparate charges with great compoſure: he ſtated how very ſlightly he was acquainted with Adjutant Richardſon; he mentioned the only converſation which had ever paſſed between them, in which he acknowledged he had expreſſed himſelf very freely concerning the unhappy and deſtructive conteſt now depending in America, &c. &c. and that he concluded this converſation by ſaying, he feared there was not ſpirit enough in this country to bring about a total change of men and meaſures: but that as to any plan or intention about ſeizing the perſon of the King, or any expreſſion which could be conſtrued into ſuch intention, he totally and utterly denied. He farther obſerved, that had there been any ſuch plan under conſideration, Mr. Richardſon ſhould, *if in his ſenſes*, have concealed his reſolution of divulging it, until ſome further ſteps were taken; that, by a little delay, Mr. Richardſon, in caſe the deſign had been real, muſt have been furniſhed with a thouſand corroborating circumſtances. But, ſaid Mr. Sayre, I perceive there is a dangerous diſpoſition which gives high encouragement to informers, and marks ſome perſons as unfavourable to liberty, whether their information proves well-grounded or not: here he inſtanced the honours and rewards which had been heaped upon two American Governors, and many others, whoſe whole evidence (he ſaid) ſtood flatly contradicted by known and acknowledged facts; and added, that if ſuch a diſpoſition continued to be exerted, no man of any character or importance in this country would be ſafe a moment. Mr. Sayre was proceeding to relate the whole of the converſation which happened; and was about to enter more largely into the futility of the charge, when it was announced to Lord Rochford, "that Mr. Reynolds demanded immediate admittance to his client." Mr. Reynolds was admitted. Having been introduced to Lord Rochford, and Sir John Fielding, the latter put the following queſtion to Mr. Reynolds.

"Is

"Is it Mr. Sayre's deſire that "you ſhould attend in his be- "half?"

Mr. Reynolds replied in the affirmative. Sir John Fielding deſired that it might be aſked of Mr. Sayre "whether he had ſent for Mr. Reynolds?" Mr. Sayre replied, "he had ſent for him without mentioning the place where he was to attend."

It being now agreed, that Mr. Reynolds might attend the private examination of his friend, the firſt advice Mr. Reynolds gave to Mr. Sayre was this, "That he ſhould not anſwer any interrogatories which Lord Rochford or Sir John Fielding might propound; and that he ſhould not ſign any paper."

The information which contained the charge, was a ſecond time read at the requeſt of Mr. Sayre, who ſmiling at the recital, Mr. Reynolds ſaid, "that the whole was too ridiculous to be ſeriouſly attended to." An altercation now enſuing between Mr. Reynolds and Adjutant Richardſon, Lord Rochford and Sir John Fielding were requeſted by the latter to ſilence Mr. Reynolds; Mr. Reynolds ſaved them that trouble by obſerving, "that he ſhould always pay a proper deference to authority; but whatever he had there ſaid of the informer, he would repeat in any other place whatever."

Mr. Reynolds then told Lord Rochford, "that if, after conſulting the great law officers of ſtate (which his lordſhip would do of courſe), as the information did not amount to a direct charge againſt Mr. Sayre, his lordſhip ſhould think himſelf warranted to receive bail, ample and ſufficient bail ſhould be given; but, if it was thought warrantable to commit, he ſcorned to aſk a favour for his client."

Mr. Sayre was ordered into an adjacent apartment, and he was ſoon afterwards committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

The following is a true copy of the warrant of commitment:

"William-Henry, Earl of Rochford, one of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-council, and Principal Secretary of State:

"Theſe are, in his Majeſty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of Stephen Sayre, Eſq; herewith ſent you, being charged upon oath before me, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, with treaſonable practices, and to keep him in cloſe cuſtody, until he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant.

"Given at St. James's, on the 23d of October, 1775, in the fifteenth year of his Majeſty's reign.

ROCHFORD."

"To the Earl Cornwallis, Conſtable of his Majeſty's Tower of London, or to the Lieutenant of the ſaid Tower, or his Deputy."

The ſame day Mr. Sayre, after being committed to the Tower, ſent the following letter to the ſecretary of ſtate:

Mr. Sayre to Lord Rochford.

"My Lord,

"I find, upon reading the warrant of commitment, that the commanding officer here cannot permit my friends to viſit me, unleſs by expreſs orders from your Lordſhip. If it is in your lordſhip's power, I have no doubt but you will readily grant me that indulgence."

I am, &c.

Tower, three o'clock, Oct. 23.

In conſequence of this letter, Mrs. Sayre was permitted to viſit him.

The day following the Lord-Mayor waited on the Lieutenant of the Tower, and intreated the favour to be admitted to ſee Mr. Sayre, but was told, that his requeſt could not be complied with; for that the ſecretaries of ſtate had given orders that no one ſhould ſee him; nor was he to be allowed pen, ink, or paper: therefore all the ſatisfaction his lordſhip could have, was to ſee Mr. Sayre at the window, when they bowed to each other. Several other gentlemen were alſo refuſed admittance.

Nor were any ſealed letters permitted to be ſent from or delivered to Mr. Sayre.

Mr. Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Dayrell, Mr. Alleyne, and Mr. Arthur Lee, were retained as counſel for Mr. Sayre, in caſe he ſhould be brought to trial.

On the 28th of the ſame month, by virtue of a habeas corpus granted by Lord Mansfield, Mr. Sayre was conveyed, by the proper officers, from the Tower to his Lordſhip's houſe in Bloomſbury-ſquare. Meſſrs. Adair, Dayrell, Lucas, and Alleyne, attended on the part of Mr. Sayre, and Mr. White, partner with the Solicitor of the Treaſury, on the part of the crown. After the two firſt mentioned gentlemen had ſpoken for ſome little time on the ſubject of Mr. Sayre's being committed to cloſe confinement, by virtue of the warrant of commitment, which only conveyed a general charge, and Mr. White had declared that he had no inſtructions to oppoſe the bail, his Lordſhip called for the warrant of commitment, and immediately on peruſing it pronounced, that he had not the leaſt doubt of Mr. Sayre's being entitled to bail; as he obſerved, that that gentleman was only charged with treaſonable practices, and that he, Lord Manſfield, ſhould not have refuſed the bail, if Mr. Sayre had come without any counſel. Bail was accordingly directly offered and accepted; viz. Mr. Sayre himſelf in 500l. and John Reynolds and Coote Purdon, Eſqrs; in 250l. each.

After the buſineſs was over, Mr. Sayre thanked his Lordſhip for the great politeneſs and candour he had ſhewn on the occaſion; and hoped his Lordſhip would always act in the like impartial manner according to the conſtitution. "I hope ſo too, replied his Lordſhip; let us both act according to the conſtitution, and we ſhall avoid all difficulties and dangers."

The Lord-Mayor and ſeveral other friends of Mr. Sayre attended upon this occaſion.

On

On Wednesday evening, the 13th of December, Mr. Sayre appeared at the Old-Bailey; and his counsel, Mr. Arthur Lee, moved the court to discharge the recognizance entered into before Lord Mansfield, on the 28th of October last, on his being brought before his Lordship on a writ of habeas corpus, on the commitment by Lord Rochford to the Tower for "treasonable practices;" when Mr. Baron Burland, who, with the Lord-Mayor, presided at the court, accordingly discharged the recognizance.

Mr. Sayre, it is said, has since given directions to his solicitor, to commence actions against Lord Rochford, his under secretaries of state, and the king's messengers employed on this occasion.

Francis Richardson, gent. was admitted into the guards on the 19th of September, vice Charles Frederick, by purchase. He is an American by birth,

TABLE exhibiting, at one View, the SUPPLIES granted for the Service of the Year 1775, with the WAYS and MEANS of raiſing them; each Article being accurately arranged under its ſeparate Head, &c.

SUPPLIES, 1775.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
NAVY.						
18,000 ſeamen	936,000	0	0			
Building and repairing ſhips	297,379	0	0			
Ordinary of Navy	440,680	15	10			
				1,674,059	15	10
ORDNANCE.						
Ordinaries	228,059	1	7			
Extraordinaries	32,748	5	3			
				260,807	6	10
ARMY.						
17,547 landmen	627,689	19	4			
4,383 ditto	67,706	12	1			
Guards and garriſons	386,186	0	10⅛			
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh pay	2,874	4	9			
General and ſtaff officers	11,473	18	6½			
Chelſea Hoſpital	122,221	15	5			
Reduced officers	105,326	16	8			
Horſe-Guards reduced	870	3	9			
Penſions to widows	628	0	0			
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh pay	9,536	10	7			
Land extras	262,537	7	10⅛			
				1,597,051	9	9¾
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.						
Greenwich Hoſpital	6,000	0	0			
Britiſh Muſeum	3,000	0	0			
Levant Company	5,000	0	0			
Nova Scotia	4,346	10	5			
Georgia	3,086	0	0			
Eaſt-Florida	4,950	0	0			

Weſt-

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
West-Florida	5,450	0	0			
American surveys	1,885	4	0			
Senegambia	6,336	0	9½			
Charts of Great Britain and Ireland	2,145	0	0			
Charts of North-America	3,711	15	0			
African forts	13,000	0	0			
Commons addreſſes	12,578	14	9			
Cleaning Barbadoes harbour	5,000	0	0			
Expences preventing diſtempers among horned cattle	1,684	15	10			
Roads and bridges in North-Britain	6,998	10	7			
Further deficiency in the gold coin	46,846	9	3			
Extras of mint	22,824	19	9			
Further expence of coinage	11,716	0	1½			
				166,559	19	9
DEFICIENCIES.						
Land	223,168	0	0			
Malt	227,832	0	0			
Grant 1774	112,528	2	5¼			
Fund 3½ per cent 1758	45,446	8	2			
				607,974	10	7¼
Exchequer bills diſcharged				1,250,000	0	0
Total of Supplies				5,556,453	2	10
1,000,000l. 3 per cents. diſcharged	880,000	0	0			
Surplus of Ways and Means to anſwer defalcation of any doubtful articles of Ways and Means	122,793	6	2			
Surplus of Ways and Means diſpoſed of, as above				1,002,793	6	2
				6,559,246	9	0

WAYS and MEANS, 1775.

Land 3s.	1,500,000	0	0
Malt	750,000	0	0
Sinking Fund, 5th January	11,239	10	0
Ditto, 5th April	884,447	3	10¼
Ditto growing produce	1,904,313	6	1¾
Exchequer bills renewed	1,250,000	0	0
Profit on a lottery	150,000	0	0
American revenues	15,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Gum Seneca	5,000	0	0
French prize money	17,000	0	0
Sale of the ceded iſlands	50,000	0	0
Sundry ſurpluſſes in the Exchequer, conſiſting of ſurplus of duty on rice, apples, cambrick, militia money, &c.	22,246	9	0
Total of Ways and Means	6,559,246	9	0

SUPPLIES of 1774 and 1775 compared.

	1774. £.	s.	d.	1775. £.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Navy	1,904,917	4	3	1,674,059	15	10	230,857	8	5	decr.
Ordnance	271,124	17	7	260,807	6	10	10,317	10	9	ditto
Army	1,549,720	14	8	1,597,001	9	9¾	47,330	15	1¾	incr.
Deficiencies	552,457	3	3	607,974	10	7¾	55,517	7	4¾	ditto
Miſcellaneous Services	60,252	13	1	166,559	19	9	106,307	6	9	ditto

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled; preſented to his Majeſty on Thurſday the 9th of February, 1775.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty our moſt humble thanks for having been graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to us the ſeveral papers relating to the preſent ſtate of the Britiſh colonies in America, which, by your majeſty's commands, have been laid before us: We have taken them into our moſt ſerious conſideration; and we find, that a part of your majeſty's ſubjects, in the province of the Maſſachuſett's-Bay, have proceeded ſo far as to reſiſt the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature; that a rebellion at this time actually exiſts within the ſaid province; and we ſee, with the utmoſt concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by your majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the other colonies, to the injury and oppreſſion of many of their innocent fellow-ſubjects, reſident within the kingdom of Great-Britain and the reſt of your majeſty's dominions: This conduct, on their part, appears to us the more inexcuſable, when we conſider with how much temper your majeſty, and the two houſes of parliament, have acted in ſupport of the laws and conſtitution of Great-Britain. We can never ſo far deſert the truſt repoſed in us, as to relinquiſh any part of the ſovereign authority over all your majeſty's dominions, which, by law, is veſted in your majeſty and the two houſes of parliament; and the conduct of many perſons, in ſeveral of the colonies, during the late diſturbances, is alone ſufficient to convince us how neceſſary this power is for the protection of the lives and fortunes of your majeſty's ſubjects.

We ever have been, and always ſhall be, ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of your majeſty's ſubjects, which ſhall, in a dutiful and conſtitutional manner, be laid before us; and, whenever any of the colonies ſhall make a proper application to us, we ſhall be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence: At the ſame time, we conſider it as our indiſpenſable duty humbly to beſeech your ma-

jeſty, that you will take the moſt effectual meaſures to inforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature; and we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure your majeſty, that it is our fixed reſolution, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to ſtand by your majeſty againſt all rebellious attempts in the maintenance of the juſt rights of your majeſty and the two houſes of parliament.

His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for the affectionate and ſolemn aſſurances you give me of your ſupport in maintaining the juſt rights of my crown, and of the two houſes of parliament; and you may depend on my taking the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for inforcing due obedience to the laws, and the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature.

'Whenever any of my colonies ſhall make a proper and dutiful application, I ſhall be ready to conclude with you, in affording them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wiſh, that this diſpoſition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my ſubjects in America.'

Proteſt of ſeveral of the Lords, *on its being reſolved in their* Houſe, *on* Tueſday, *the* 7th *of* February 1775, *to put a main Queſtion*, viz. *To agree with the* Commons *in the foregoing Addreſs, ſent by them to their Lordſhips for their concurrence, by filling up the Blank left in it for that Purpoſe, with the Words*, "Lords Spiritual and Temporal;" *as likewiſe another Proteſt of ſeveral of the* Lords, *on their* Houſe's *agreeing with the* Commons *in the ſaid Addreſs.*

Diſſentient, 1ſt. THE previous queſtion was moved, not to prevent the proceeding in the addreſs, communicated at the conference with the Commons, but in order to preſent the petitions of the N. American merchants and of the Weſt-India merchants and planters, which petitions the Houſe might reject if frivolous, or poſtpone if not urgent, as it might ſeem fit to their wiſdom; but to hurry on the buſineſs to which theſe petitions ſo materially and directly related, the expreſs prayer of which was, that they might be heard before "any reſolution may be taken by this right honourable Houſe reſpecting America," to refuſe ſo much as to ſuffer them to be preſented, is a proceeding of the moſt unwarrantable nature, and directly ſubverſive of the moſt ſacred rights of the ſubject. It is the more particularly exceptionable, as a Lord, in his place, at the expreſs deſire of the Weſt-India merchants, informed the Houſe, that, if neceſſitated ſo to do, they were ready, without counſel, or farther preparation, inſtantly to offer evidence to prove, that ſeveral iſlands of the Weſt-Indies could not be able to ſubſiſt after the operation of the propoſed addreſs in America. Juſtice, in regard to individuals, policy, with regard to the public, and decorum, with regard to ourſelves, required that we ſhould admit this petition to be

be preſented. By refuſing it, juſtice is denied.

2dly. Becauſe the papers laid upon our table by the miniſters, are ſo manifeſtly defective, and ſo avowedly curtailed, that we can derive from them nothing like information of the true ſtate of the object on which we are going to act, or of the conſequences of the reſolutions which we may take. We ought, as we conceive, with gladneſs, to have accepted that information from the merchants, which, if it had not been voluntarily offered, it was our duty to ſeek. There is no information concerning the ſtate of our colonies (taken in any point of view) which the merchants are not far more competent to give than governors or officers, who often know far leſs of the temper and diſpoſition, or may be more diſpoſed to miſrepreſent it than the merchants. Of this we have a full and melancholy experience, in the miſtaken ideas on which the fatal acts of the laſt parliament were formed.

3dly. Becauſe we are of opinion, that in entering into a war, in which miſchief and inconvenience are great and certain (but the utmoſt extent of which it is impoſſible to foreſee) true policy requires that thoſe who are moſt likely to be immediately affected ſhould be thoroughly ſatisfied of the deliberation with which it was undertaken: and we apprehend that the planters, merchants, and manufacturers will not bear their loſſes and burthens, brought on them by the propoſed civil war, the better for our refuſing ſo much as to hear them previous to our engaging in that war; nor will our precipitation in reſolving add much to the ſucceſs in executing any plan that may be purſued.

We proteſt therefore againſt the refuſal to ſuffer ſuch petitions to be preſented, and we thus clear ourſelves to our country of the diſgrace and miſchief, which muſt attend this unconſtitutional, indecent, and improvident proceeding.

Richmond,	Portland,
Ponſonby,	Camden,
Archer,	Fitzwilliam,
Rockingham,	Scarborough,
Wycombe,	Abergavenny,
Effingham,	Abingdon,
Torrington,	Craven,
Stanhope,	Courtenay,
Cholmondeley,	Tankerville.

Then the main queſtion was put, whether to agree with the Commons in the ſaid addreſs, by inſerting the words *(Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and)*

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

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Diſſentient, 1ſt. Becauſe the violent matter of this dangerous addreſs was highly aggravated by the violent manner in which it was precipitately hurried through the Houſe. Lords were not allowed the interpoſition of a moment's time for deliberation, before they were driven headlong into a declaration of civil war. A conference was held with the Commons, an addreſs of this importance preſented, all extraneous information, although offered, poſitively refuſed; all petitions arbitrarily rejected, and the whole of this moſt awful buſineſs received, debated, and concluded in a ſingle day.

2dly. Becauſe no legal grounds were laid in argument or in fact, to ſhew that a rebellion, properly ſo called,

called, did exiſt in Maſſachuſett's-Bay, when the papers of the lateſt date, and from whence alone we derive our information, were written. The overt-acts to which the ſpecies of treaſon affirmed in the addreſs ought to be applied, were not eſtabliſhed, nor any offenders marked out: but a general maſs of the acts of turbulence, ſaid to be done at various times and places, and of various natures, were all thrown together to make out one general conſtructive treaſon. Neither was there any ſort of proof of the continuance of any unlawful force, from whence we could infer that a rebellion does now exiſt. And we are the more cautious of pronouncing any part of his majeſty's dominions to be in actual rebellion, becauſe the caſes of conſtructive treaſon, under that branch of the 25th of Edward the Third, which deſcribes the crime of rebellion, have been already ſo far extended by the judges, and the diſtinctions thereupon ſo nice and ſubtle, that no prudent man ought to declare any ſingle perſon in that ſituation, without the cleareſt evidence of uncontrovertible overt-acts, to warrant ſuch a declaration. Much leſs ought ſo high an authority as both houſes of parliament to denounce ſo ſevere a judgment againſt a conſiderable part of his majeſty's ſubjects, by which his forces may think themſelves juſtified in commencing a war, without any further order or commiſſion.

3dly. Becauſe we think that ſeveral acts of the laſt parliament, and ſeveral late proceedings of adminiſtration with regard to the colonies, are *real grievances*, and juſt cauſes of complaint; and we cannot, in honour, or in conſcience, conſent to an addreſs which commends the temper by which proceedings, ſo very intemperate, have been carried on; nor can we perſuade ourſelves to authorize violent courſes againſt perſons in the colonies who have reſiſted authority, without, at the ſame time, redreſſing the grievances which have given but too much provocation for their behaviour.

4thly. Becauſe we think the looſe and general aſſurances given by the addreſs, of future redreſs of grievances, in caſe of ſubmiſſion, is far from ſatisfactory, or at all likely to produce their end, whilſt the acts complained of continue unrepealed, or unamended, and their authors remain in authority here, becauſe theſe adviſers of all the meaſures which have brought on the calamities of this empire, will not be truſted whilſt they defend, as juſt, neceſſary, and even indulgent, all the acts complained of as grievances by the Americans; and muſt, therefore, on their own principles, be found in future to govern the colonies in the manner which has already produced ſuch fatal effects; and we fear that the refuſal of this Houſe, ſo much as to receive, previous to determination (which is the moſt offenſive mode of rejection) petitions from the unoffending natives of Great-Britain, and the Weſt India iſlands, affords but a very diſcouraging proſpect of our obtaining hereafter any petitions at all, from thoſe whom we have declared actors in rebellion, or abettors of that crime.

Laſtly. Becauſe the means of inforcing the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, is confided to perſons of

of whoſe *capacity*, for that purpoſe, from abundant experience, we have reaſon to doubt; and who have hitherto uſed no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing thoſe who oppoſe that authority: this appears in the conſtant failure of all their projects, the inſufficiency of all their information, and the diſappointment of all the hopes, which they have for ſeveral years held out to the public. Parliament has never refuſed any of their propoſals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worſe, until we have been brought, ſtep by ſtep, to that ſtate of confuſion, and even civil violence, which was the natural reſult of theſe deſperate meaſures.

We therefore proteſt againſt an addreſs amounting to a *declaration of war*, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refuſing to ſuffer the preſentation of petitions againſt it, (although it be the undoubted right of the ſubject to preſent the ſame) which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no ſubſtantial offer of redreſs of grievances; and which promiſes ſupport to thoſe miniſters who have inflamed America, and groſly miſconducted the affairs of Great-Britain.

Richmond,
Craven,
Archer,
Abergavenny,
Rockingham,
Wycombe,
Courtenay,
Torrington,
Ponſonby,
Cholmondeley,
Abingdon,
Portland,
Camden,
Effingham,
Stanhope,
Scarborough
Fitzwilliam,
Tankerville.

Meſſage of his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, on Friday, *the* 10*th of* February, 1775.

"George R.

"HIS Majeſty being determined, in conſequence of the addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for ſupporting the juſt rights of his crown, and the two Houſes of Parliament, thinks proper to acquaint this Houſe, that ſome addition to his forces by ſea and land will be neceſſary for that purpoſe; and doubts not but his faithful Commons, on whoſe zeal and affection he entirely relies, will enable him to make ſuch augmentation to his forces as the preſent occaſion ſhall be thought to require.

"G. R."

Petition of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, *&c. preſented to the Houſe of Commons, on* Friday, *the* 24*th of* February, 1775.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled.

The Humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *in Common-Council aſſembled,*

Sheweth,

"THAT although your petitioners bear all due reſpect to the policy of thoſe acts of parliament, which have antiently preſerved Great-Britain a neceſſary and beneficial

beneficial commerce with our colonies, yet they are exceedingly alarmed at the conſequences that muſt enſue, if the bill now depending in this honourable houſe ſhould paſs into a law, entitled, "A Bill to reſtrain the Trade and Commerce of Maſſachuſett's Bay and New Hampſhire, and Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantation in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited;" the ſaid bill, as your petitioners conceive, being unjuſtly founded, becauſe it involves the whole in the puniſhment intended for the ſuppoſed offences of a few.

"That it muſt, in its conſequences, overwhelm thouſands of his majeſty's loyal and uſeful ſubjects with the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs, inaſmuch as they will be thereby deprived of the fiſheries, which are the natural means of ſupporting themſelves and families.

"That the extenſive commerce between Great-Britain and her colonies will, by this bill, be greatly injured, as a capital ſource of remittance will be ſtopt, which will not only diſconnect the future commercial intercourſe between thoſe colonies and this country, but will eventually render them incapable of paying the large debts already due to the merchants of this city.

"That the utmoſt confuſion will probably enſue from enforcing this bill, if paſſed into a law, as it cannot be ſuppoſed that a great number of men, natural hardy and brave, will quietly ſubmit to a law which will reduce them almoſt to famine, they not having within themſelves proviſions ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

"That it will induce the French to extend their fiſheries, and by that means increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of our rivals in trade, to the great prejudice of this country.

"That your petitioners feel for the many hardſhips which their fellow-ſubjects in America already labour under, from the execution of ſeveral late acts of parliament, evidently partial and oppreſſive, and which ſeem to be extended and continued by this bill; inaſmuch as it confirms thoſe acts, which in particular caſes deprive the American ſubject of trial by jury, prohibit the Americans from carrying proviſions from one colony to another, invite a contraband trade under military protection, prevent any ſubject of Great-Britain or Ireland from being part owner of certain American ſhips or veſſels, and veſt an undue and dangerous authority in the governor and council of Maſſachuſett's Bay.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable houſe, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law."

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, entered into by the Delegates of the ſeveral Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's, *&c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. in General Congreſs, met*

met at Philadelphia, May 20th, 1775.

ARTICLE I.

THE name of the confederacy ſhall henceforth be, The United Colonies of North America.

II. The united colonies hereby ſeverally enter into a firm league of friendſhip with each other, binding on themſelves and their poſterity, for their common defence againſt their enemies, for the ſecurity of their liberties and properties, the ſafety of their perſons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III. That each colony ſhall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own preſent laws, cuſtoms, rights, privileges, and peculiar juriſdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own conſtitution, as ſhall ſeem beſt to its own aſſembly or convention.

IV. That, for the more convenient management of general intereſts, delegates ſhall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congreſs, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be agreed on in the next preceding Congreſs. Only where particular circumſtances do not make a deviation neceſſary, it is underſtood to be a rule, that each ſucceeding Congreſs is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and ſo in perpetual rotation; and that, accordingly, the next Congreſs after the preſent ſhall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V. That the power and duty of the Congreſs ſhall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the ſettling all diſputes between colony and colony, if any ſhould ariſe, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congreſs ſhall alſo make ſuch general ordinances thought neceſſary to the general welfare, of which particular aſſemblies cannot be competent, viz. thoſe that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the eſtabliſhment of poſts, the regulation of our common forces; the Congreſs ſhall alſo have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, ſuch as general treaſurer, ſecretary, &c. &c. &c.

VI. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, ſhall be defrayed out of a common treaſury, which is to be ſupplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

VII. The number of delegates to be elected, and ſent to the Congreſs by each colony, ſhall be regulated from time to time, by the number of ſuch polls returned; ſo as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them to every Congreſs an authenticated return of the number of polls in their reſpective colonies, which is to be taken for the purpoſes above-mentioned.

VIII. At every meeting of the Congreſs, one half of the members returned, excluſive of proxies, ſhall be neceſſary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the Congreſs ſhall have a vote in all caſes; and, if neceſſarily abſent, ſhall be allowed

lowed to appoint any other delegate from the ſame colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

IX. An executive council ſhall be appointed by the Congreſs out of their own body, conſiſting of 12 perſons, of whom in the firſt appointment, one third, viz. four, ſhall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and, as the ſaid terms expire, the vacancies ſhall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one third of the members will be choſen annually; and each perſon who has ſerved the ſame term of three years as counſellor, ſhall have a reſpite of three years, before he can be elected again. This council, of whom two-thirds ſhall be a quorum, in the receſs of the Congreſs, is to execute what ſhall have been injoined thereby; to manage the general continental buſineſs and intereſts, to receive applications from foreign countries, to prepare matters for the conſideration of the Congreſs, to fill up, *pro tempore*, continental offices that fall vacant, and to draw on the general treaſurer for ſuch monies as may be neceſſary for general ſervices, and appropriated by the Congreſs to ſuch ſervices.

X. No colony ſhall engage in an offenſive war with any nation of Indians, without the conſent of the Congreſs or great council abovementioned, who are firſt to conſider the juſtice and neceſſity of ſuch war.

XI. A perpetual alliance, offenſive and defenſive, is to be entered into, as ſoon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits aſcertained, and to be ſecured to them; their lands not to be incroached on, nor any private or colony purchaſe to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onondega and the general Congreſs. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians ſhall alſo be aſcertained and ſecured to them in the ſame manner; and perſons appointed to reſide among them in proper diſtricts, who ſhall take care to prevent injuſtice in the trade with them; and be enabled at our general expence, by occaſional ſmall ſupplies, to relieve their perſonal wants and diſtreſſes; and all purchaſes from them ſhall be by the Congreſs, for the general advantage and benefit of the united colonies.

XII. As all new inſtitutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can diſcover, it is agreed that the General Congreſs, from time to time, ſhall propoſe ſuch amendments of this conſtitution as may be found neceſſary, which being approved by a majority of the colony aſſemblies, ſhall be equally binding with the reſt of the articles of this confederation.

XIII. Any and every colony from Great-Britain upon the continent of North-America, not at preſent engaged in our aſſociation, may, upon application, and joining the ſaid aſſociation, be received into the confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Bermudas, and the Eaſt and Weſt Floridas, and ſhall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual aſſiſtance, and commerce.

Theſe articles ſhall be propoſed to the ſeveral provincial conventions or aſſemblies, to be by them conſidered; and, if approved, they are adviſed to impower their delegates to agree and ratify the ſame in

in the enſuing Congreſs; after which the union thereby eſtabliſhed is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation propoſed in the petition of the laſt Congreſs to the King are agreed to; till the acts, ſince made, reſtraining the American commerce and fiſheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boſton by ſhutting up its port; for burning Charlestown, and for the expence of this unjuſt war; and till all the Britiſh troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of theſe events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendſhip with Great-Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation is to be perpetual.

WHEREAS it hath pleaſed God to bleſs theſe countries with a moſt plentiful harveſt, whereby much corn and other proviſions can be ſpared to foreign nations who may want the ſame:

Reſolved, That after the expiration of ſix months, from the 20th of July inſtant, being the day appointed by a late act of parliament of Great-Britain, for reſtraining the trade of the confederate colonies, all cuſtom-houſes therein (if the ſaid act be not firſt repealed) ſhall be ſhut up, and all the officers of the ſame diſcharged from the execution of their ſeveral functions; and all the ports of the ſaid colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the ſhips of every ſtate in Europe that will admit our commerce, and protect it, who may bring in and expoſe to ſale, free of all duties, their reſpective produce and manufactures, and every kind of merchandize, excepting teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands.

Reſolved, That we will, to the utmoſt of our power, maintain and ſupport this freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, any reconciliation between us and Great-Britain notwithſtanding, and as much longer beyond that term as the late acts of parliament for reſtraining the commerce and fiſheries, and diſallowing the laws and charters of any of the colonies, ſhall continue unrepealed.

Addreſs, &c. of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, *&c. preſented to his Majeſty, on* Friday *the* 14*th of* July, 1775.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *in Common Council aſſembled.*

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled, with all humility beg leave to lay themſelves at your royal feet, humbly imploring your benign attention towards the grievous diſtractions of their fellow-ſubjects in America.

The characteriſtic of the people, Sire, over whom you reign, has ever been equally remarked for their unparalleled loyalty to their ſovereign, whilſt the principles of the conſtitution have been the rule of his

his government, as well as a firm oppoſition whenever their rights have been invaded.

Your American ſubjects, Royal Sire, deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with ourſelves, appear equally jealous of the prerogatives of freemen, without which they cannot deem themſelves happy.

Their chearful and unaſked-for contributions, as well as willing ſervices to the mother country, whilſt they remained free from the clog of compulſory laws, will, we are ſure, plead powerfully with the humanity of your diſpoſition, for graciouſly granting them every reaſonable opportunity of giving, as freemen, what they ſeem reſolutely determined to refuſe under the injunction of laws made independent of their own conſent.

The abhorrence we entertain of civil bloodſhed and confuſion will, we truſt, Sire, if not wholly exculpate us in your royal mind, yet plead powerfully in our favour, for the warmth with which we lament thoſe meaſures, whoſe deſtructive principles have driven our American brethren to acts of deſperation.

Convinced of the earneſt diſpoſition of the coloniſts to remain firm in all duteous obedience to the conſtitutional authority of this kingdom, permit us, moſt gracious ſovereign, to beſeech you that thoſe operations of force, which at preſent diſtract them with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, may be ſuſpended; and that, uncontrouled by a reſtraint incompatible with a free government, they may poſſeſs an opportunity of tendering ſuch terms of accommodation, as, we doubt not, will approve them worthy of a diſtinguiſhed rank among the firmeſt friends of this country."

Signed by order of court,
WILLIAM RIX.

To which addreſs and petition his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"I AM always ready to liſten to the dutiful petitions of my ſubjects, and ever happy to comply with their reaſonable requeſts; but, while the conſtitutional authority of this kingdom is openly reſiſted by a part of my American ſubjects, I owe it to the reſt of my people, of whoſe zeal and fidelity I have had ſuch conſtant proofs, to continue and enforce thoſe meaſures by which alone their rights and intereſts can be aſſerted and maintained."

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, Friday, May 26, 1775.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot, in juſtice to you, forbear to expreſs my intire ſatisfaction in your conduct, during the courſe of this important ſeſſion.

You have maintained, with a firm and ſteady reſolution, the rights of my crown, and the authority of parliament, which I ſhall ever conſider as inſeparable: you have protected and promoted the commercial intereſts of my kingdoms, and you have, at the ſame time, given convincing proofs of your readineſs (as far as the conſtitution will allow you) to gratify the wiſhes, and remove the apprehenſions, of my ſubjects in America; and I am perſuaded, that the moſt ſalutary effects

ſects muſt, in the end, reſult from meaſures formed and conducted on ſuch principles.

The late mark of your affectionate attachment to me, and to the Queen, and the zeal and unanimity which accompanied it, demand my particular thanks.

I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that, as well from the general diſpoſitions of other powers, as from the ſolemn aſſurances which I have received, I have great reaſon to expect the continuance of peace: nothing on my part, conſiſtent with the maintenance of the honour and intereſt of my kingdoms, ſhall be wanting to ſecure the public tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

It gives me much concern, that the unhappy diſturbances in ſome of my colonies have obliged me to propoſe to you an augmentation of my army, and have prevented me from completing the intended reduction of the eſtabliſhment of my naval forces. I cannot ſufficiently thank you for the chearfulneſs and public ſpirit with which you have granted the ſupplies for the ſeveral ſervices of the current year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have nothing to deſire of you but to uſe your beſt endeavours to preſerve and to cultivate, in your ſeveral counties, the ſame regard for public order, and the ſame diſcernment of their true intereſts, which have in theſe times diſtinguiſhed the character of my faithful and beloved people; and the continuance of which cannot fail to render them happy at home, and reſpected abroad."

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thurſday the twenty-ſeventh day of July next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thurſday the 27th day of July next.

A Declaration by the Repreſentatives of the United Colonies of North-America, *now met in General Congreſs at* Philadelphia, *ſetting forth the Cauſes and Neceſſity of their taking up Arms.*

IF it was poſſible for men, who exerciſe their reaſon, to believe that the Divine Author of our exiſtence intended a part of the human race to hold an abſolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodneſs and wiſdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly reſiſtible, however ſevere and oppreſſive; the inhabitants of theſe colonies might at leaſt require from the Parliament of Great-Britain ſome evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject, that government was inſtituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be adminiſtered for the attainment of that end. The legiſlature of Great-Britain, however ſtimulated by an inordinate paſſion for a power not only unjuſtifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very conſtitution of that kingdom, and deſperate of ſucceſs

in any mode of conteſt where regard ſhould be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deſerting thoſe, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpoſe of enſlaving theſe colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it neceſſary for us to cloſe with their laſt appeal from reaſon to arms. Yet, however blinded that aſſembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, ſo as to ſlight juſtice and the opinion of mankind, we eſteem ourſelves bound, by obligations of reſpect to the reſt of the world, to make known the juſtice of our cauſe.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the iſland of Great-Britain, left their native land, to ſeek on theſe ſhores a reſidence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the leaſt charge to the country from which they removed, by unceaſing labour and an unconquerable ſpirit, they effected ſettlements in the diſtant and inhoſpitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians. Societies or governments, veſted with perfect legiſlatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a ſhort time ſo extraordinary, as to excite aſtoniſhment. It is univerſally confeſſed, that the amazing increaſe of the wealth, ſtrength, and navigation of the realm, aroſe from this ſource; and the miniſter, who ſo wiſely and ſucceſsfully directed the meaſures of Great-Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that theſe colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. —Towards the concluſion of that war, it pleaſed our Sovereign to make a change in his counſels.... From that fatal moment the affairs of the Britiſh empire began to fall into confuſion, and gradually ſliding from the ſummit of glorious proſperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length diſtracted by the convulſions that now ſhake it to its deepeſt foundations. The new miniſtry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet ſtill contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a haſty peace, and of then ſubduing her faithful friends.

Theſe devoted colonies were judged to be in ſuch a ſtate, as to preſent victories without bloodſhed, and all the eaſy emoluments of ſtatutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and reſpectful behaviour, from the beginning of colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and uſeful ſervices during the war, though ſo recently and amply acknowledged in the moſt honourable manner by his Majeſty, by the late King, and by Parliament; could not ſave them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, aſſuming a new power over them, have, in the courſe of eleven years, given ſuch deciſive ſpecimens of the ſpirit and conſequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquieſcence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our conſent, though we have ever exerciſed an excluſive right to

diſpoſe of our own property. Statutes have been paſſed for extending the juriſdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-admiraly beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accuſtomed and ineſtimable privilege of trial by jury, in caſes affecting both life and property; for ſuſpending the legiſlature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government eſtabliſhed by charter, and ſecured by acts of its own legiſlature ſolemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the 'murderers' of coloniſts from legal trial, and, in effect, from puniſhment; for erecting in a neghbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a deſpotiſm dangerous to our very exiſtence; and for quartering ſoldiers upon the coloniſts in time of profound peace. It has alſo been reſolved in parliament, that coloniſts, charged with committing certain offences, ſhall be tranſported to England to be tried.

But why ſhould we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one ſtatute it is declared, that Parliament can 'of right make laws to bind us in all caſes whatever.' What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited a power? Not a ſingle man of thoſe who aſſume it is choſen by us, or is ſubject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of ſuch laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is raiſed, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increaſe ours. We ſaw the miſery to which ſuch deſpotiſm would reduce us. We for ten years inceſſantly and ineffectually beſieged the throne as ſupplicants; we reaſoned, we remonſtrated with parliament in the moſt mild and decent language. But adminiſtration, ſenſible that we ſhould regard theſe oppreſſive meaſures as freemen ought to do, ſent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was rouſed, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congreſs of delegates from the united colonies was aſſembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of laſt September. We reſolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and alſo addreſſed our fellow ſubjects of Great-Britain. We have purſued every temperate, every reſpectful meaſure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourſe with our fellow ſubjects, as the laſt peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth would ſupplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flatter ourſelves, was the ultimate ſtep of the controverſy; but ſubſequent events have ſhewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expreſſions againſt the colonies were inſerted in his Majeſty's ſpeech. Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to receive it graciouſly, and to promiſe laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houſes amongſt a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons, in their addreſs, in the month of February, ſaid, 'that a rebellion at that time actually exiſted within the province

of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; and that thoſe concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral of the other colonies; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty that he would take the moſt effectual meaſures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature.' Soon after, the commercial intercourſe of whole colonies, with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, ſeveral of them were intirely prohibited from the fiſheries in the ſeas near their coaſts, on which they always depended for their ſuſtenance; and large re-inforcements of ſhips and troops were immediately ſent over to General Gage.

Fruitleſs were all the intreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illuſtrious band, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed peers and commoners, who nobly and ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the juſtice of our cauſe, to ſtay or even to mitigate the heedleſs fury with which theſe accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitleſs was the interference of the city of London, of Briſtol, and many other reſpectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an inſidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to eſtabliſh a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony ſhould bid againſt colony, all of them uninformed what ranſom ſhould redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us at the point of the bayonet the unknown ſums that ſhould be ſufficient to gratify, if poſſible to gratify, miniſterial rapacity, with the miſerable indulgence left to us of raiſing in our own mode the preſcribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorſeleſs victors to conquered enemies? In our circumſtances, to accept them would be to deſerve them.

Soon after the intelligence of theſe proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the courſe of the laſt year had taken poſſeſſion of the town of Boſton, in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and ſtill occupied it as a garriſon, on the 19th day of April, ſent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked aſſault on the inhabitants of the ſaid province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of perſons, ſome of whom were officers and ſoldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they ſet upon another party of the inhabitants of the ſame province, killing ſeveral and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people ſuddenly aſſembled to repel this cruel aggreſſion. Hoſtilities thus commenced by the Britiſh troops, have been ſince proſecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boſton being confined within that town by the General, their Governor; and having, in order to procure their diſmiſſion, entered into a treaty with him; it was ſtipulated that the ſaid inhabitants, having depoſited their arms with their own magiſtrates, ſhould have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects.

They

They accordingly delivered up their arms; but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even ſavage nations eſteem ſacred, the Governor ordered the arms depoſited as aforeſaid, that they might be preſerved for their owners, to be ſeized by a body of ſoldiers; detained the greateſt part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few, who were permitted to retire, to leave their moſt valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are ſeparated from their huſbands, children from their parents, the aged and ſick from their relations and friends, who wiſh to attend and comfort them; and thoſe who have been uſed to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable diſtreſs.

The General further emulating his Miniſterial Maſters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the groſſeſt falſhoods and calumnies againſt the good people of theſe colonies, proceeds to 'declare them all, either by name or deſcription, to be rebels and traitors, to ſuperſede the courſe of the common law, and inſtead thereof to publiſh and order the uſe and exerciſe of the law martial.'——His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charleſtown, beſides a conſiderable number of houſes in other places; our ſhips and veſſels are ſeized; the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmoſt power to ſpread deſtruction and devaſtation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is inſtigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reaſon to apprehend, that ſchemes have been formed to excite domeſtic enemies againſt us. In brief, a part of theſe colonies now feels, and all of them are ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of adminiſtration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chuſing an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of irritated miniſters, or reſiſtance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honour, juſtice, and humanity forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our gallant anceſtors, and which our innocent poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely intail hereditary bondage upon them.'

Our cauſe is juſt: Our union is perfect: Our internal reſources are great, and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as ſignal inſtances of the divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this ſevere controverſy, until we were grown up to our preſent ſtrength, had been previouſly exerciſed in warlike operations, and poſſeſſed of the means of defending ourſelves. With hearts fortified with theſe animating reflections, we moſt ſolemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmoſt energy of thoſe

powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciouſly beſtowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to aſſume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmneſs and perſeverance, employ for the preſervation of our liberties, being with one mind reſolved to die freemen rather than to live ſlaves.

Leſt this declaration ſhould diſquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-ſubjects in any part of the empire, we aſſure them, that we mean not to diſſolve that union which has ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between us, and which we ſincerely wiſh to ſee reſtored. Neceſſity has not yet driven us into that deſperate meaſure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war againſt them. We have not raiſed armies, with ambitious deſigns of ſeparating from Great-Britain, and eſtabliſhing independent ſtates. We fight not for glory, or for conqueſt. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable ſpectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even ſuſpicion, of offence. They boaſt of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than ſervitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired ſolely by the honeſt induſtry of our forefathers, and ourſelves; againſt violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We ſhall lay them down when hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on the part of the aggreſſors, and all danger of their being renewed ſhall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the ſupreme and impartial judge and ruler of the univerſe, we moſt devoutly implore his divine goodneſs to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to diſpoſe our adverſaries to reconciliation on reaſonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By order of the congreſs,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.

Atteſted,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

A Second Petition *from the* General Congreſs *in* America, *to his* Majeſty.

THE following is a true copy of the Petition from the General Congreſs in America, to his Majeſty, which we delivered to Lord Dartmouth the firſt of this month, and to which, his Lordſhip ſaid, no anſwer would be given.

Sept. 4, 1775. Richard Penn. Arthur Lee.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of the colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the counties of New Caſtle, Kent and Suſſex in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, in behalf of ourſelves and the inhabitants

inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother-country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great-Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissentions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving so continual and formidable an accession of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of these settlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great-Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and extension immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a *new system of statutes* and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the mother-country: for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great-Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, which have flowed from this fatal source. Your Majesty's ministers persevering in their measures, and proceeding to

open hoſtilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controverſy ſo peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your ſtill faithful coloniſts, that when we conſider whom we muſt oppoſe in this conteſt, and if it continues, what may be the conſequence; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our diſtreſs

Knowing to what violent reſentments and incurable animoſities civil diſcords are apt to exaſperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourſelves required by indiſpenſable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majeſty, to our fellow-ſubjects, and ourſelves, immediately to uſe all the means in our power, not incompatible with our ſafety, for ſtopping the further effuſion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the Britiſh empire. Thus called upon to addreſs your Majeſty on affairs of ſuch moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earneſtly deſirous of performing this office with the utmoſt deference to your Majeſty; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the moſt favourable conſtructions of our expreſſions on ſo uncommon an occaſion.

Could we repreſent, in their full force, the ſentiments which agitate the minds of us, your dutiful ſubjects, we are perſuaded your Majeſty would aſcribe any ſeeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehenſible intention, but to the impoſſibility of reconciling the uſual appearances of reſpect with a juſt attention to our preſervation againſt thoſe artful and cruel enemies, who abuſe your royal confidence and authority for the purpoſe of effecting our deſtruction.

Attached to your Majeſty's perſon, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inſpire, connected with Great-Britain by the ſtrongeſt ties that can unite ſocieties, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we ſolemnly aſſure your Majeſty that we not only moſt *ardently deſire the former harmony between her* and theſe colonies may be reſtored, but that a *concord may be eſtabliſhed* between them upon ſo firm a baſis, as to perpetuate its bleſſings uninterrupted by any future diſſentions to ſucceeding generations in both countries; to tranſmit your Majeſty's name to poſterity, adorned with that ſignal and laſting glory that has attended the memory of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, whoſe virtues and abilities have extricated ſtates from dangerous convulſions, and by ſecuring happineſs to others, have erected the moſt noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to aſſure your Majeſty, that notwithſtanding the ſufferings of your loyal coloniſts, during the courſe of the preſent controverſy, our breaſts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to requeſt ſuch a reconciliation, as might in any manner be inconſiſtent with *her dignity or her welfare*. Theſe, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to

ſupport

ſupport and advance; and the apprehenſions that now oppreſs our hearts with unſpeakable grief being once removed, your Majeſty will find your faithful ſubjects, on this continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of your Majeſty and of our mother-country.

We therefore beſeech your Majeſty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciouſly interpoſed, to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealouſies, occaſioned by the ſyſtem before mentioned, and to ſettle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility ſubmitting to your Majeſty's wiſe conſideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating theſe important purpoſes, that your Majeſty be pleaſed to *direct ſome mode* by which the united applications of your faithful coloniſts to the throne, in purſuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time meaſures be taken for preventing the further deſtruction of the lives of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and that ſuch ſtatutes as more immediately diſtreſs any of your Majeſty's colonies be repealed. For by ſuch arrangements as your Majeſty's wiſdom can form, for collecting the united ſenſe of your American people, we are convinced your Majeſty would receive ſuch ſatisfactory proofs of the diſpoſition of the coloniſts toward their ſovereign and the parent ſtate, that the wiſhed-for opportunity would ſoon be reſtored to them, of evincing the ſincerity of their profeſſions, by every teſtimony of devotion becoming the moſt dutiful ſubjects, and the moſt affectionate coloniſts.

That your Majeſty may enjoy a long and proſperous reign, and that your deſcendants may govern the dominions, with honour to themſelves, and happineſs to their ſubjects, is our ſincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Colonies of New Hampſhire. John Langdon, Thomas Cuſhing.

Maſſachuſett's Bay. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Iſland. Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward, Eliphant Dyar.

Connecticut. Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York. Philip Levingſton, James Duane, John Alſop, Francis Lewis, John Jay, Robert Levingſton, junior, Lewis Morris, Wm. Floyd, Henry Wiſner.

New Jerſey. William Levingſton, John Deharts, Richard Smith.

Pennſylvania. John Dickenſon, Benjamin Franklin, George Roſs, James Wilſon, Charles Wilſon, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle.

Delaware Counties. Cæſar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, George Read.

Maryland. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnſon, junior, William Pace, Samuel Chaſe, Thomas Stone.

Virginia. P. Henry, junior, R. Henry Lee, Edmond Fendleton, Benjamin Harriſon, Thomas Jefferſon.

North Carolina. Wm. Hooper, Joſeph Hewes,

South

South Carolina. Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Chriſtopher Gadſden, J. Rutlege, Edward Rutlege.

Speech of his Excellency, Simon, *Earl of* Harcourt, *to both Houſes of the* Iriſh *Parliament, on* Tueſday, *the* 10*th of* October, 1775.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOUR diſtinguiſhed loyalty to the King; your juſt attention to the honour and dignity of his government; and your well-regulated zeal for the peace and happineſs of your country; have made ſo ſenſible an impreſſion on my mind, during a three years reſidence amongſt you, that, encouraged by the experience of what I have ſeen, it is with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction I meet you again in parliament.

I am perſuaded that you entertain a grateful ſenſe of the bleſſings you enjoy under the mild and firm government of the beſt of ſovereigns; and his Majeſty relies on the known zeal and loyalty of his ſubjects of Ireland, that, whilſt his government is diſturbed by a rebellion exiſting in a part of his American dominions, you will be ready to ſhew your inviolable attachment to his perſon and government, in the aſſertion of his juſt rights, and in the ſupport of his legal authority.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge of the proviſions neceſſary to be made for the ordinary expences of his Majeſty's eſtabliſhments, and for diſcharging an arrear which has been unavoidably incurred.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am happy to inform you, that, ſince your laſt meeting, his Majeſty's tender concern for the welfare of this kingdom hath induced him to paſs ſeveral laws in the Britiſh parliament highly beneficial to your commerce, your manufactures, and your agriculture.

By the act which extends the great advantages of Britiſh fiſheries to Ireland, a ſource of induſtry and wealth is opened to you, which has made other nations great and flouriſhing. Let me therefore recommend to your earneſt attention the improvement of advantages tending ſo obviouſly to promote your navigation and trade; in the purſuit of which you may depend upon my warmeſt aſſiſtance and ſupport.

The act which allows the cloathing and accoutrements neceſſary for his Majeſty's forces, paid from the revenues of this kingdom, to be exported from Ireland, is a particular mark of the royal favour; and even that which allows the importation of rape-ſeed into Great-Britain from this kingdom, under certain regulations, connected with thoſe ſalutary laws paſſed in your laſt ſeſſion, form ſuch a ſyſtem of agriculture and improvement as will, I truſt, ſecure riches and plenty to the people of Ireland.

A bounty granted by Great-Britain upon the importation of flax-ſeed, is ſo marked a recommendation of the linen manufacture, that it becomes needleſs for me to urge the moſt perſevering application

plication to that ſtaple of your country.

The Proteſtant Charter Schools, an inſtitution eſtabliſhed on the principles of wiſdom and humanity, and ſo peculiarly adapted to the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of this kingdom, are eminently intitled to your conſideration and care.

On my part, you may be aſſured that I ſhall continue faithfully to repreſent your loyalty and zeal to his Majeſty; and that I ſhall chearfully co-operate with you in whatever may tend to advance the proſperity and happineſs of this kingdom.

The Addreſs, Memorial, *and* Petition, *of ſeveral of the* Gentlemen, Merchants, *and* Traders *of the City of* London, *preſented by a Deputation of them to his* Majeſty, *on* Wedneſday *the* 11*th of* October, 1775.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs, Memorial, *and* Petition *of the* Gentlemen, Merchants, *and* Traders *of* London.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London, beg leave to approach your Majeſty with unfeigned aſſurance of affection and attachment to your Majeſty's perſon and government, and to repreſent, with great humility, our ſentiments on the preſent alarming ſtate of public affairs.

By the operation of divers act of the Britiſh parliament, we behold, with deep affliction, that happy communion of intereſts and good offices, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between this country and America, ſuſpended, and an intercourſe (which, augmenting, as it grew, the ſtrength and dignity of your Majeſty's dominions, hath enabled your Majeſty to defeat the natural rivals of your greatneſs in every quarter of the world) threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We ſhould humbly repreſent to your Majeſty, if they had not been already repreſented, the deadly wounds which the commerce of this country muſt feel from theſe unfortunate meaſures; that it has not yet more deeply felt them is owing to temporary and accidental cauſes which cannot long continue.

But we beg your Majeſty to caſt an eye on the general property of this land, and to reflect what muſt be its fate when deprived of our American commerce.

It fills our minds with additional grief to ſee the blood and treaſure of your Majeſty's ſubjects waſted in effecting a fatal ſeparation between the different parts of your Majeſty's empire, by a war, uncertain in the event, deſtructive in its conſequences, and the object contended for loſt in the conteſt.

The experience we have had of your Majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare and privileges of all your people, and the opinion we entertain of the juſtice of the Britiſh parliament, forbid us to believe, that laws, ſo repugnant to the policy of former times, would have received their ſanction, had the real circumſtances and ſentiments of

of the colonies been thoroughly underſtood, or the true principles of their connection with the mother-country been duly weighed: we are therefore neceſſarily conſtrained to impute blame to thoſe by whom your Majeſty and the parliament have been deſignedly miſled, or partially informed of thoſe matters, on a full knowledge of which alone, determinations of ſuch importance ſhould have been founded.

We beg leave further to repreſent to your Majeſty, that, in queſtions of high national concern affecting the deareſt intereſts of a ſtate, ſpeculation and experiment are ſeldom to be juſtified: That want of foreſight is want of judgment; and perſeverance in meaſures, which repeated experience hath condemned, ceaſes to be error.

We might appeal to the hiſtory of all countries to ſhew, that force hath never been employed with ſucceſs, to change the opinions or convince the minds of freemen; and, from the annals of our own in particular, we learn, that the free and voluntary gifts of the ſubject have ever exceeded the exactions of the ſword.

Reſtraining, prohibitory, and penal laws have failed to re-eſtabliſh the public tranquillity; and the preſent ſtate of this unfortunate diſpute affords reaſon to believe, that, as it commenced without policy, it muſt be proſecuted by means which the natural and conſtitutional ſtrength of Great-Britain cannot ſupply.

In your Majeſty's juſtice we confide for a fair conſtruction of an apprehenſion we have conceived, that your Majeſty hath been adviſed to take foreign troops into Britiſh pay, and to raiſe and diſcipline Papiſts both in Ireland and Canada, for the purpoſe of enforcing ſubmiſſion to laws which your Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects in America conceive to be deſtructive of their liberties, and againſt which they have repeatedly petitioned in vain.

Anxious to vindicate the national honour, we would willingly diſcredit reports of ſlaves incited to inſurrection, and barbarous nations encouraged to take arms againſt our American brethren, if they had not prevailed without refutation, and filled the minds of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects with indignation and horror.

If to theſe circumſtances of peril and diſtreſs our fears could ſuggeſt any addition, we might juſtly expect it from the reſentment of thoſe powerful enemies, who have ever ſhewn a readineſs to take advantage of our internal commotions, and will joyfully embrace the occaſion of avenging that diſgrace they ſuſtained, during the late glorious war, from the united arms of Great-Britain and America;—and we ſhould indeed be reduced to deſpair, but that we are encouraged to look up to your Majeſty, the common father of all your people, as the happy inſtrument in the hands of Divine Providence, which bringeth good out of evil, for reſtoring to this diſtracted empire the bleſſings of mutual confidence, liberty, and peace.

For the ſpeedy effecting of which, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to cauſe hoſtilities to ceaſe in your Majeſty's colonies in America, and to adopt ſuch mode of reconciling this unhappy controverſy as may

may beſt promote the intereſt of commerce, and the welfare of all your people.

[Signed by 1171 perſons.]

Addreſs of a very numerous Body of the Merchants *and* Traders *of the City of* London, *preſented by a Deputation of them to his* Majeſty, *on* Saturday *the* 14*th of* October, 1775. *Which* Addreſs *his* Majeſty *was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly; and the Gentlemen of the Deputation had the Honour to kiſs his* Majeſty's *Hand.*

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, merchants and traders of the city of London, filled with the deepeſt concern at the unjuſtifiable proceedings of ſome of your Majeſty's colonies in America, beg leave to approach your royal throne to teſtify our entire diſapprobation and abhorrence of them, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that we will ſupport your Majeſty with our lives and fortunes, in maintaining the authority of the legiſlature of this country, which, we conceive, does and ought to extend over and pervade every part of the Britiſh dominions.

With regret and indignation we ſee colonies, which owe their exiſtence, and every bleſſing that attended their late proſperous ſituation, to this their parent country, unnaturally regardleſs of the foſtering hand that raiſed and ſupported them, and affecting diſtinctions in their dependence, not founded in law, or in the conſtitution of Great-Britain.

We are convinced by the experienced clemency of your Majeſty's government, that no endeavours will be wanting to induce our deluded fellow-ſubjects to return to their obedience to that conſtitution which our anceſtors bled to eſtabliſh, and which has flouriſhed, pure and uninterrupted, under the mild government of the Houſe of Hanover.

May that Being, who governs the univerſe, ſo direct your Majeſty's councils and meaſures, that, from the preſent confuſion, order may ariſe, and peace again be reſtored.

That your Majeſty may long reign over an happy and united people, is the earneſt prayer of,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful and loyal ſubjects.

[Signed by 941 perſons.]

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on Thurſday, *the* 26*th Day of* October, 1775.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE preſent ſituation of America, and my conſtant deſire to have your advice, concurrence, and aſſiſtance on every important occaſion, have determined me to call you thus early together.

Thoſe who have long too ſucceſsfully laboured to inflame my people in America by groſs miſrepreſentations, and to infuſe into their minds a ſyſtem of opinions repugnant to the true conſtitution of the colonies, and to their ſubordi-

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nate relation to Great-Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hoſtility, and rebellion. They have raiſed troops, and are collecting a naval force; they have ſeized the public revenue, and aſſumed to themſelves legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exerciſe, in the moſt arbitrary manner, over the perſons and properties of their fellow-ſubjects; and although many of theſe unhappy people may ſtill retain their loyalty, and may be too wiſe not to ſee the fatal conſequence of this uſurpation, and wiſh to reſiſt it; yet the torrent of violence has been ſtrong enough to compel their acquieſcence, till a ſufficient force ſhall appear to ſupport them.

The authors and promoters of this deſperate conſpiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuſe, by vague expreſſions of attachment to the Parent-ſtate, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of loyalty to me, whilſt they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your laſt ſeſſion, that a rebellion exiſted within the province of the Maſſachuſett's Bay, yet even that province we wiſhed rather to reclaim, than to ſubdue. The reſolutions of parliament breathed a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propoſitions accompanied the meaſures taken to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to caſes of criminal combinations amongſt ſubjects not then in arms. I have acted with the ſame temper; anxious to prevent, if it had been poſſible, the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war; ſtill hoping that my people in America would have diſcerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a ſubject of Great-Britain, with all its conſequences, is to be the freeſt member of any civil ſociety in the known world.

The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifeſtly carried on for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the ſucceſs of ſuch a plan. The object is too important, the ſpirit of the Britiſh nation too high, the reſources with which God hath bleſſed her too numerous, to give up ſo many colonies which ſhe has planted with great induſtry, nurſed with great tenderneſs, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expence of blood and treaſure.

It is now become the part of wiſdom, and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a ſpeedy end to theſe diſorders by the moſt deciſive exertions. For this purpoſe, I have increaſed my naval eſtabliſhment, and greatly augmented my land-forces; but in ſuch a manner as may be the leaſt burthenſome to my kingdoms.

I have alſo the ſatisfaction to inform you, that I have received the moſt friendly offers of foreign aſſiſtance; and if I ſhall make any treaties in conſequence thereof, they ſhall be laid before you. And I have, in teſtimony of my affection for my people, who can have no cauſe in which I am not equally intereſted, ſent to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of my Electoral troops, in order that a larger number of the eſta-

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bliſhed forces of this kingdom may be applied to the maintenance of its authority; and the national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the rights, ſafety, and protection of my crown and people, may give a farther extent and activity to our military operations.

When the unhappy and deluded multitude, againſt whom this force will be directed, ſhall become ſenſible of their error, I ſhall be ready to receive the miſled with tenderneſs and mercy; and, in order to prevent the inconveniences which may ariſe from the great diſtance of their ſituation, and to remove, as ſoon as poſſible, the calamities which they ſuffer, I ſhall give authority to certain perſons upon the ſpot to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch perſons, as they ſhall think fit, and to receive the ſubmiſſion of any province or colony which ſhall be diſpoſed to return to its allegiance. It may be alſo proper to authoriſe the perſons ſo commiſſioned to reſtore ſuch province or colony, ſo returning to its allegiance, to the free exerciſe of its trade and commerce, and to the ſame protection and ſecurity as if ſuch province or colony had never revolted.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your affection to me, and your reſolution to maintain the juſt rights of this country, for ſuch ſupplies as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require. Among the many unavoidable ill conſequences of this rebellion, none affects me more ſenſibly than the extraordinary burthen which it muſt create to my faithful ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have fully opened to you my views and intentions. The conſtant employment of my thoughts, and the moſt earneſt wiſhes of my heart, tend wholly to the ſafety and happineſs of all my people, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity through the ſeveral parts of my dominions, in a cloſe connection and conſtitutional dependance. You ſee the tendency of the preſent diſorders, and I have ſtated to you the meaſures which I mean to purſue for ſuppreſſing them. Whatever remains to be done, that may farther contribute to this end, I commit to your wiſdom. And I am happy to add, that, as well from the aſſurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I ſee no probability that the meaſures which you may adopt will be interrupted by diſputes with any foreign power.

The following Addreſs of the Liverymen of the City of London *has been preſented to his Majeſty, by* Thomas Wellings, *Chairman*, John Spiller, Gabriel Leekey, William Judd, Evan Pugh, Roger Griffin, *and* Thomas Moore, *Eſqrs. being introduced by the Lord of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber in waiting; which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly; and they had the honour to kiſs his Majeſty's hand.*

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

FROM the warmeſt ſenſe of duty to your Majeſty, and love of our country, we, your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, liverymen of the city of London, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, with the freedom we ever mean to aſſert as Engliſhmen, and with that deference which we owe, as good ſubjects, to your Majeſty, preſume to approach your royal preſence, and to entreat your attention to the genuine ſentiments of a loyal and dutiful people.

It is with the deepeſt concern we obſerve, that our fellow-ſubjects in your Majeſty's American colonies are now in open rebellion. A malignant ſpirit of reſiſtance to law and government has gone forth amongſt them, which we firmly believe has been excited and encouraged by ſelfiſh men, who hope to derive private emolument from public calamities: from the counſels, the perſuaſions, the influence of ſuch men, God protect your Majeſty. The intereſt, the honour, the ſovereignty of your kingdom of Great-Britain, are now at ſtake: as the guardian of thoſe, we truſt you will ever aſſert and preſerve them. In this great work, be aſſured, Sire, that under your Majeſty's direction we will, with the greateſt chearfulneſs, exert ourſelves to the utmoſt of our abilities, in ſupport of thoſe laws which are our protection, and of that government which is our bleſſing.

Whilſt we preſume to approach your Majeſty, with hopes you will exert the conſtitutional power you poſſeſs, to ſubdue ſuch of your deluded people as are now acting in open defiance of the laws, permit us, gracious Sire, to implore your clemency towards thoſe whoſe eyes may be opened to a full conviction of their offences; and who, hereafter, when reaſon and reflection ſhall prevail over paſſion and prejudice, may be reſtored to the allegiance which they owe to the mother-country and their ſovereign.

That your Majeſty and your poſterity may long reign over a people, happy in enjoying thoſe bleſſings which the acceſſion of your anceſtors to the throne of theſe kingdoms has hitherto inſured to us, is the unfeigned and ardent [illegible] of your Majeſty's moſt dutiful, faithful, and devoted ſubjects.

[The above addreſs was ſigned by 1029 liverymen.]

CHARACTERS.

Sketch of their Majeſties domeſtic Life at Kew, during the Summer Seaſon.

THEIR majeſties riſe at ſix in the morning, and enjoy the two ſucceeding hours, which they call their *own:* at eight the prince of Wales, the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, the princeſs royal, and princes William and Henry, are brought from their ſeveral houſes, to Kew houſe to breakfaſt with their illuſtrious relations. At nine, their younger children attend to liſp or ſmile their good morrows, and whilſt the five eldeſt are cloſely applying to their taſks, the little ones and their nurſes paſs the whole morning in Richmond Gardens.

The king and queen frequently amuſe themſelves with ſitting in the room while the children dine, and once a week, attended by the whole offſpring in pairs, make the little delightful tour of Richmond Gardens. In the afternoon the queen works, and the king reads to her, and whatever charms ambition or folly may conceive as attendant on ſo exalted a ſituation, it is neither on the throne, nor in the drawing-room, in the ſplendor or the toys of ſovereignty, that they place their felicity; it is, next to the fulfilling of the duties of their ſtation, in ſocial and domeſtic gratifications, in breathing the free air, admiring the works of nature, taſting and encouraging the elegancies of art, and in living to their own hearts. In the evening, all the children again pay their duty at Kew houſe, before they retire to bed; and the ſame order is obſerved through each returning day. The ſovereign is the father of his family; not a grievance reaches his knowledge that remains undreſſed; nor is a ſingle character of merit, or ingenuity, ever diſregarded; ſo that his private conduct muſt be allowed to be no leſs exemplary, than it is truly amiable.

Though naturally a lover of peace, his perſonal courage cannot in the ſmalleſt degree be impeached; he exerciſes his troops himſelf, underſtands every martial manœuvre as well as any private centinel in his ſervice, and has the articles of war at his fingers ends. Topography is one of his favourite ſtudies; he copies every capital chart, takes the models of all the celebrated fortifications, knows the ſoundings of the chief harbours in Europe, and the ſtrong and weak ſides of moſt fortified towns. He can name every ſhip in his navy, and he keeps liſts of the commanders. And all theſe are private acquiſitions, and of his own chuſing.

The prince of Wales and the biſhop of Oſnaburgh bid fair, however, for excelling the generality of mankind in learning, as much as they are their ſuperiors in rank: eight hours cloſe application to the languages and the liberal ſciences is daily enjoined them, and their induſtry is unremitting: all the ten are indeed fine children, and it does not

not yet appear that parental partiality is known at court.

Exercise, air, and light diet, are the grand fundamental in the king's idea of health and sprightliness; his majesty feeds chiefly on vegetables, and drinks little wine; the queen is what many private gentlewomen would call whimsically abstemious, for at a table covered with dainties, she culls the plainest and the simplest dish, and seldom eats of more than two things at a meal. Her wardrobe is changed every three months; and, while the nobility are eager to supply themselves with foreign trifles, her care is that nothing but what is English shall be provided for her wear. The tradesmens bills are regularly paid once a quarter for what comes under the childrens department, and the whole is judiciously and happily conducted.

Character of the late Queen Matilda, *of* Denmark.

THE writer of the following lines, conscious of his incapacity to draw, in the masterly manner it deserves, so amiable a character as that of the late Queen Matilda of Denmark, waited in expectation that some more able and eloquent pen would have attempted it. But few persons in this kingdom were in any degree acquainted with her life or actions, while she resided at Copenhagen; perhaps still fewer had the honour to know that exalted sufferer, during the latter years which she spent in her retreat at Zell. To this unacquaintance with her Majesty may, he doubts not, be imputed the almost universal silence respecting her; and it is from the appearance of no other writer qualified to do justice to so noble a cause, that the present attempt to present her real character to the English people must derive its excuse.

Sacrificed in the bloom of life, being born the 22d of July, 1751, and married the first of October, 1766, she was first sent an inexperienced victim to a court, in which, surrounded with spies and emissaries, who interpreted the most trifling levities of youth into enormous crimes, the young and unsuspecting Queen could not long remain without giving her enemies too favourable an opportunity to effect her fall. They succeeded, and induced the wretched King to become the engine of their malevolence, by signing the order for her imprisonment. The interposition of the British court saved her from farther violence, and conducted her to an asylum in the electoral dominions of Hanover. Here she appeared in her true and native character. Divested of the retinue and pomp which, on the throne of Denmark, veiled her in a great degree from the inspection of nice observers, the qualities of her heart displayed themselves in her little court at Zell, and gained her universal love. Her person was dignified and graceful: she excelled in all the exercises befitting her sex, birth, and station. She danced the finest minuet in the Danish court, and managed the horse with uncommon address and spirit. She had a taste in music, and devoted much of her time, while at Zell, to the harpsichord. The characteristic stile of her dress was simplicity, not magnificence; that of her deportment, an affability, which in a personage of such high rank might be termed extreme condescension. Her talents

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were liberal and diffuſive; and, cultivated by reading, diſplayed themſelves on all occaſions. She converſed with the moſt perfect facility in French, Engliſh, German, and Daniſh; and to thoſe extraordinary attainments ſhe added a thorough knowledge of the Italian, which ſhe ſtudied and admired for its beauty and delicacy. Her manners were the moſt poliſhed, ſoft, and ingratiating; and even the contracted ſtate of her finances could not reſtrain that princely munificence of temper, which made her purſe ever open to diſtreſs or miſery. Naturally chearful and happy in her diſpoſition, adored and beloved to the higheſt degree by the circle of her court, even the dark cloud of adverſity could not alter the ſweetneſs and ſerenity of her temper. Baniſhed, with every circumſtance of indignity, from the throne of Denmark, ſhe yet retained no ſentiment of revenge or reſentment againſt the authors of her fall, or againſt the Daniſh people. Her heart was not tinctured with ambition, and ſhe looked back to the diadem which had been torn from her brow, with a calmneſs and ſuperiority of ſoul, which might have made a Philip the Fifth, or a Victor Amadeus, bluſh. It was not the crown ſhe regretted; her children only employed her care; the feelings of the ſovereign were abſorbed in thoſe of the mother; and, if ſhe wept the day when ſhe quitted the iſland of Zealand, it was becauſe ſhe was then bereft of thoſe dear objects of her maternal fondneſs. Two or three months before her death, ſhe ſhewed, with tranſports of joy, to Madam d'O——, her firſt lady of the bed-chamber, a little portrait of the prince-royal her ſon, which ſhe had juſt received. It happened that this lady, ſome few days after, entered the Queen's apartment at an unuſual hour. She was ſurprized at hearing her Majeſty talk, though quite alone. While ſhe ſtood in this attitude of aſtoniſhment, unable to retire, the Queen turned ſuddenly round, and addreſſing herſelf to her with that charming ſmile, which ſhe alone could preſerve at a moment, when her heart was torn with the moſt acute and agonizing ſenſation,—"What muſt you think (ſaid ſhe) of a circumſtance ſo extraordinary as that of hearing me talk, though you find me perfectly alone? But it was to this dear and cheriſhed image I addreſſed my converſation; and what do you imagine I ſaid to it? nearly the ſame verſes which you ſent not long ago to a child, ſenſible to the happineſs of having found her father; verſes (added ſhe) which I changed after the manner following:

* "*Eh! qui donc, comme moi, gouteroit la douceur [cœur!*
De t'appeller mon fils, d'etre chere a ton
Toi qu'on arrache aux bras d'un mere ſenſible,
Qui ne pleure que toi, dans ce deſtin terrible."

Madam d'O—— could not ſpeak; ſhe burſt into tears, and, overcome with her own emotion, retired haſtily from the royal preſence.

When ſhe was firſt apprehended to be in danger from the diſorder which ſeized her, anxiety and conſternation were ſpread through her whole

* TRANSLATION attempted,

Ah! who, like me, could taſte the joy divine,
My lovely babe! to mix my ſoul with thine!
Torn from my breaſt, I weep alone for thee,
Amidſt the griefs which heaven diſpens'd to me.

whole court, which idolized her; but when ſhe expired, no language can expreſs the horror and grief viſible in every apartment of the palace. Leyſer, the phyſician, who attended her Majeſty through the courſe of her illneſs, dreaded the event from the firſt moment. She ſaw it, and, impreſſed with a preſentiment of her approaching death, which proved but too true, "You have twice (ſaid ſhe to him) extricated me from very dangerous indiſpoſitions ſince the month of October, but this exceeds your ſkill: I know I am not within the help of medicine," Leyſer deſired that the celebrated Zimmermann might be called in to his aid from Hanover: he was ſo: but her Majeſty's illneſs, which was a moſt malignant ſpotted fever, baffled every endeavour. Its violence even in the beginning was ſuch, that her pulſe beat an hundred and thirty-one ſtrokes in a minute; but during the laſt two days it became impoſſible to count them. She bore the pains of her diſtemper with exquiſite patience, and even ſhewed the moſt generous and delicate attention to the ladies who waited by her. She preſerved her ſenſes, ſpeech, and underſtanding to the laſt moment, and only a ſhort time before her death (the 10th of May, 1775) expreſſed the moſt perfect forgiveneſs of all thoſe enemies who had perſecuted and calumniated her during her life. Monſ. de Lichtenſtein, Grand Mareſchal of the court of Hanover, preſided at the funeral rites, which were conducted with a pomp ſuited to her royal dignity. Her Majeſty's body was interred with her maternal anceſtors, the Dukes of Zell. The ſtreets and the great church were thronged with crowds of people, drawn by the ſincereſt grief of condolence to behold the mournful obſequies of their royal benefactreſs paſs along. It was a ſcene the moſt affecting and awful to be imagined; and when the funeral-ſermon was preached over her remains, the numerous audience melted into tears, and were impreſſed with emotions of ſorrow and lamentation only to be compared with thoſe which the famous Bourdaloue excited by his oration on a very ſimilar occaſion, the death of Henrietta, Ducheſs of Orleans, in the laſt century. But the moſt ſtriking proof of the love and attachment borne to her Majeſty's memory after death, and the impreſſion which her virtues had made among all ranks of people in the country where ſhe died, is the reſolution which the ſtates of Lunenburg framed at Hanover on the 10th of laſt month. It was as follows:

"The Nobility and the States of the duchy of Lunenburg aſſembled, have reſolved on the 10th of June, in their laſt ſeſſion, to preſent a requeſt to the King of Great-Britain, to obtain the permiſſion of erecting at Zell a monument, in memory of the qualities of mind and heart of the late Queen of Denmark, as well as of the devotion and veneration which they have borne to that Princeſs. They intend chuſing the moſt exquiſite artiſts for the execution of it; and they hope, by this avowed proof of their zeal, to tranſmit, to the moſt remote poſterity, both the profound grief, which the premature death of that young Queen has ſpread through a whole province which adored her, and the homage which they rendered to that true greatneſs, which the cataſtrophes and adverſities the moſt cruel only render more reſpectable."

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The author of this addreſs to the public does not wiſh to be known: he has no intereſt in offering a tribute of adulation to a departed Queen. He was only induced, by the moſt lively conviction of her virtues and undeſerved calamities, to attempt to diſplay the image of their Princeſs to the Engliſh people. The eulogium is due to her memory; it is an atonement to her injured ſhade.

Memoirs of the late Pope Clement XIV.

IT is commonly ſaid in Italy, that a *pope never ſees the truth but when he reads the goſpel.* Clement, without employing ſpies, the reſource of low and little minds, caſt his eyes about him, and ſaw himſelf what it was neceſſary for him to know; whereby as a prince who knew how to reign, he rewarded and puniſhed; he declared himſelf, or he diſſembled. *Providence* (ſaid he) *has placed me as a centinel, only carefully to watch over Iſrael.* It is true, his extraordinary vigilance created murmurs; but he was convinced that a people is happy only in proportion as their ſovereign pays attention to every *minutia* that relates to their welfare; and thoſe who filled offices and employments were obliged to be very careful in conducting themſelves properly, which was not the caſe in the former reign, when malverſation was practiſed with impunity.

Lambertini (Benedict XIV.) attained the reputation of a great doctor, and was reſpected abroad, without abilities to govern his dominions. The Romans, in ſpeaking of him, uſed to ſay, *Magnus in folio, parvus in ſolio.* Corſini (Clement XII.) was ten years blind out of the twelve that he reigned; and it may be judged from thence, whether the treaſurers or receivers had not then good eyes. Orſini (Benedict XIII.) of the order of the brother preachers, too ſanctified to ſuſpect any ill, was inceſſantly impoſed upon by the unfortunate cardinal Coſcia, who, though only the ſon of a barber in the kingdom of Naples, enriched himſelf at the coſt of the holy ſee, became a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Ange, and died in 1755, loaded with riches and the public indignation.

The duties of a prince and paſtor are very difficult to reconcile; policy often exacts what religion does not allow: if the character of a pope inſpires clemency, that of a ſovereign enjoins ſeverity. Thus we read that Sixtus V. was a great monarch without being a bigot; and that S. Pius was a good pope and a poor prince. This made an hiſtorian ſay, that ſuch pontiffs as had been taken from the order of the Cordeliers, and were ſix in number, were all poſſeſſed of the talent of governing well; and thoſe who had been of the order of the Dominicans, were more capable of edifying.

Ganganelli, the late pope, whoſe Chriſtian names were Francis Laurence, was born at Saint Angelo, in the duchy of Urbino, the 31ſt of October, 1705; and choſen pope, though not yet a biſhop, the 19th of May, 1769: at which time, as the reader may recollect, the ſee of Rome was involved in a moſt diſagreeable and dangerous conteſt with the houſe of Bourbon. He was the pope who moſt united the above qualities, as a manly piety is more analogous with ſovereignty, than an effeminate and puſillani-

mous devotion. His religion bore the impreſſion of his character and his genius: it was ſtrong and elevated, otherwiſe he would often have been ſtopped in his operations; but ſeeing all things as a great man, and riſing ſuperior to public rumours, prejudices, and even events, he knew how to be a prince and a pontiff.

The little artifices practiſed by narrow minds, to obtain their ends, he was a ſtranger to. Though peculiarly calculated for a court which is accuſed of being the very vortex of intrigue and chicane, he never deceived the politicians, but by remaining ſilent; for when he ſpoke, he uttered the truth. He was too upright a man to act by ſiniſter means, and was, indeed, too great a genius to ſtand in need of them.

No one knew better when to ſeize the proper moment, when he neither was ſlow nor precipitate. The hour is not come, he would ſay, when he was ſolicited to haſten ſome operation. He wrote to Cardinal Stoppani, "I miſtruſt my vivacity, and therefore I ſhall not anſwer till the end of a week, concerning what your eminence requires of me. Our imagination is often our greateſt enemy; I am ſtriving to weary it before I act. Matters of buſineſs, like fruits, have their maturity, and it is only when they are haſtings that we ſhould think of accompliſhing them."

His manner of reading reſembled his other operations; he abſtained from books, if he found himſelf diſpoſed to reflect; and as ſovereigns are led by circumſtances, from whence we may conclude that all men are born dependent, he often kept vigils great part of the night, and ſlept in the day-time. Their rule, he uſed to ſay, is the compaſs of monks and friars; but the wants of their people is the clock of ſovereigns: let it be what hour it may, if they want us, we muſt attend them: *La buſſola di frati é la loro regola, ma il biſogno del popolo é l'orologio dei ſovrani.*

This maxim, when he was pope, often took him from his books. He then read only to edify, or to relax from buſineſs. He was of opinion, that all the books in the world might be reduced to ſix thouſand volumes in folio, and that thoſe of the preſent age were nothing but pictures, which daubers had found the art of cleaning, in order to preſent them in the propereſt light to public view.

It is to be lamented that he produced nothing in the literary way, though ſome have aſcribed to him part of the works of Benedict XIV. We ſhould have found in his the phlegm of the Germans, blended with the vivacity of the Italians: but he was ſo thoroughly perſuaded that there were too many writers, that he was always fearful of increaſing the number. He ſaid one day, ſmiling, "Who knows whether brother Francis may not one day take it into his head to write? I ſhould not be in the leaſt aſtoniſhed to ſee ſome work in his manner; but ſurely it would not be a hiſtory of my ragouts, or the book muſt be very conciſe!"

When any one mentioned to him the faſhionable productions that appeared againſt Chriſtianity, he would ſay, "the more there are, the more the world will be convinced of the neceſſity of it." He obſerved, "that all the writers who oppoſed Chriſtianity, knew only how

how to dig a ditch, and that was all they could ſupply its place with." He ſaid, "that Mr. Voltaire, whoſe poetry he admired, attacked religion ſo often, only becauſe it was troubleſome to him; and that J. J. Rouſſeau was a painter, who always forgot the heads, and who excelled only in the drapery."

He explained himſelf one day upon a work, called The Syſtem of Nature, and added, "what hurts me is, that the more it is founded upon falſe principles, the more, in an age like ours, it will gain reputation and readers; and it will receive an additional value by its being ſeriouſly refuted." He afterwards obſerved, that "the author of this bad book is a madman, who imagines, that, by changing the maſter of the houſe, he can diſpoſe of it juſt as he pleaſes, without reflecting that no creatures can breathe but by exiſting in God, *in ipſo vivimus, movemur, & ſumus.* But every age is diſtinguiſhed by a new-fangled mode of thinking. After the times of ſuperſtition, are come the days of incredulity, and the man who formerly adored a multitude of gods, now affects not to acknowledge any one. Virtue, vice, immortality, annihilation, all appear to him ſynonymous, provided ſome inſignificant pamphlet ſerves him as a rampart againſt heaven; and it is in the very boſom of religion that theſe ſcandalous opinions originate and multiply. Whilſt religion was perſecuted by the Pagans, a pope had at leaſt the glory and the good fortune to defend it at the price of his blood; but now that he cannot fly to martyrdom, he is unfortunately compelled to be the miſerable witneſs of error and impiety."

Theſe excellent reflections he made in the preſence of a commander of Malta, from whom the author had them, and who aſſured him that the pope was ever ready to ſacrifice himſelf for the benefit of religion, and the intereſt of the church, conſidering his life as no object when theſe were called in queſtion. It was ſolely for the glory of the church that he from time to time created ſeveral cardinals, without paying any attention to their private connections.

Their inſtitution, which commenced in the ninth century, had no other object than the benefit and honour of religion. They conſtitute the council of the ſovereign pontiffs, when they have occaſion for advice; and there were at all times amongſt them perſons of eminence, whoſe zeal, added to their knowledge, proved of infinite uſe to the church and ſtate. Some carried their courage and their faith to the extremities of the world; others, with the approbation of princes, governed with wiſdom the moſt flouriſhing empires. The moſt remote ages will remember, with admiration, the Amboiſes, Ximenes, Richlieus, and Fleurys, and conſider them as the bulwarks of thoſe kingdoms where they acted as miniſters.

If Clement XIV. did not make any complete promotion of cardinals during his pontificate, it is to be ſuppoſed that he was confined by other powers, or that he was puzzled to chuſe proper ſubjects. He may have preferred not chuſing, rather than create miſunderſtandings among ancient friends, who flattered themſelves with obtaining the purple, and nevertheleſs might not

be worthy of it. The good qualities neceſſary in friendſhip are not ſufficient for a cardinal. It is a dignity that has too much influence upon the church, to let chance diſpoſe of it.

To judge properly of the genius of Clement, we ſhould view him with ſome friends, and particularly the cardinal de Bernis, (whoſe different ages ſeemed appropriated to the moſt flattering periods, and the moſt delicate works) conferring upon the ſubjects of the times, and the means of reconciling the intereſts of religion with thoſe of princes. When the greateſt lights had been thrown by theſe his counſellors upon the ſubject in debate, Ganganelli, as the *primum mobile* of their deliberations, decided with manly reſolution. The ſlighteſt error would have been of the moſt dangerous conſequence. The chief point in queſtion was to weigh the rights of the ſovereign pontiff, the motives upon which he acted, and to keep within the bounds that ſupport the equilibrium between the holy father and the other potentates.

The more arduous and difficult the functions of a pope, the more he ſtands in need of repoſe to enable him to go through his labours. Caſtlegandolfe, a caſtle built by the Chevalier Bernini, four leagues from Rome, near the lake Albano, which commands the moſt agreeable proſpects, is the uſual ſummer reſidence of the ſovereign pontiffs.

Clement failed not to repair thither in the months of May and October, the moſt proper ſeaſons in Italy to enjoy the pleaſures of the country; and it was here, to be intimately acquainted with Clement, we ſhould view him anatomizing an inſect, analyzing a flower, purſuing the phænomena of nature, and by degrees riſing up to her Author; and at length taking a general view of earth and heaven: or collecting himſelf within himſelf, conſidering man; or, at other times, familiarly converſing with his friends and intimates.

His imagination was gratified at the ſight of thoſe beauties that preſent themſelves in the neighbourhood of Rome; at the recollection of the antient Romans, who had ſo boldly trampled upon the ſoil, he recalled to his memory the moſt ſublime and ingenious paſſages of the antient poets upon the occaſion. There are few Italians, however little read, who are unacquainted with the works of Arioſto, Dante, Taſſo, Petrarch, and Metaſtaſio; even the women amuſe themſelves with the peruſal of theſe poets, and can quote them occaſionally. His philoſophy ſerved his imagination as an excellent ſecond; it recalled to his memory the different ſituations of his life; at one time in a ſtate of obſcure tranquillity, then forcibly agitated in the glare of dignity, like a pilot, who, after a calm ſerene morning, in the evening finds himſelf in a violent hurricane, accompanied with thunder, hail, and rain.

Sometimes, weary of meditation, he would retire with an old convent friend of his, Father Francis, into a bower ſequeſtered from the eye of curioſity: here the cloyſter anecdotes amuſed them, and they ſeemed in a perfect ſtate of equality. One day, Clement viewing him, repeated twice theſe words: "He has kept his garb, and is happier than me who wear the tiara. It was decreed I ſhould be a pope, and I much

much fear (here he paused) however, we must submit to the will of God."

He meditated in the same manner when any ambassadors were announced to him. They found him as serene and composed as if nothing agitated his mind; but he could not help laughing in his sleeve at the perplexities he gave the curious.

While he was at Castlegandolfe, on giving a splendid repast to some grandees of Spain, he laid aside his sovereign authority, and joined them in a friendly manner when seated at table, without suffering them to rise to salute him.

The public imagined he had lost sight of the grand objects of the jesuits, whilst, according to the custom of the court of Rome, he only aimed at gaining time. He at times searched the archives of the *Propaganda*, to consult the Memoirs of Cardinal de Tournon, of M. Maigrot, of La Beaume, and of the Jesuit Missionaries. At other times he had read to him the accusations of the society, and their vindications. Every important work, *pro* or *con*, with respect to the jesuits, he attentively examined; whilst equally mistrusting the eulogiums, and the sarcasms passed upon them, he was biassed neither by their panegyrists nor their satyrists. No man was ever more impartial. Equally abstracting himself from his own inclination, as well as all prejudices, he judged in the same manner upon the occasion as posterity necessarily must.

"Let me (said he to the sovereigns who pressed him to determine) have leisure to examine the important affair upon which I am to pronounce. I am the common father of the faithful, particularly those of the clergy; and I cannot destroy a celebrated order, without sufficient reason to justify me in the eyes of all ages, and above all, before God."

The people, ever idolizing him, ceased not to bless his reign; and their perseverance in doing so constitutes his greatest elogium. It is well known that the Romans easily change from enthusiasm to hatred; that they have often calumniated those pontiffs whom they had the most flattered; and that a pope to please them should not reign above three years. Unfortunately, on account of their laziness, they constantly hope, that a change of masters must be attended with an increase of happiness; just as sick men are apt to fancy that they will be much easier when they are placed in another posture.

The glory of Clement would not have been complete, if he had not contributed to the embellishment of Rome, a city so susceptible of ornaments, so fruitful in riches proper to decorate it; but unwilling to pursue the path of Sixtus V. Paul V. or Benedict XIV. he composed a museum, comprizing every thing that could gratify the curiosity of antiquaries and travellers; that is to say, the scarcest curiosities that had been transmitted by the ancients.

It might be said, on this occasion, that Rome, jealous of honouring this pontificate, was eager to display the master-pieces which lay concealed within her bowels. Scarce a year passed without vases, urns, statues of exquisite workmanship, being dug up, to enrich the superb collection begun under Lambertini. Here, with the cast of an eye, we may see the triumph of the Christian religion, by the fragments that served

ſerved in the pagan ſacrifices, and the ruins of all thoſe prophane divinities, the ſtatues of which are no longer held in eſtimation, but in proportion to the maſterſhip with which they are executed.

When Clement could relax from the variety of buſineſs in which he was engaged, he viſited theſe monuments with foreigners of diſtinction, and celebrated artiſts, rather as a ſovereign who conſiders it as a duty to embelliſh his capital, than as an *amateur*, who gratifies his taſte. This he ſaid to the Chevalier Chatelus, a worthy branch of the immortal d'Agueſſeau, as well on account of his wit as his extenſive knowledge. After converſing with him upon different ſubjects, he concluded, that "being born in a village, and brought up in a cloyſter, where the love of arts was not inſpired, he could not acquire the neceſſary judgment to determine as a connoiſſeur, upon the monuments he collected; but that, as a ſovereign, he thought himſelf obliged to diſplay the fineſt models to artiſts and the curious, in order that they might know and imitate them."

If he did not always reward the learned, as they might think they had a right to expect from ſo enlightened a pope, circumſtances ſhould be adverted to. The multiplicity of buſineſs in which he was engaged, joined to the ſhortneſs of his reign, did not afford him leiſure to engage in thoſe purſuits which would have given him the greateſt pleaſure. Moreover, a pope cannot always act agreeably to his own inclinations. There are incidents that tie his hands. Nevertheleſs, he was always found attentive to beſtow biſhoprics only upon thoſe he knew to be men of learning; and to this reaſon may be aſcribed his ſo frequently promoting prieſts of his own order.

A pope is generally very circumſpect in the nomination of a biſhop. He knows that the proper regulation of a dioceſe requires judgment and abilities; for which reaſon the Italian biſhops are uſually as meek as they are learned, and as charitable as they are zealous. They are conſtant reſidents, and they live in friendſhip and cordiality with their curates, for they muſt not be confounded with thoſe *monſignori*, known in Rome under the titles of prelates, and who frequently, not being in orders, fill ſuch poſts as laymen might occupy, and ſerve the pope in his various functions.

Clement was not leſs attentive in the nomination of his nuncios: he was deſirous that his ambaſſadors ſhould do him honour, as well by their manners as by their learning, and particularly by their love of peace; and, if he appointed M. Doria his nuncio to the court of France, notwithſtanding his youth, it was becauſe he was convinced that his extraordinary virtues had outſtripped his years, and that his merit already correſponded with the celebrity of his name. It was not till after the conſequence this prelate had gained in Spain (where he was the bearer of the conſecrated child-bed linen) that Clement named him nuncio in France. He ſent him there as an angel of peace, fit to maintain the harmony between the father and the eldeſt ſon of the church.

Religion has often ſuffered by an indiſcreet zeal; and in order to prevent it for the future, as far as poſſible, Clement, whoſe prudence ever dictated all his ſteps and reſolves,

ſolves, obſerved a goſpel toleration, as did the divine legiſlator with regard to the Sadduceans and the Samaritans. He uſed to ſay, "We too often lay aſide charity to maintain faith, without reflecting, that, if it is not allowed to tolerate error, it is forbidden to hate and perſecute thoſe who have unfortunately embraced it."

To the above rather too general a character, it may not be amiſs to add the following particulars. His death was immediately attributed to poiſon, as if an old man of ſeventy, loaded with infirmities and diſorders, could not quit the world without violence. His proceedings againſt the jeſuits furniſhed, in the minds of ſome people, a plauſible colour for this charge, and the malevolence of their enemies embelliſhed it with circumſtances. It ſeems even as if the miniſters of thoſe powers who had procured their diſſolution did not think it beneath them to countenance the report, as if falſehood was neceſſary to prevent the revival of a body which had already ſunk, in its full ſtrength, a mighty ſacrifice to their combined reſentment.

The charge was the more ridiculous, as the Pontiff had for a long time laboured under a painful diſorder, which originally proceeded from a ſuppreſſion of urine, to which he was ſubject; yet the report was propagated with the greateſt induſtry: and, though the French and Spaniſh miniſters were preſent at the opening of his body, the moſt horrible circumſtances were publiſhed relative to that operation. Nay, it was confidently affirmed, that the hair dropped off from the hand, the head fell off from the body, and that the ſtench poiſoned and killed the operators. It availed but little that the operators ſhewed themſelves alive and in good health, and that the ſurgeons and phyſicians proved the falſhood of every part of the report.

Striking Picture of Charles V. *during his Retirement in the Monaſtery of* St. Juſt, *where he ended his Days. From Travels through* Spain, *by* Richard Twiſs, *Eſq; F. R. S.*

AS I have mentioned Charles V. I ſhall add a ſhort quotation from the Abbé de la Porte: he ſays, he was in 1755 in the monaſtery of St. Juſt, which is ſituated between the cities of Talavera la Reyna and Placentia: and that one of the monks ſhewed him the place where the emperor had lodged. "There, ſaid he ſneeringly, there is the melancholy ſolitude where that monarch, become imbecile and devout, paſſed his days in winding up clocks, in teazing the friars, in giving himſelf the diſcipline, in daubing the walls of his cell with ſcraps on predeſtination and grace, in ſtunning himſelf with reflecting on the abandonment of all his crowns, and in repenting. There he performed the farce of his own burial, put himſelf in a coffin, ſung for himſelf the *de profundis*, and ſhewed all the follies of a diſtempered brain. One day when he went in his turn to wake the novices, at the hour of mattins, one of them, whom ſhe ſhook too violently, becauſe he ſtill ſlept, ſaid to him, haſt thou not troubled the repoſe of the world long enough, without coming to diſturb that of peaceable men who have forſaken it?"

Political

Political Characters, by Mr. Edmund Burke, *in his Speech on American Taxation, in the Houſe of Commons, April* 19, 1774.

GEORCE GRENVILLE.

A Perſon to whom on other accounts (Mr. Burke excepts his new colony ſyſtem) this country owes very great obligations. I do believe, that he had a very ſerious deſire to benefit the public. But, with no ſmall ſtudy of the detail, he did not ſeem to have his view, at leaſt equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally conſidered his objects in lights that were rather too detached, Whether the buſineſs of an American revenue was impoſed upon him altogether; whether it was entirely the reſult of his own ſpeculation; or, what is more probable, that his own ideas rather coincided with the inſtructions he had received; certain it is, that, with the beſt intentions in the world, he firſt brought this fatal ſcheme into form, and eſtabliſhed it by act of parliament.

No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whoſe loſs we deplore in common. Our little party-differences have been long ago compoſed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleaſure with him, than ever I acted againſt him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a firſt-rate figure in this country. With a maſculine underſtanding, and a ſtout and reſolute heart, he had an application undiſſipated and unwearied. He took public buſineſs, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleaſure he was to enjoy; and he ſeemed to have no delight out of this houſe, except in ſuch things as ſome way related to the buſineſs that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will ſay this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous ſtrain. It was to raiſe himſelf, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public ſervice; and to ſecure to himſelf a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its conſtitution, and a perfect practice in all its buſineſs.

Sir, if ſuch a man fell into errors, it muſt be from defects not intrinſical; they muſt be rather ſought in the particular habits of his life; which, though they do not alter the ground-work of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profeſſion. He was bred to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the firſt and nobleſt of human ſciences: a ſcience which does more to quicken and invigorate the underſtanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in perſons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the ſame proportion. Paſſing from that ſtudy he did not go very largely into the world; but plunged into buſineſs; I mean into the buſineſs of office; and the limited and fixed methods and forms eſtabliſhed there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in that line; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may truly be ſaid, that men too much converſant in office are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the ſubſtance

ſtance of buſineſs not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. Theſe forms are adapted to ordinary occaſions; and therefore perſons who are nurtured in office do admirably well, as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled ſcene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extenſive comprehenſion of things, is requiſite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wiſdom and power of human legiſlation than in truth it deſerves. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flouriſhing trade of this country was greatly owing to law and inſtitution, and not quite ſo much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which ſtood firſt in reputation was his idol. I mean the act of navigation. He has often profeſſed it to be ſo. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many reſpects well underſtood. But I do ſay, that, if the act be ſuffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumſtances, it muſt do great miſchief, and frequently even defeat its own purpoſe.

After the war, and in the laſt year of it, the trade of America had increaſed far beyond the ſpeculations of the moſt ſanguine imagination. It ſwelled out on every ſide. It filled all its proper channels to the brim. It overflowed with a rich redundance, and, breaking its banks on the right and on the left, it ſpread out upon ſome places, where it was indeed improper, upon others where it was only irregular. It is the nature of all greatneſs not to be exact; and great trade will always be attended with conſiderable abuſes. The contraband will always keep pace in ſome meaſure with the fair trade. It ſhould ſtand as a fundamental maxim, that no vulgar precaution ought to be employed in the cure of evils, which are cloſely connected with the cauſe of our proſperity. Perhaps this great perſon turned his eyes ſomewhat leſs than was juſt towards the incredible increaſe of the fair trade; and looked with ſomething of too exquiſite a jealouſy towards the contraband. He certainly felt a ſingular degree of anxiety on the ſubject; and even began to act from that paſſion earlier than is commonly imagined. For whilſt he was firſt lord of the admiralty, though not ſtrictly called upon in his official line, he preſented a very ſtrong memorial to the lords of the treaſury (my lord Bute was then at the head of the board) heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit commerce in America. Some miſchief happened even at that time from this overearneſt zeal. Much greater happened afterwards when it operated with greater power in the higheſt department of the finances. The bonds of the act of navigation were ſtraitened ſo much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate. They found, under the conſtruction and execution then uſed, the act no longer tying but actually ſtrangling them. All this coming with new

enumerations of commodities; with regulations which in a manner put a ſtop to the mutual coaſting intercourſe of the colonies; with the appointment of courts of admiralty under various improper circumſtances; with a ſudden extinction of the paper currencies; with a compulſory proviſion for the quartering of ſoldiers; the people of America thought themſelves proceeded againſt as delinquents, or at beſt as people under ſuſpicion of delinquency; and in ſuch a manner as, they imagined, their recent ſervices in the war did not at all merit. Any of theſe innumerable regulations, perhaps, would not have alarmed alone; ſome might be thought reaſonable; the multitude ſtruck them with terror.

Marquis of ROCKINGHAM.

In the year 1765, being in a very private ſtation, far enough from any line of buſineſs, and not having the honour of a ſeat in this houſe, it was my fortune, unknowing and unknown to the then miniſtry, by the intervention of a common friend, to become connected with a very noble perſon, and at the head of the treaſury department. It was indeed in a ſituation of little rank and no conſequence, ſuitable to the mediocrity of talents and pretenſions. But a ſituation near enough to enable me to ſee, as well as others, what was going on; and I did ſee in that noble perſon ſuch ſound principles, ſuch an enlargement of mind, ſuch clear and ſagacious ſenſe, and ſuch unſhaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward. Sir, Lord Rockingham very early in that ſummer received a ſtrong repreſentation from many weighty Engliſh merchants and manufactures, from governors of provinces and commanders of men of war, againſt almoſt the whole of the American commercial regulations: and particularly with regard to the total ruin which was threatened to the Spaniſh trade. I believe, Sir, the noble lord ſoon ſaw his way in this buſineſs. But he did not raſhly determine againſt acts which it might be ſuppoſed were the reſult of much deliberation. However, Sir, he ſcarcely began to open the ground, when the whole veteran body of office took the alarm. A violent outcry of all (except thoſe who knew and felt the miſchief) was raiſed againſt any alteration. On one hand, his attempt was a direct violation of treaties and public law.—On the other, the act of navigation and all the corps of trade laws were drawn up in array againſt it.

The firſt ſtep the noble lord took was to have the opinion of his excellent, learned, and ever-lamented friend the late Mr. York, then attorney general, on the point of law. When he knew that formally and officially, which in ſubſtance he had known before, he immediately diſpatched orders to redreſs the grievance. But I will ſay it for the then miniſter, he is of that conſtitution of mind, that I know he would have iſſued, on the ſame critical occaſion, the very ſame orders, if the acts of trade had been, as they were not, directly againſt him; and would have chearfully ſubmitted to the equity of parliament for his indemnity.

On

On the concluſion of this buſineſs of the Spaniſh trade, the news of the troubles, on account of the ſtamp-act, arrived in England. It was not until the end of October that theſe accounts were received. No ſooner had the ſound of that mighty tempeſt reached us in England, than the whole of the then oppoſition, inſtead of feeling humbled by the unhappy iſſue of their meaſures, ſeemed to be infinitely elated, and cried out, that the miniſtry, from envy to the glory of their predeceſſors, were prepared to repeal the ſtamp-act. Near nine years after, the hon. gentleman takes quite oppoſite ground, and now challenges me to put my hand to my heart, and ſay, whether the miniſtry had reſolved on the repeal till a conſiderable time after the meeting of parliament. Though I do not very well know what the hon. gentleman wiſhes to infer from the admiſſion, or from the denial, of this fact, on which he ſo earneſtly adjures me; I do put my hand on my heart, and aſſure him that they did *not* come to a reſolution directly to repeal. They weighed this matter as its difficulty and importance required. They conſidered maturely among themſelves. They conſulted with all who could give advice or information. It was not determined until a little before the meeting of parliament; but it was determined, and the main lines of their own plan marked out, before that meeting. Two queſtions aroſe (I hope I am not going into a narrative troubleſome to the houſe.)

[A cry of, Go on, go on.]

The firſt of the two conſiderations was, whether the repeal ſhould be total, or whether only partial; taking out every thing burthenſome and productive, and reſerving only an empty acknowledgment, ſuch as a ſtamp on cards and dice. The other queſtion was, on what principle the act ſhould be repealed? On this head alſo two principles were ſtarted. One, that the legiſlative rights of this country, with regard to America, were not entire, but had certain reſtrictions and limitations. The other principle was, that taxes of this kind were contrary to the fundamental principles of commerce on which the colonies were founded; and contrary to every idea of political equity; by which equity we are bound, as much as poſſible, to extend the ſpirit and benefit of the Britiſh conſtitution to every part of the Britiſh dominions. The option, both of the meaſure and of the principle of repeal, was made before the ſeſſion; and I wonder how any one can read the king's ſpeech at the opening of that ſeſſion, without ſeeing in that ſpeech both the repeal and the declaratory act very ſufficiently crayoned out. Thoſe who cannot ſee this, can ſee nothing.

Surely the hon. gentleman will not think that a great deal leſs time than was then employed, ought to have been ſpent in deliberation; when he conſiders that the news of the troubles did not arrive till towards the end of October. The parliament ſat to fill the vacancies on the 14th day of December, and on buſineſs the 14th of the following January.

Sir, a partial repeal, or, as the *bon ton* of court then was, a *modification*, would have ſatisfied a timid, unſyſtematic, procraſtinating miniſtry,

niſtry, as ſuch a meaſure has ſince done ſuch a miniſtry. A modification is the conſtant reſource of weak undeciding minds. To repeal by a denial of our right to tax in the preamble (and this too did not want adviſers), would have cut, in the heroic ſtyle, the gordian knot with a ſword. Either meaſure would have coſt no more than a day's debate. But when the total repeal was adopted; and adopted on principles of policy, of equity, and of commerce; this plan made it neceſſary to enter into many and difficult meaſures. It became neceſſary to open a very large field of evidence commenſurate to theſe extenſive views. But then this labour did knights ſervice. It opened the eyes of ſeveral to the true ſtate of the American affairs; it enlarged their ideas; it removed prejudices; and it conciliated the opinions and affections of men. The noble lord, who then took the lead in adminiſtration, my hon. friend * under me, and a right hon. gentleman † (if he will not reject his ſhare, and it was a large one, of this buſineſs) exerted the moſt laudable induſtry in bringing before you the fulleſt, moſt impartial, and leaſt-garbled body of evidence that ever was produced to this houſe. I think the enquiry laſted in the committee for ſix weeks; and at its concluſion this houſe, by an independent, noble, ſpirited, and unexpected majority; by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in parliament; in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiſs of ſtate, in deſpite of all the ſpeculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran penſioners and practiſed inſtruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the ſtamp-act, and (if it had been ſo permitted) a laſting peace to this whole empire.

I ſtate, Sir, theſe particulars, becauſe this act of ſpirit and fortitude has lately been, in the circulation of the ſeaſon, and in ſome hazarded declamations in this houſe, attributed to timidity. If, Sir, the conduct of miniſtry, in propoſing the repeal, had ariſen from timidity with regard to themſelves, it would have been greatly to be condemned. Intereſted timidity diſgraces as much in the cabinet, as perſonal timidity does in the field. But timidity, with regard to the well-being of our country, is heroic virtue. The noble lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilſt they trembled at the proſpect of ſuch diſtreſſes as you have ſince brought upon yourſelves, were not afraid ſteadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ableſt, and, let me ſay, not the moſt ſcrupulous oppoſitions, that perhaps ever was in this houſe, and withſtood it, unaided by, even one of, the uſual ſupports of adminiſtration. He did this when he repealed the ſtamp-act. He looked in the face a perſon he had long reſpected and regarded, and whoſe aid was then particularly wanting; I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he paſſed the declaratory act.

It is now given out, for the uſual purpoſes, by the uſual emiſſaries, that Lord Rockingham did not con-

* Mr. Dowdeſwell.

† General Conway.

ſent

ſent to the repeal of this act until he was bullied into it by lord Chatham; and the reporters have gone ſo far as publickly to aſſert, in an hundred companies, that the hon. gentleman under the gallery*, who propoſed the repeal in the American committee, had another ſett of reſolutions in his pocket directly the reverſe of thoſe he moved. Theſe artifices of a deſperate cauſe are, at this time, ſpread abroad, with incredible care, in every part of the town, from the higheſt to the loweſt companies; as if the induſtry of the circulation were to make amends for the abſurdity of the report.

Sir, whether the noble lord is of a complexion to be bullied by lord Chatham, or by any man, I muſt ſubmit to thoſe who know him. I confeſs, when I look back to that time, I conſider him as placed in one of the moſt trying ſituations in which, perhaps, any man ever ſtood. In the houſe of peers there were very few of the miniſtry, out of the noble lord's own particular connexion, (except lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could diſcern, an honourable and manly part,) that did not look to ſome other future arrangement, which warped his politicks. There were in both houſes new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other, than a moſt reſolute miniſter, from his meaſure or from his ſtation. The houſehold troops openly revolted. The allies of miniſtry (thoſe, I mean, who ſupported ſome of their meaſures, but refuſed reſponſibility for any) endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that muſt be fatal to the ſucceſs of the very cauſe which they would be thought to countenance. The queſtion of the repeal was brought on by miniſtry in the committee of this houſe, in the very inſtant when it was known that more than one court negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the oppoſition. Every thing, upon every ſide, was full of traps and mines. Earth below ſhook; heaven above menaced; all the elements of miniſterial ſafety were diſſolved. It was in the midſt of this chaos of plots and counterplots; it was in the midſt of this complicated warfare againſt public oppoſition and private treachery, that the firmneſs of that noble perſon was put to the proof. He never ſtirred from his ground; no, not an inch. He remained fixed and determined, in principle, in meaſure and in conduct. He practiſed no managements. He ſecured no retreat. He ſought no apology.

General CONWAY.

I will likewiſe do juſtice, I ought to do it, to the hon. gentleman who led us in this houſe (viz. general Conway.) Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and reſolution. We all felt inſpired by the example he gave us, down even to myſelf, the weakeſt in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from any body) the true ſtate of things; but, in my life, I never came with ſo much ſpirits into this houſe. It was a time for a *man* to act in. We had powerful

* General Conway.

enemies; but we had faithful and determined friends, and a glorious cauſe. We had a great battle to fight; but we had the means of fighting; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day and conquer.

I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleaſure, the ſituation of the hon. gentleman * who made the motion for the repeal; in that criſis, when the whole trading intereſt of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almoſt to a winter's return of light, their fate from your reſolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors, thrown upon, ſhewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there aroſe an involuntary burſt of gratitude and tranſport. They jumped upon him like children on a long abſent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined to his applauſe. Nor did he ſeem inſenſible to the beſt of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-cititizens. *Hope elevated and joy brightened his creſt.* I ſtood near him; and his face, to uſe the expreſſion of the ſcripture of the firſt martyr, "his face was as if it had been the face of an angel." I do not know how others feel; but, if I had ſtood in that ſituation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profuſion could beſtow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleaſing viſions, is long ſince vaniſhed.

Sir, this act of ſupreme magnanimity has been repreſented, as if it had been a meaſure of an adminiſtration, that, having no ſcheme of their own, took a middle line, pilfered a bit from one ſide and a bit from the other. Sir, they took *no* middle lines. They differed fundamentally from the ſchemes of both parties; but they preſerved the objects of both. They preſerved the authority of Great Britain. They preſerved the equity of Great Britain. They made the declaratory act; they repealed the ſtamp-act. They did both *fully*; becauſe the declaratory act was *without qualification*; and the repeal of the ſtamp-act *total*. This they did in the ſituation I have deſcribed.

Lord CHATHAM.

A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country reſpectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

——*Clarum et venerabile nomen.*
Gentibus, et multum noſtræ quod prederat urbi.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his ſuperior eloquence, his ſplendid qualities, his eminent ſervices, the vaſt ſpace he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the reſt, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and ſanctifies a great character, will not ſuffer me to cenſure any part of his con-

* General Conway.

duct.

duct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am ſure I am not diſpoſed to blame him. Let thoſe who have betrayed him by their adulation, inſult him with their malevolence. But what I do not preſume to cenſure, I may have leave to lament. For a wiſe man, he ſeemed to me, at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I ſpeak with the freedom of hiſtory, and I hope without offence. One or two of theſe maxims, flowing from an opinion not the moſt indulgent to our unhappy ſpecies, and ſurely a little too general, led him into meaſures that were greatly miſchievous to himſelf; and for that reaſon, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; meaſures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an adminiſtration, ſo checkered and ſpeckled; he put together a piece of joinery, ſo croſly indented and whimſically dovetailed; a cabinet ſo variouſly inlaid; ſuch a piece of diverſified Moſaic; ſuch teſſelated pavement without cement: here a bit of black ſtone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, kings friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious ſhew; but utterly unſafe to touch, and unſure to ſtand on. The colleagues whom he had aſſorted at the ſame boards, ſtared at each other, and were obliged to aſk, "Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. ſuch a one—I beg a thouſand pardons—" I venture to ſay, it did ſo happen, that perſons had a ſingle office divided between them, who had never ſpoke to each other in their lives; until they found themſelves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and point, in the ſame truckle-bed*.

Sir, In conſequence of this arrangement, having put ſo much the larger part of his enemies and oppoſers into power, the confuſion was ſuch, that his own principles could not poſſibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cauſe withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were ſure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to ſtand upon. When he had accompliſhed his ſcheme of adminiſtration, he was no longer a miniſter.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole ſyſtem was on a wide ſea, without chart or compaſs. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of miniſtry, were admitted, to ſeem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modeſty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was juſtified even in its extravagance by his ſuperior abilities, had never, in any inſtance, preſumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the ſport of every guſt, and eaſily driven into any port; and as thoſe who joined with them in manning the veſſel were

* Suppoſed to allude to the right hon. Lord North and George Cooke, Eſq; who were made joint paymaſters in the ſummer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham adminiſtration.

the moſt directly oppoſite to his opinions, meaſures, and character, and far the moſt artful and moſt powerful of the ſet, they eaſily prevailed, ſo as to ſeize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and inſtantly they turned the veſſel wholly out of the courſe of his policy. As if it were to inſult as well as to betray him, even long before the cloſe of the firſt ſeſſion of his adminiſtration, when every thing was publickly tranſacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly juſt and expedient to raiſe a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this ſplendid orb was entirely ſet, and while the weſtern horizon was in a blaze with his deſcending glory, on the oppoſite quarter of the heavens aroſe another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the aſcendant. This light too is paſſed, and ſet for ever. You underſtand, to be ſure, that I ſpeak of

CHARLES TOWNSHEND,

Officially the re-producer of this fatal ſcheme; whom I cannot even now remember without ſome degree of ſenſibility. In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this houſe, and the charm of every private ſociety which he honoured with his preſence. Perhaps there never aroſe in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finiſhed wit; and (where his paſſions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquiſite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not ſo great a ſtock, as ſome have had who flouriſhed formerly, of knowledge long treaſured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a ſhort time, all that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh, to illuſtrate, and to decorate, that ſide of the queſtion he ſupported. He ſtated his matter ſkilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a moſt luminous explanation, and diſplay of his ſubject. His ſtyle of argument was neither trite and vulgar, no ſubtle and abſtruſe. He hit the houſe juſt between wind and water.—And, not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in queſtion, he was never more tedious, or more earneſt, than the preconceived opinions and preſent temper of his hearers required; to whom he was always in perfect uniſon. He conformed exactly to the temper of the houſe; and he ſeemed to guide, becauſe he was always ſure to follow it.

I beg pardon, Sir, if, when I ſpeak of this and of other great men, I appear to digreſs in ſaying ſomething of their characters. In this eventful hiſtory of the revolutions of America, the characters of ſuch men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-poſts and land-marks in the ſtate. The credit of ſuch men at court, or in the nation, is the ſole cauſe of all the publick meaſures. It would be an invidious thing (moſt foreign I truſt to what you think my diſpoſition) to remark the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing juſtice at the ſame time to the great qualities, whence that authority aroſe. The ſubject is inſtructive to thoſe who wiſh to form themſelves on whatever of excellence has gone before them. There are many young members in the houſe (ſuch of late has been the rapid ſucceſſion of public men) who never

never ſaw that prodigy Charles Townſhend; nor of courſe know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings. For failings he had undoubtedly—many of us remember them; we are this day conſidering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cauſe; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate paſſion for fame; a paſſion which is the inſtinct of all great ſouls. He worſhipped that goddeſs whereſoever ſhe appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favourite habitation, in her choſen temple, the Houſe of Commons. Beſides the characters of the individuals that compoſe our body, it is impoſſible, Mr. Speaker, not to obſerve, that this houſe has a collective character of its own. That character too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all great public collections of men, you poſſeſs a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But, among vices, there is none, which the houſe abhors in the ſame degree with *obſtinacy*. Obſtinacy, Sir, is certainly a great vice; and in the changeful ſtate of political affairs it is frequently the cauſe of great miſchief. It happens, however, very unfortunately, that almoſt the whole line of the great and maſculine virtues, conſtancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmneſs, are cloſely allied to this diſagreeable quality, of which you have ſo juſt an abhorrence: and, in their exceſs, all theſe virtues very eaſily fall into it. He, who paid ſuch a punctilious attention to all your feelings, certainly took care not to ſhock them by that vice which is the moſt diſguſtful to you.

That fear of diſpleaſing thoſe who ought moſt to be pleaſed, betrayed him ſometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and, in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the ſtamp act. Things and the diſpoſition of mens minds were changed. In ſhort, the ſtamp act began to be no favourite in this houſe. He therefore attended at the private meeting, in which the reſolutions moved by a right hon. gentleman were ſettled; reſolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal; and he would have ſpoken for it too, if an illneſs, (not as was then given out a political) but to my knowledge, a very real illneſs, had not prevented it.

The very next ſeſſion, as the faſhion of this world paſſeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this houſe as the ſtamp-act had been in the ſeſſion before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail moſt amongſt thoſe moſt in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue muſt be had out of America. Inſtantly he was tied down to his engagements by ſome, who had no objection to ſuch experiments, when made at the coſt of perſons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the king ſtood in a ſort of humiliated ſtate, until ſomething of the kind ſhould be done.

Here this extraordinary man, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, found himſelf in great ſtraits. To pleaſe univerſally was the object of his life; but to tax and to

pleaſe, no more than to love and to be wiſe, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partizans of American revenue, he made a preamble ſtating the neceſſity of ſuch a revenue. To cloſe with the American diſtinction, this revenue was *external* or port-duty; but again, to ſoften it to the other party, it was a duty of *ſupply*. To gratify the *coloniſts*, it was laid on Britiſh manufactures; to ſatisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted Eaſt India Company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a ſhilling to threepence. But, to ſecure the favour of thoſe who would tax America, the ſcene of collection was changed, and, with the reſt, it was levied in the colonies. What need I ſay more? This fine-ſpun ſcheme had the uſual fate of all exquiſite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both aroſe ſingly and ſolely from a love of our applauſe. He was truly the child of the houſe. He never thought, did, or ſaid any thing but with a view to you. He every day adapted himſelf to your diſpoſition; and adjuſted himſelf before it, as at a looking glaſs.

He had obſerved (indeed it could not eſcape him) that ſeveral perſons, infinitely his inferiors in all reſpects, had formerly rendered themſelves conſiderable in this houſe by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the ſpecies is extinct) who, when they roſe in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles; from any order or ſyſtem in their politicks; or from any ſequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is aſtoniſhing how much this uncertainty, eſpecially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on ſuch men. All eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote, almoſt to the end of their ſpeeches. While the houſe hung in this uncertainty, now the *Hear-hims* roſe from this ſide, now they re-bellowed from the other; and that party to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempeſt of applauſe. The fortune of ſuch men was a temptation too great to be reſiſted by one, to whom a ſingle whiff of incenſe withheld gave much greater pain, than he received delight, in the clouds of it, which daily roſe about him from the prodigal ſuperſtition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim was to make thoſe agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing elſe.

Hence aroſe this unfortunate act, the ſubject of this day's debate; from a diſpoſition which, after making an American revenue to pleaſe one, repealed it to pleaſe others, and again revived it in hopes of pleaſing a third, and of catching ſomething in the ideas of all.

Memoirs of Allen Bathurſt, *Earl* Bathurſt.

THIS nobleman, one of the laſt worthies of Queen Anne's reign,

reign, that ſhining period of triumphs, taſte, genius, and elegance, was born in the year 1684. His ſtudies and his education were equally conducive to the brilliant figure he was deſtined to make in ſocial life and in the ſenate, as a polite ſcholar, a patriot, and a ſtateſman. Theſe talents he had an opportunity to diſplay as early as the year 1705; when, at the requeſt of his father, Sir Benjamin Bathurſt, and the ſolicitation of the conſtituents of Cirenceſter, he ſerved in parliament for that borough, his native ſoil, with reputation and integrity. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in the ſtruggles and debates relative to the union between the two kingdoms, firmly ſupporting this meaſure, calculated to ſtrengthen the vigour of government by uniting its force. Though he was contented to act a ſubordinate character in the great oppoſition planned by Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, his intimate friends, to ſap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and his adherents, he was of infinite ſervice to his party in arraigning, with ſpirit and eloquence, the conduct of the General and the Earl of Godolphin, who had long governed the Queen, and laviſhed the treaſures of the nation on conqueſts more ſplendid than ſerviceable. The loſs of the battle of Almanza ſeconded his efforts, to diſpel the intoxication of former ſucceſſes. His perſonal regard for Lord Somers, Preſident of the Council, was never altered, though they were of different opinions in politics; and when he was diveſted of his office, Mr. Bathurſt acted with ſuch tenderneſs and delicacy, as to preſerve the eſteem of Lord Somers in a private ſtation. In conſideration of his zeal and ſervices, the Queen advanced him, in 1711, to the dignity of a peer, by the title of Baron Bathurſt, of Battleſden, in Bedfordſhire.

His Lordſhip continued to ſpeak his ſentiments with an undaunted freedom in the upper houſe, and ſtept forth as a formidable opponent to the court meaſures in the reign of George I, and during Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration. The acrimony of the proſecution carried on againſt the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, ſtimulated his indignation and his eloquence againſt ſuch vindictive proceedings; and he obſerved, that the king of a faction was but a ſovereign of half his ſubjects.

The South-Sea ſcheme having infected the whole nation with a ſpirit of avaricious enterprize, the people awaked from their delirium, and an infinite number of families was involved in ruin. Lord Bathurſt publicly impeached the directors, whoſe arts had enabled theſe vain expectations to amaſs ſurprizing fortunes: he repreſented that the national honour was concerned in ſtripping them of their ill-acquired wealth, and moved for having all the directors of the South-Sea Company puniſhed by a forfeiture of their eſtates, for ſuch a notorious act of fordid knavery.

When the bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords againſt Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, that learned prelate, who joined to the graces of ſtile and elocution all the elegance of a juſt delivery; among the many friends the biſhop's eloquence, politeneſs, and ingenuity had procured him, was Ld. Bathurſt. He ſpoke againſt the bill with great

vehemence and propriety, obſerving, "that, if ſuch extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, or intercepted letter, might be made criminal." Then turning to the biſhops, he ſaid, he "could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs it was, that they were infatuated like the wild Americans, who fondly believe they inherit not only the ſpoils but even the abilities of the man they deſtroy." He was one of the Lords who entered his proteſt againſt the bill.

His Lordſhip was entirely averſe to continental connexions, and animadverted ſeverely upon the monarch whoſe thoughts were turned to foreign concerns and alliances which could never be uſeful; complaining of the immenſe ſums laviſhed in ſubſidies to needy and rapacious princes. He accuſed the Britiſh miniſtry of a baſe deſertion of the honour and intereſt of their country in the Spaniſh convention; alledging that the Spaniards, inſtead of granting a redreſs, had rather extorted a releaſe for their former conduct, as the word ſatisfaction had not been ſo much as mentioned in all the treaty. His Lordſhip moved to know, whether Spain had paid the ſums ſtipulated by this convention, when the time limited for the payment was expired. The Duke of Newcaſtle anſwered in the negative, and could aſſign no reaſon for the delay.

The directors of the charitable corporation having embezzled 500,000 l. of the proprietors capital, Lord Bathurſt declared, in the Houſe of Lords, his abhorrence of this moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, aſſerting, that not one ſhilling of the money was ever applied to the proper ſervice, but became the reward of avarice and venality,

His Lordſhip concurred, with all his power, in the oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole, who now tottered on the brink of ruin. This miniſter, after obſtinate ſtruggles, having been forced to reſign all his employments, Lord Bathurſt was ſworn of the privy-council, and made captain of the gentlemen penſioners, which poſt he reſigned in 1744. He was appointed treaſurer to the preſent King, then prince of Wales, in 1757, and continued in the liſt of privy-counſellors at his acceſſion to the throne; but, on account of his great age, he choſe to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*.

Lord Bathurſt's integrity gained him the eſteem even of his opponents; and his humanity and benevolence, the affection of all that knew him more intimately. He added to his public virtues all the good breeding, politeneſs, and elegance of ſocial intercourſe. Dr. Freind, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Swift, Prior, Rowe, Addiſon, Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, and moſt men of genius in his own time, cultivated his friendſhip, and were proud of his correſpondence.

Pope, in his epiſtle to him on the Uſe of Riches, thus addreſſes him:

"The ſenſe to value riches, with the art
T' enjoy them, and the virtue to impart;
To balance fortune by a juſt expence,
Join with œconomy magnificence,

With

With ſplendor charity, with plenty health;
O teach us, Bathurſt, yet unſpoil'd by wealth!
That ſecret rare, between th' extremes to move,
Of mad good-nature, and of mean ſelf-love."

And Sterne, in his Letters to Eliza, thus ſpeaks of him:

"This nobleman, ſays he, is an old friend of mine; he was always the protector of men of wit and genius: and has had thoſe of the laſt century always at his table. The manner in which his notice began of me, was as ſingular as it was polite.—He came up to me one day, as I was at the Princeſs of Wales's court: 'I want to know you, Mr. Sterne; but it is fit you ſhould know alſo who it is that wiſhes this pleaſure: you have heard, continued he, of an old Lord Bathurſt, of whom your Popes and Swifts have ſung and ſpoken ſo much: I have lived my life with geniuſes of that caſt, but have ſurvived them; and deſpairing ever to find their equals, it is ſome years ſince I have cloſed my accounts, and ſhut up my books, with thoughts of never opening them again; but you have kindled a deſire in me of opening them once more before I die, which I now do, ſo go home, and dine with me.' This nobleman, I ſay, is a prodigy, for at eighty-five he has all the wit and promptneſs of a man of thirty; a diſpoſition to be pleaſed, and a power to pleaſe others beyond whatever I knew! added to which, a man of learning, courteſy, and feeling."

His Lordſhip, in the latter part of his life, preſerved his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity, always acceſſible, hoſpitable, and beneficent. Lately he delighted in rural amuſements, and enjoyed, with a philoſophical ſatisfaction, the ſhade of the lofty trees he had planted himſelf. To within a month of his death he conſtantly rode out on horſe-back two hours before dinner, and conſtantly drank his bottle of Claret or Madeira after dinner. He uſed to declare, in a jocoſe manner, he never could think of adopting Dr. Cadogan's method, as Dr. Cheyne had aſſured him, fifty years ago, he would never live ſeven years longer, unleſs he abridged himſelf of his wine. Purſuant to this maxim, his Lordſhip having, about two years ago, invited ſeveral of his friends to ſpend a few chearful days with him at his ſeat at Cirenceſter; and being one evening very loth to part with them; on his ſon the preſent Chancellor's objecting to their ſitting up any longer, and adding, that health and long life were beſt ſecured by regularity; he ſuffered him to retire: but, as ſoon as he was gone, the chearful father ſaid, "Come, my good friends, ſince the old gentleman is gone to bed, I think we may venture to crack another bottle."

His Lordſhip was advanced to the dignity of Earl in 1772, and lived to ſee the above nobleman, his eldeſt ſon, ſeveral years Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, and promoted to the peerage in 1771, by the title of Baron Apſley. Lord Bathurſt married Catharine, daughter of Sir Peter Apſley, by whom he had two other ſons, and five daughters. His death happened, after a few days illneſs, at his ſeat near Cirenceſter, in the 91ſt year of his age, and on the 16th of September, 1775.

Memoirs

Memoirs of the Life and Actions of the late Sir Charles Saunders.

MR. Saunders entered early into the royal navy, and was ſo diſtinguiſhed by that undoubted judge of naval merit, the late Lord Anſon, as to be appointed, on his recommendation, firſt lieutenant of his own ſhip, the Centurion, when he ſailed on the expedition to the South Seas in Sept. 1740. In Feb. following, during their ſtay at Port St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, which was occaſioned by an accident that happened to the Tryal's main-maſt, Mr. Saunders was promoted by the Commodore to the command of that ſloop, in the room of Capt. Cheap, removed to the Wager. But Capt. Saunders lying dangerouſly ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the ſurgeons, that the removing him on board his own ſhip in his preſent condition might hazard his life, Mr. Anſon gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, firſt lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as maſter and commander of the Tryal during the illneſs of her captain.

In the paſſage round Cape Horn, Capt. Saunders, out of his ſmall complement of 80 men, buried 20; and arriving at the iſland of Juan Fernandez ſoon after the Commodore, leſt any ſhips of the ſquadron ſhould have miſtaken the neighbouring iſland of Maſſa Fuera for that of Fernandes, all its bays and creeks were, by Mr. Anſon's orders, more particularly examined by Capt. Saunders (ſays Mr. Robins*) "than ever had been before, or perhaps ever will be again;" though in this laſt circumſtance he is miſtaken, as Capt. Carteret, (ſee Hawkeſworth's Voyages) in May, 1767, much more accurately ſurveyed that iſland, and has alſo given a chart of it. It is obſervable, that the Spaniards taken ſoon after in a prize, by the Centurion, were aſtoniſhed on ſeeing the Tryal ſloop at anchor; and that, after all their fatigues, the Engliſh could have ſo ſoon refitted ſuch a veſſel on the ſpot; and could ſcarce believe that ſuch a bauble as that could paſs round Cape Horn, when the beſt ſhips of Spain were obliged to put back. On Sept. 18, 1741, Capt. Saunders, being diſpatched on a cruize off Valparaiſo, took a large merchant-man, of 600 tons bound to that port from Callao. But, to balance this ſucceſs, the Tryal ſoon after ſprung both her maſts, and, beſides was ſo leaky, that on joining the Commodore he found it neceſſary to take out her people, and deſtroy her, and in her ſtead appointed her prize to be a frigate in his Majeſty's ſervice, mounting her with 20 guns, manning her with the Tryal's crew, and giving commiſſions to the Captain and other officers accordingly. After ſcuttling and ſinking her, Capt. Saunders, with his new frigate (called the Tryal Prize), was diſpatched on a cruize off the high land of Valparaiſo, in company with the Centurion's prize, where, however, they had no ſucceſs, and ſo proceeded down the coaſt to the rendezvous off Naſca, where they joined the Commodore Nov. 2. From that time till the April following Capt. Saunders kept company with the Commodore; but then the whole numbers on board the ſquadron not

* The real author of Lord Anſon's Voyage.

amount-

amounting to the complement of a fourth-rate man of war, it was agreed to deſtroy the Tryal's and other prizes, and to reinforce the Glouceſter with the beſt part of her crew: and accordingly, on April 27, they were towed on ſhore, and ſcuttled in the harbour of Chequetan.

Soon after the Centurion's arrival at Macao, in China, in Nov. 1742, Capt. Saunders took his paſſage to England on board a Swediſh ſhip, charged with diſpatches from the Commodore, and arrived in the Downs in May, 1743. By this means he loſt the great emoluments that attended the capture of the Manilla galleon in June following. We have not been able to learn what ſhips this brave officer commanded (as we can hardly ſuppoſe he was unemployed) till March, 1745, when he was made Captain of the Sandwich, of 90 guns. Nor had he any opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf till Oct. 14, 1747, when, being commander of the Yarmouth, of 64 guns, in the ſquadron of Admiral Hawke, he had a great ſhare in the victory of that day, the Neptune and Monarque, both of 74 guns, ſtriking to him: and though he had 22 men killed and 70 wounded, he gallantly propoſed to Captains Saumarez and Rodney the purſuing the two ſhips that eſcaped, which they in conſequence engaged, and probably would have taken, if the death of Capt. Saumarez (our hero's fellow-lieutenant in the Centurion) had not occaſioned his ſhip to haul her wind, and do no more ſervice. On the trial of Capt. Fox, of the Kent, for miſbehaviour on that day, Nov. 25, our Captain was one of the witneſſes againſt him. In April, 1750, he was elected member of parliament for Plymouth, in the room of Lord Vere Beauclerk, deceaſed. In May, 1752, Mr. Saunders ſailed as Commodore, in the Penzance, of 40 guns, to protect the Newfoundland fiſhery, with inſtructions alſo to look for a ſuppoſed iſland in lat. 49 deg. 40 min. longitude 24 deg. 30 min. from the Lizard, in ſearch of which Commodore Rodney (ſome weeks before) had cruiſed ten days in vain. It is needleſs to add that Commodore Saunders had no better ſucceſs. In April 1754, he was appointed Treaſurer of Greenwich hoſpital, an office which on his father promotion he reſigned; and in the parliament that met at Weſtminſter, May 31, he was returned for Heydon in Yorkſhire, by the intereſt of his great and conſtant friend Lord Anſon. In March, 1755, a war being apprehended, Mr. Saunders was appointed Captain of the Prince, a new 90 gun ſhip; and in June he treated with the utmoſt magnificence, on board his ſhip at Spithead, the nobility who came to ſee the firings of the fleet on the anniverſary of the King's acceſſion. This command he reſigned in December following, on being appointed Comptroller of the Navy; and on this occaſion his ſeat in parliament being vacated, he was re-elected. About the ſame time he was choſen an Elder Brother of the Trinity-Houſe. In June, 1756, on advice being received of the miſconduct of Admiral Byng off Minorca, a large promotion of flag-officers was made purpoſely to include Mr. Saunders; and he was ſent immediately to the Mediterranean as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with Sir Edward Hawke, to take the

the command of the fleet: and on Admiral Hawke's return to England, in Jan. 1757, the ſole command devolved on him. In Feb. 1759, Mr. Saunders was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and ſailed from Spithead on board the Neptune, of 90 guns, Feb. 17, (with General Wolfe on board) as chief naval commander on the expedition to Quebec, the ſucceſs of which is too well known to need any farther mention. Returning from that glorious conqueſt, in November, with General Townſhend, they were informed, in the chops of the channel, of the Breſt ſquadron being ſailed, on which the Admiral took the gallant reſolution of going to join Sir Edward Hawke, though without orders. But that affair was decided before his arrival. Landing at Corke, he arrived at Dublin, Dec. 15, where, going to the play, he was ſaluted by the audience with the higheſt demonſtrations of applauſe. Dec. 26 he arrived in London. For this great ſervice Mr. Saunders was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Marines; and on his taking his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, January 23, 1760, the thanks of that Houſe were given to him by the Speaker. May 21, he ſailed from St. Helen's, with the Neptune, &c. to take the command in the Mediterranean. On May 26, 1761, he was inſtalled a Knight of the Bath in K. Henry the Seventh's chapel; and in the parliament, which met Nov. 3, was re-elected for Heydon. In Oct. 1762, Sir Charles Saunders was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White; and on Sept. 16, 1766, having ſome time had a ſeat at the Admiralty-Board, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and appointed Firſt Lord of the Admiralty: but this poſt he held only about two months. In the funeral proceſſion of the Duke of York, Nov. 3, 1767, he was one of the Admirals who ſupported the canopy. In the new parliament, which met May 10, 1768, he was again choſen for Heydon. In Oct. 1770, he was appointed Admiral of the Blue. In the preſent parliament, which met Nov. 29, 1774, Sir Charles Saunders was a fourth time choſen for the borough of Heydon; and remarkable it is, and much to his honour, that five hours after his lamented death, which happened at his houſe in Spring-Garden, on Dec. 7, 1775, (of the gout in his ſtomach) a juſt eulogium was paid him in that Houſe by two members * diſtinguiſhed for their virtues and abilities. His corpſe was privately interred in Weſtminſter Abbey on the 12th, near the monument † of Gen. Wolfe, "his brother of the war." To Admiral Keppel (who had been Lieutenant with him in the Centurion) he has left (we hear) 5000l. and 1200l. per ann.; to Admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer 5000l.; to Timothy Brett, Eſq; 5000l.; to his nephew 200l. per ann.; to a young lady that lived with him 400l. per ann. and all his houſhold furniture, except plate and pictures, which are given to his niece, together with the bulk of his fortune.

* Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke.

† Not near his remains, as expreſſed in the papers, Gen. Wolfe being buried at Greenwich.

A ſhort Account of Dr. Hartley, *Author of "The Theory of the* Human Mind, *on the Principles of the Aſſociation of Ideas."*

DAvid Hartley, M. A. was born at Ilingworth. His father was curate there, and married, May 25, 1707, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Edward Wilkinſon, his predeceſſor. This curacy Mr. Hartley afterwards reſigned for the chapel of Armley, in the pariſh of Leeds, where he died, and left behind him eight children. His ſon David was brought up by one Mrs. Brookſbank, near Hallifax, and received his academical education at Jeſus College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow. He firſt began to practiſe phyſic at Newark, in Nottinghamſhire, from whence he removed to St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk. After this, he ſettled for ſome time in London, and laſtly went to live at Bath, where he died, Sep. 30, 1757, aged 53. He left two ſons and a daughter. His elder ſon got a travelling fellowſhip, and his younger was entered at Oxford in Michaelmas term, 1757. He publiſhed "A View of the preſent Evidence for and againſt Mrs. Stevens's Medicines as a Solvent for the Stone, containing 155 Caſes, with ſome Experiments and Obſervations. London, 1739. This book, which contains 204 pages in 8vo, is dedicated to the Preſident and Fellows of the Royal College of Phyſicians, London; wherein the author informs that body, that, about a year before, he publiſhed ſome caſes and experiments, which ſeemed to him ſufficient evidences of a diſſolving power in the urine of ſuch perſons as take Mrs. Stephens's medicines, though he did not then enter into the diſcuſſion of that point, but left the facts to ſpeak for themſelves; finding, however, that a quite contrary concluſion had been drawn from thoſe inſtances, and others of a like nature, as if the medicines did not diſſolve, but generate ſtones; he therefore re-publiſhed the ſame caſes and experiments, with all caſes favourable or unfavourable, perfect or imperfect, which he had been able to procure, hoping that he had obviated all objections, and even proved a diſſolving power in the medicated urine. At p. 175 of this book are propoſals for making Mrs. Stephens's medicines public, and a liſt is annexed of the contributions for this purpoſe, from April 11, 1738, to Feb. 24 following, the amount of which was 1387 l. 13 s. He was the chief inſtrument in procuring for Mrs. Stephens the 5000 l. granted by parliament. His own caſe is the 123d in the above book. He is ſaid to have died of the ſtone, after having taken above two hundred pounds weight of ſoap. Mrs. Stephens's medicines were made public in the Gazette, from Saturday, June 16, to Tueſday, June 19, 1739.

James Parſons, M. D. F. R. S. publiſhed an 8vo, printed in London, 1742, containing (inter alia) Animadverſions on Lithontriptic Medicines, particularly thoſe of Mrs. Stephens, and an account of the diſſections of ſome bodies of perſons who died after the uſe of them. In this book are ſeveral caſes laid down in Dr. Hartley's own words, and afterwards critically examined, in order to ſhew (particularly from thoſe in whoſe bladders ſtones were found after death) that that celebrated medi-

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cine had no power of diſſolving ſtones in the kidneys or bladder. And it muſt be owned, though with regret, that this writer has ſucceeded in his proofs.

Dr. Hartley is ſaid to have written againſt Dr. Warren, of St. Edmund's Bury, in defence of inoculation; and ſome letters of his are to be met with in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. He was certainly a man of learning, and a reputed good phyſician; but too fond of noſtrums.

The Doctor's moſt conſiderable literary production is a work, intitled, "Obſervations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations, in two parts." London, 1749, 2 vols. 8vo. The firſt part contains obſervations on the frame of the human body and mind, and on their mutual connexions and influences. The work, it ſeems, took its riſe from the Rev. Mr. Gray's aſſerting the poſſibility of deducing all our intellectual pleaſures and pains from aſſociation, in a diſſertation on the fundamental principle of virtue, prefixed to Law's tranſlation of King's Origin of Evil. The ſentiments in this piece led our author to enquire into the power of aſſociation, and to examine its conſequences in reſpect of morality and religion, and alſo its phyſical cauſe, when by degrees many diſquiſitions foreign to the doctrine of aſſociation, or at leaſt not immediately connected with it, intermixed themſelves; for this reaſon he has added thereto vibrations, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh a connexion between theſe; and has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew the general uſe of theſe two in explaining the nature of our ſenſations. The ſecond part contains obſervations on the duty and expectations of mankind, before which is an introduction, in which he ſays, that the contemplation of our frame and conſtitution appeared to him to have a peculiar tendency to leſſen the difficulties attending natural and revealed religion; and to improve their evidences, as well as to concur with them in their determination of man's duty and expectations; with which view he drew up the foregoing obſervations on the frame and connexion of the body and mind; and, in proſecution of the ſame deſign, he goes on in this part, from this foundation, and upon the other phænomena of nature, to deduce the evidences for the general truths of natural religion. Secondly, laying down all theſe as a new foundation whereon to build the evidences for revealed religion. Thirdly, to enquire into the rule of life, and particular applications of it which reſult from the frame of our natures, the dictates of natural religion, and the precepts of the ſcriptures taken together, compared with and caſting light upon each other. Fourthly, to enquire into the genuine doctrines of natural and revealed religion, thus illuſtrated, concerning the expectations of mankind here and hereafter, in conſequence of their obſervance, or violation of, the rule of life.

An authentic Account of the very curious Reſearches, and valuable Diſcoveries, in the Natural Hiſtory, and Manufactures, of China, *and other parts of* Aſia, *made by the late*

late John Bradby Blake, *Eſq; one of the* Engliſh Eaſt-India *Company's Reſident Supercargoes at* Canton *in* China, *and of the third rank in council there; as likewiſe of his great and ſucceſsful endeavours to render his diſcoveries uſeful to mankind in general, and his fellow-ſubjects in particular. By a Gentlemnn who had the happineſs of being well acquainted with Mr.* Blake, *and ſeeing ſeveral amazing ſpecimens of his uncommon ingenuity, knowledge, and application.*

MR. Blake's plan was great and noble; and he had not only a head, but a heart, to execute it. He ſpared no pains or expence to attain what he aimed at; ſo that his loſs muſt prove irreparable, unleſs ſome other gentleman, who may hereafter happen to reſide in China, that great empire of the arts, ſhould have ſufficient abilities and courage to tread in Mr. Blake's ſteps, and continue what he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun. It is with a view of contributing thereto, as much as that of paying a juſt and laſting tribute to the memory of ſo dear a friend, and ſo valuable a member of the community, that the writer now requeſts a place for theſe lines in the Annual Regiſter.

But to the point. Mr. Blake's plan was to procure the ſeeds of all the vegetables produced in China, which are uſed in medicine, manufactures, or food; or are in any ſhape ſerviceable to mankind; and forward to Europe not only ſuch ſeeds, but the plants producing them; in order to be propagated either in Great Britain and Ireland, or in our colonies of America, whoſe ſoil and climate might beſt ſuit them; which colonies on the continent, by ſtretching from Cape Florida ſouthward, to Nova Scotia northward, as well as the Weſt India iſlands, by lying in ſimilar latitudes with the reſpective provinces of China, &c. gave him reaſon to hope they would all ſucceed either in one or other of them, if got thither in a vegetable ſtate. Nor did he confine himſelf to the produce of that empire only; he likewiſe eſtabliſhed an intercourſe (by means of the Junks) with Japan and Cochin China, and ſucceſs has attended his endeavours; for the ſeeds, which three or four years ago he ſent to John Ellis, Eſq; of Gray's Inn, of the fine Cochin China rice, which in that country grows on the hills and uplands, have already been propagated in Jamaica, by Henry Ellis, Eſq; of that iſland, and on General Melvill's eſtate in Dominica; as alſo by Dr. Garden, of Charles Town, South Carolina, who informed his correſpondent in London, that it not only flouriſhed in his own garden, but likewiſe in thoſe of many other gentlemen, to whom he diſtributed a part of the ſeeds that were ſent him; and that, by getting into freſh ſeeds, it promiſed to be a valuable grain to that province, eſpecially in the hilly back parts of it. The tallow tree, likewiſe, the ſeeds of which Mr. Blake ſent home ſome years paſt, flouriſhed not only in Carolina, but alſo in Jamaica, and many other of our colonies. In ſhort, both theſe articles bid fair to be of as much utility to our coloniſts as they are to the Chineſe, and may in time, with

with many other things, become conſiderable articles of commerce.

In the South Carolina and American General Gazette, No. 743, from Monday, December 21, to Monday, December 28, 1772, mention is made of both theſe articles in the following words, after taking notice of a treatiſe on the culture of different kinds of rice, intitled, *Travels of a Philoſopher, by Monſ. le Poivre:* "We have the pleaſure to inform the public, that, by the indefatigable induſtry of a very curious gentleman at Canton, a ſufficient quantity for experiment of the upland rice from Cochin China, mentioned above, ſo long wiſhed for, has been ſent by the Thames Indiaman, to his friend in Gray's Inn, who will take proper care that it is diſtributed to ſuch perſons in our ſouthern colonies as will make a fair trial of this moſt uſeful grain. We are further indebted to this curious gentleman for a parcel of the ſeeds of the croton ſebiferum of Linnæus, or the tallow tree of China, preſerved in a moſt excellent manner. This tree ſeems to afford a ſubſtance between wax and tallow, and which bids fair to be of as great uſe to our Southern American colonies, as it is in China." Dr. Garden, in a letter to his correſpondent, written in the year 1773, acquaints him of his having received from Mr. Blake, of Parliament-ſtreet, father to the young gentleman whoſe memory we are commemorating, ſeeds of two ſorts of China indigo, the one of a deep, and the other of a ſky, blue; the lacquer tree; the oil tree, uſed to mix up the lacquer for cabinets; the alcea, deſcribed in Kempher's hiſtory of Japan, which is an article of vegetable food; and many other ſeeds from Pekin, and other more northerly provinces of China; particularly ſeveral from Corea, a country between China and Tartary, above 300 leagues from Canton; and the doctor obſerves, that himſelf and many others were ſenſible ſuch an intercourſe between the Eaſt Indies and America, having for its object the propagating the ſeeds of ſuch trees and plants as are uſeful either in medicine or commerce, would be very beneficial to the latter: his words are, "When gentlemen of ſuch benevolent diſpoſitions, and public ſpirit, as Mr. Blake and his father, engage in ſuch attempts, much advantage muſt ſoon flow from a plan of this kind; at leaſt ought to flow from it, if as well ſeconded on this ſide the Atlantic."

All the before-mentioned plants, with a variery of others from ſeeds ſent to England by Mr. Blake of Canton, and diſtributed by his father with a liberal and impartial hand, are likewiſe flouriſhing in his majeſty's garden at Kew, under that ingenious and ſkilful botanic gardener, Mrs. Aiton; at Chelſea, in the apothecaries company's gardens, under the care of Mr. Forſyth; as alſo at Dr. Fothergill's, near Stratford; Dr. Pitcairn's, near Iſlington; Mr. Malcombe, at Kennington Common; Mr. Baſington, at Hoxton; and particularly at Mile-end, in the garden of that well known practical botanic gardener, Mr. Gordon, who moreover has the care of ſeveral plants ſent, in pots, from China by Mr. Blake, to his friend Mr. John Ellis, of Gray's Inn, whoſe botanic knowledge and correſpondence in ſome degree excited Mr. Blake in his

his purſuit. Among thoſe plants are the lichees, a very fine fruit of China of ſeveral ſorts; as alſo the gardenia, a fine yellow dye; both which the writer ſaw there in the ſummer 1773 in a flouriſhing ſtate, with many others, the names of which he does not at preſent recollect: and he finds that Mr. Ellis, and alſo Mr. Blake, have each of them a fine flouriſhing plant of the tea tree, propagated and multiplied by Mr. Gordon; both which, he is told, ſtood the open air all the winter of the laſt months of 1773, and the firſt months of 1774, by advice of Mr. Blake, who ſome time ago wrote from Canton, that this valuable ſhrub was under ſnow in ſome of the northern provinces of China, for many weeks together in the winter ſeaſon, and therefore recommended it to be no longer treated in England altogether as a hot-houſe plant.

It would require too much room to particularize the various ſeeds Mr. Blake has from time to time ſent to England, ſince he firſt ſet out for China, the latter end of the year 1766; or to enumerate the many plants of his ſending that are now flouriſhing in ſeveral botanic gardens in and about this metropolis; as alſo in ſome of our moſt ſoutherly counties in the weſt parts of England. There is among them a variety of new ſpecies, the ſeeds whereof, I am informed, were put up by Mr. Blake's own hand in ſo peculiar a manner, as to bring with them their vegetative qualities not only to England, but likewiſe, for the ſecond ſeaſon of ſowing, to America.

He alſo ſent home, at various times, above fifty drawings of choice plants, moſt curiouſly delineated from nature, with all their parts of fructification diſſected by himſelf, and coloured. Theſe drawings, in the poſſeſſion of his father, have been ſhewn to many of the curious, particularly to that ingenious and learned botaniſt, Dr. Solander, who has declared them to be exquiſite performances, and has claſſed and arranged the plants they repreſent according to the great Linnæus's ſyſtem, from their parts of fructification: ſo accurately were theſe parts deſcribed in the drawings.

Had it pleaſed God to have ſpared Mr. Blake's life, he intended in like manner to have gone through the whole botanic ſyſtem of China; for which purpoſe, and to forward his work, he had engaged to his aſſiſtance one of the moſt ingenious draughtſmen in China, who, under Mr. Blake's directions, followed nature as cloſe as pencil and paint could enable him. This perſon, I am told, Mr. Blake at no ſmall expence had retained ſolely in his ſervice, and even bound him by a formal contract to continue with him as long as he ſhould remain in China. This aſſiſtant was in Mr. Blake's apartments in the factory every day, from nine in the morning till ſix in the evening for the three or four years previous to Mr. Blake's death; and, in the leiſure time afforded by the ſhipping being diſpatched for Europe, Mr. Blake ſat at the ſame table with him eight or nine hours a day, laying out the natural ſpecimens as they were from time to time gathered; diſſecting the parts of fructification, which the Chineſe know nothing of; and drawing the outlines for his aſſiſtant to colour and finiſh; and, indeed, they are

all ſo elegantly and ſcientifically diſpoſed, as to appear like the natural plants themſelves to every one who has viewed them.

Mr. Blake's genius was not confined to botanic ſubjects; he had begun to collect foſſils and ores, or rather to procure them; for Europeans are literally impriſoned when at Canton, in a leſs ſpace of ground than is allowed to many priſoners for debt in England; although, when they retire to the iſland of Macao, in the abſence of the ſhipping, they have a range of larger extent. This iſland is deemed the European country receſs; and, though ſo deſireable, particularly during the hot ſeaſon, yet Mr. Blake, the writer is informed, denied himſelf that ſatisfaction one year. When a ſhip who had loſt her paſſage, remained in Canton river, and ſome of the ſupercargoes were allowed to continue at the factory there, he choſe to be confined to it the whole year, in order to view the progreſs of ſome particular plants through the various ſeaſons; by which, and a too ſedentary life, he brought on a gravelly complaint, and once had a moſt ſevere fit of the ſtone, which endangered his life. It is believed a return of this diſorder brought on the fever, of which after a ſhort illneſs he died at Canton the 16th of November, 1773, greatly lamented by all the gentlemen of our factory, and all the other Europeans in that place; as likewiſe by the Chineſe themſelves, who, we hear, held him in great eſteem.

But to proceed. Mineralogy was likewiſe a branch of his reſearches; and, ſome time before his death, he ſent Mr. Ellis before mentioned a ſpecimen of lead ore from a mine the Chineſe had of late diſcovered in the interior parts of China; and, by one of the ſhips arrived in England laſt ſummer, he forwarded a ſpecimen of the ore *paaktong*, or *white copper*, from the mines in the province of Yunnan, together with zink, or ſpelter, and other materials; as alſo the proceſſes by which this beautiful metal is made in China into utenſils of various ſorts for the table, ſideboard, &c. in order for experiments to be made thereby in England, under the direction of his friend Mr. Samuel More, Secretary to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and this gentleman, from theſe materials and proceſſes, has produced a metal equally white and pure, but more ductile than the Chineſe make it themſelves; his ſpecimen having been flatted in a mill to the thinneſs of common paper. What is more, from the appearances of the Chineſe copper ore Mr. Blake has ſent, and the writer has ſeen, there is reaſon to hope a ſimilar one may be found in this country in our copper mines; and this ore, before it is diveſted of its arſenical qualities, and other matters with which it is mixed in the mine, and rendered too pure for this operation, may probably by the ſame proceſſes whiten with zink and the other materials, which are obtainable in England.

Mr. Blake likewiſe ſent to Mr. More ſpecimens of the earths, clays, ſand, ſtones, and other materials uſed in making the true Nankin Porcelaine: all which Mr. More put into the hands of Mr. Wedgewood, the moſt celebrated potter in this country. This ingenious artiſt has from theſe materials

rials produced ſome pieces of excellent porcelaine, and has declared the earths, &c. were ſo compleat a ſet of ſpecimens, and yet ſo ſimple, as beyond a doubt to be the true porcelaine materials; deſiring nothing more than a larger quantity, to diſtribute it among the different counties in England, in order that they may ſearch for the like materials; and to be further favoured by Mr. Blake with a deſcription of the nature of the land theſe materials were found upon in China, or what mines or minerals accompanied them, to lead to a farther diſcovery here; with plans and ſections of their kilns; all which Mr. Blake would doubtleſs have procured; for he was endeavouring to collect models of machines uſed in every art practiſed, and manufacture carried on, by the Chineſe, in order that his native country might equally benefit by the ingenuity of their invention. Of all this we have many proofs in the various ſpecimens of wrought gold, ſilver, enamel, and ivory; colours; paintings on glaſs; inſects, and moths, ſeveral of them *non deſcript*, which Mr. Blake has forwarded to his father in England, all which the writer has ſeen, but muſt not pretend to deſcribe, leſt he ſhould exceed all bounds in ſuch a publication as the preſent. Therefore, having indulged himſelf with the heart-felt ſatisfaction of paying this tribute to ſo meritorious a youth, ſnatched from us in the prime of life, for he had but juſt entered the twenty-ninth year of his age, he concludes with aſſurances from his own knowledge of his (Mr. Blake's) father's public ſpirit, and of his having ſo zealouſly hitherto ſeconded his ſon's endeavours, that no part of what his ſon has already ſent to England, or may be preſerved among the remains of his labours in China, will be loſt to his country. And for this reaſon, in particular, he hopes (as his ſubject is ſo intereſting to the public) that the proprietor of the Annual Regiſter will excuſe his taking up ſo large a portion of his uſeful and entertaining work.

While Mr. Blake's father was deploring the loſs of ſo dear a child, his friends were taking the proper ſteps to procure him that honour he ſo richly deſerved, the honour of being numbered among the learned and ingenious men who compoſe the Royal Society. What muſt therefore have been their grief and ſurpriſe, when, on their preſenting the certificate required for that purpoſe, they were informed by the preſident, that the object of their kind offices was no more? It was however no ſmall comfort to them, that the preſident ſeized this occaſion of lamenting the death of Mr. Blake as a public misfortune; and he did it in the moſt pathetic terms. He inſiſted on the many marks of attention, which Mr. Blake, though ſo young, had already ſhewn to the ſciences in general, and that of natural hiſtory in particular; declaring that, in the opinion of the beſt naturaliſts, there never had been in that part of the world, in which Mr. Blake had ſpent the laſt years of his life, a perſon of more real knowledge; and that he did not doubt but every member of the ſociety would ſympathize with him in regretting ſo great and ſo general a loſs.

Memoirs of the celebrated Mr. Gray.

MR. Gray was deſcended of a reputable family in the city of London. His grandfather was a conſiderable merchant. His father was what was then called a money-ſcrivener*; but being of an unſocial and inactive diſpoſition, he rather diminiſhed than increaſed his paternal fortune. He had many children; but all of them died in their infancy, except Thomas, the ſubject of theſe memoirs.

Mr. Gray was born in Cornhill, Dec. 26, 1716; and was educated at Eton ſchool, under the care of Mr. Antrobus, his mother's brother, who was at that time one of the aſſiſtant maſters. At this place he contracted a friendſhip with the celebrated Mr. Horace Walpole, and Mr. Weſt, ſon of the Right Hon. Richard Weſt, Eſq; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a young gentleman of extraordinary talents. In 1734, he removed from Eton to St. Peter's College, Cambridge; and his friend, Mr. Weſt, to Chriſt-church, Oxford; where they commenced a correſpondence; part of which is concluded in this collection of letters publiſhed by Mr. Maſon.

In April 1738, Mr. Weſt left Chriſt-church for the Inner Temple; and, in September following, Mr. Gray returned to London, intending likewiſe to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the law in the ſame ſociety: for which purpoſe his father had either hired or bought him a ſet of chambers. But, upon an invitation, which Mr. Walpole gave him to be his companion in his travels, this intention was laid aſide for the preſent; and never afterwards put in execution.

Accordingly, about the end of March 1739, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Gray ſet out for France, viſiting, in the courſe of their travels through that country, Paris, Chantilly, Rheims, Dijon, Lyons, and other places. In November, they arrived at Turin; from thence they proceeded to Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, &c. In July 1740, they returned to Florence, where they ſtaid till towards the end of April 1741; and then ſet out for Venice.

About this time we find an unfortunate diſagreement ſubſiſting between the two travellers; ariſing, we are told, from the difference of their tempers. Mr. Gray being, even from his earlieſt years, curious, penſive, and philoſophical; Mr. Walpole, gay, lively, and conſequently inconſiderate. The latter, however, in juſtice to the memory of his reſpectable friend, has, we find, enjoined Mr. Maſon to charge him with the chief blame in their quarrel; confeſſing that more attention, complaiſance, and deference to a warm friendſhip, ſuperior judgment, and prudence, might have prevented a rupture, which gave much uneaſineſs to both, and a laſting concern to the ſurvivor; though, in the year 1744, a reconciliation was effected between them, by a lady, who wiſhed well to both parties.

This incident occaſioned their ſeparation at Reggio. Mr. Gray therefore went directly to Venice; and having continued there till

* Milton's father was of the ſame profeſſion.

about

about the middle of July, he returned home through Padua, Verona, Milan, and Turin, and repaſſing the Alps, purſued almoſt the ſame route through France, by which he had before gone to Italy.

When he came to London, he found his father's conſtitution almoſt entirely worn out by the very ſevere attacks of the gout, to which he had been ſubject for many years. And indeed the next return of that diſtemper was fatal to him; for he died in November 1741, about two months after his ſon's return.

Mr. Philip Gray, as we have beforeobſerved, rather diminiſhed than increaſed his paternal fortune. Our author, therefore, upon the death of his father, found his patrimony ſo ſmall, that it would by no means enable him to proſecute the ſtudy of the law, without his becoming burdenſome to his mother and aunt. Theſe two ſiſters had for many years kept an India ware-houſe in Cornhill, and carried on a trade, under the joint names of Gray and Antrobus. But, upon this event, having acquired what would ſupport them decently for the reſt of their lives, they retired to Stoke, near Windſor, to the houſe of their other ſiſter, Mrs. Rogers, lately become the widow of a clergyman of that name. Both of them wiſhed Mr. Gray to follow the profeſſion for which he had been originally intended, and would undoubtedly have contributed all in their power to enable him to do it with eaſe and conveniency. He on his part, though he had taken his reſolution of declining it, was too delicate to hurt two perſons, for whom he had the tendereſt affection, by peremptorily declaring his real intentions; and therefore changed, or pretended to change, the line of that ſtudy: And, accordingly, towards the end of the ſubſequent year, went to Cambridge to take his bachelor's degree in civil law.

But the narrowneſs of his circumſtances was not the only thing which diſtreſſed him at this period. He had, as we have ſeen, loſt the friendſhip of Mr. Walpole abroad. He had alſo loſt much time in his travels; a loſs which application could not eaſily retrieve, when ſo ſevere and laborious a ſtudy, as that of the common law, was to be the object of it; and he well knew, that, whatever improvement he might have made in this interval, either in taſte or ſcience, ſuch improvement would be of little uſe to him in his preſent ſituation and exigencies. This was not all. His other friend, Mr. Weſt, he found, on his return, oppreſſed by ſickneſs and a load of family misfortunes. Theſe the ſympathizing heart of Mr. Gray made his own. He did all in his power, for he was now with him in London, to ſoothe the ſorrows of his friend; he endeavoured to alleviate them by every office of the pureſt and moſt cordial affection. But his cares were vain. The diſtreſſes of Mr. Weſt's mind had already too far affected a body, from the firſt weak and delicate. His health declined daily; and therefore he left town in March 1742; and, for the benefit of the air, went to David Mitchell's, Eſq; at Pope's, near Hatfield, in Hertfordſhire.

During an interval of ſomething more than two months, Mr. Weſt and Mr. Gray maintained a conſtant correſpondence on ſubjects of literature, and their claſſical ſtu-

dies. The laſt letter from Mr. Weſt is dated May 11, 1742. Mr. Gray returned an anſwer, May 27. Immediately afterwards, he went upon a viſit to his relations at Stoke; where he wrote that beautiful little ode on the ſpring, which begins:

'Lo! where the roſy-boſom'd hours,
Fair Venus' train, appears, &c.'

He ſent it, as ſoon as written, to his beloved friend; but he was dead before it reached Hertfordſhire, about three weeks after he had written the letter abovementioned to Mr. Gray, which concluded with, 'Vale, et vive pauliſper cum vivis;' ſo little was the amiable youth then aware of the ſhort time, that he himſelf would be numbered among the living. But this, it has been frequently remarked, is almoſt conſtantly the caſe with ſuch perſons as die of that moſt remedileſs, yet moſt flattering of all diſtempers, a conſumption. 'Shall humanity, ſays Mr. Maſon, the biographer of Mr. Gray, be thankful or ſorry, that it is ſo? Thankful ſurely. For, as this malady generally attacks the young and the innocent, it ſeems the merciful intention of heaven that to theſe death ſhould come unperceived, and as it were by ſtealth; diveſted of one of its ſharpeſt ſtings, the lingering expectation of their diſſolution.' Mr. Weſt, when he died, was in the twenty-ſixth year of his age.

As to Mr. Gray, we may aſſure ourſelves, that he felt much more than his dying friend, when the letter, which incloſed the Ode, was returned unopened. There ſeems to be a kind of preſentiment in that pathetic piece, which readers of taſte will feel, when they learn this anecdote. The lines here alluded to are:

—'The inſect youth are on the wing,
Eager to taſte the honied ſpring,
And float amid the liquid noon:
Some lightly o'er the current ſkim,
Some ſhew their gaily gilded trim
Quick glancing to the ſun.
'To Contemplation's ſober eye
Such is the race of man:
And they that creep, and they that fly,
Shall end where they began.
Alike the buſy and the gay
But flutter thro' life's little day,
In fortune's varying colours dreſt:
Bruſh'd by the hand of rough miſchance,
Or chill'd by age, their airy dance
They leave, in duſt to reſt.
'Methinks I hear, in accents low,
The ſportive kind reply:
Poor moraliſt! and what art thou?
A ſolitary fly!
Thy joys no glittering female meets,
No hive haſt thou of hoarded ſweets,
No painted plumage to diſplay:
On haſty wings thy youth is flown;
Thy ſun is ſet, thy ſpring is gone——
We frolick, while, 'tis May.'

This obſervation muſt we preſume make one peruſe theſe beautiful lines with double pleaſure; and throw a melancholy grace (to borrow one of his own expreſſions) on the Ode on a diſtant proſpect of Eton, and on that to Adverſity; both of them written within three months after the death of Mr. Weſt. For, as theſe poems abound with pathos, they who have feeling hearts will feel this excellence the more ſtrongly, when they know the cauſe from whence it aroſe; and the unfeeling will perhaps learn to reſpect what they cannot taſte, when they are prevented from imputing to a ſplenetic melancholy what, in fact, ſprings from the moſt benevolent of all ſenſations. It is probable, that the elegy in a Country Church Yard was begun, if not finiſhed, at this time; though the concluſion, as it ſtands at preſent,

ſent, is certainly different from what it was in the firſt manuſcript copy.

The firſt impulſe of his ſorrow for the death of his friend gave birth to a very tender ſonnet in Engliſh, on the Petrarchian model; and alſo to a ſublime apoſtrophe in hexameters, written in the genuine ſtrain of claſſical majeſty, with which he intended to begin one of his books, De Principiis cogitandi. The ſonnet is as follows:

'In vain to me the ſmiling mornings ſhine,
And redd'ning Phœbus liſts his golden fire;
The birds in vain their amorous deſcant join;
Or chearful fields reſume their green attire:
Theſe ears, alas! for other notes repine,
A different object do theſe eyes require.
My lovely anguiſh melts no heart but mine;
And in my breaſt the imperfect joys expire.
Yet morning ſmiles the buſy race to chear,
And new-born pleaſure brings to happier men:
The fields to all their wonted tribute bear:
To warm their little loves the birds complain:
I fruitleſs mourn to him, that cannot hear,
And weep the more, becauſe I weep in vain.'

From the winter of the year 1742, to the day of his death, Mr. Gray's principal reſidence was at Cambridge. He ſpent, indeed, during the lives of his mother and aunts, his ſummer vacations at Stoke, and, after they died, in making little tours, or viſits to his friends in different parts of the country. But he was ſeldom abſent from college any conſiderable time, except between the years 1759 and 1762; when, on the opening of the Britiſh Muſeum, he took lodgings in Southampton-Row, in order to have recourſe to the Harleian and other manuſcripts there depoſited, from which he made ſeveral curious extracts, amounting in all to a tolerably-ſized folio, at preſent in the hands of Mr. Walpole. This gentleman has already printed the ſpeech of Sir Thomas Wyat, from them, in the ſecond number of his Miſcellaneous Antiquities. The public muſt impute it to their own want of curioſity, if more of them do not appear in print.

Mr. Gray had conceived ſo early and ſtrong a diſlike to Cambridge, that in one of his letters to Mr. Weſt, dated 1736, he ſent him this humorous and picturesque deſcription of the univerſity:

"Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet ſpoke when he ſaid, 'The wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall dwell there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and the owls ſhall build there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there: their forts and towers ſhall be a den for ever, a joy of wild aſſes; there ſhall the great owl make her neſt, and lay and hatch and gather under her ſhadow; it ſhall be a court of dragons; the ſcreech owl alſo ſhall reſt there, and find for herſelf a place of reſt.' You ſee here is a pretty collection of deſolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle, and perhaps it may alſo allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles; however, I defy your owls to match mine."

It may, therefore, ſeem ſtrange, eſpecially as he now returned to that univerſity with his prejudices rather augmented, that he ſhould, when free to chuſe, make it his prin-

cipal abode for near thirty years. But this perhaps may be accounted for from his love of books (ever his ruling paſſion) and the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances, which prevented the gratification of it. For to a man, who could not conveniently purchaſe even a ſmall library, what ſituation ſo eligible, as that which affords free acceſs to a number of large ones? This reaſon alſo accounts for another ſingular fact. During his reſidence at Stoke, in the ſpring and ſummer of the ſame year 1742, he wrote a conſiderable part of his more finiſhed poems. Hence one would be naturally led to conclude, that, on his return to Cambridge, when the ceremony of taking his degree was over, the quiet of the place would have prompted him to continue the cultivation of his poetical talents, and that immediately, as the muſe ſeems in this year to have peculiarly inſpired him; but this was not the caſe. Reading was much more agreeable to him than writing. He therefore now laid aſide compoſition almoſt entirely, and applied himſelf with intenſe aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the beſt Greek authors; inſomuch that, in the ſpace of about ſix years, there were hardly any writers of note, in that language, which he had not only read, but digeſted; remarking, by the mode of common-place, their contents, their difficult and corrupt paſſages: and all this with the accuracy of a critic, added to the diligence of a ſtudent.

About the year 1747, Mr. Maſon, the editor of Mr. Gray's poems, was introduced to him. The former had written, a year or two before, ſome imitations of Milton's juvenile poems, viz. A Monody on the death of Mr. Pope, and two pieces, entitled, Il Bellicoſo, and Il Pacifico, on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the latter reviſed them, at the requeſt of a friend. This laid the foundation of an intimacy, which continued without interruption to the death of Mr. Gray.

About the year 1750, Mr. Gray had put his laſt hand to his celebrated elegy written in a country church-yard, and had communicated it to his friend Mr. Walpole, whoſe good taſte was too much charmed with it to ſuffer him to with-hold the ſight of it from his acquaintance. Accordingly it was ſhewn about for ſome time in manuſcript, and received with all the applauſe it ſo juſtly merited. Among the reſt of the faſhionable world, for to theſe only it was at preſent communicated, Lady Cobham, who now lived at the manſion-houſe at Stoke Pogis, had read and admired it. She wiſhed to be acquainted with the author. Accordingly, her relation Miſs Speed, and Lady Schaub, then at her houſe, undertook to bring this about, by making him the firſt viſit. He happened to be from home, when the ladies arrived at his aunt's ſolitary manſion; and when he returned, was ſurprized to find, written on one of his papers in the parlour, where he uſually read, the following note: "Lady Schaub's compliments to Mr. Gray; ſhe is ſorry not to have found him at home, to tell him that Lady Brown is very well." This neceſſarily obliged him to return the viſit, and ſoon after induced him to compoſe a ludicrous account of this little adventure, for the amuſement of the ladies in queſtion. He wrote it in ballad-meaſure, and entitled,

entitled it, A Long Story. When it was handed about in manuſcript, nothing could be more various than the opinions concerning it. By ſome it was thought a maſter-piece of original humour; by others, a wild and fantaſtic farrago. And, when it was publiſhed, the ſentiments of good judges were equally divided about it.

To return to the Elegy. Mr. Gray, in Feb. 1751, having been informed, that the publiſher of one of the magazines had obtained a ſurreptitious copy of it, wrote to Mr. Walpole, deſiring him, that he would put his own manuſcript into the hands of Mr. Dodſley, and order him to print it immediately.

This was the moſt popular of all our author's publications. It ran through eleven editions in a very ſhort ſpace of time; was finely tranſlated into Latin by Meſſrs. Anſty and Roberts; and, in the ſame year, by Mr. Lloyd. The author, in his original manuſcript, gave it only the ſimple title of, Stanzas written in a Country Church-yard. Mr. Maſon perſuaded him to call it, An Elegy; becauſe the ſubject authorized him ſo to do: and the alternate meaſure, in which it was written, ſeemed peculiarly fit for that ſpecies of compoſition.

In March, 1753, Mr. Gray loſt his mother; which muſt have deeply affected him, as he had always expreſſed for her the tendereſt regard.

She was buried at Stoke-Pogis, in the ſame vault, in which the remains of her ſiſter Antrobus had been depoſited, about three years before. The inſcription on the tomb-ſtone is ſuppoſed to have been written by Mr. Gray, and is as follows;

In the ſame pious confidence,
Beſide her friend and ſiſter,
Here ſleep the remains of
Dorothy Gray,
Widow, the careful tender mother
Of many children, one of whom alone
Had the misfortune to ſurvive her.
She died, March 11, 1753,
Aged 67.

Mr. Maſon obſerves, that this inſcription has a peculiar pathos to recommend it; and, at the ſame time, a true inſcriptive ſimplicity. —Perhaps therefore it may be thought faſtidious criticiſm to make an exception to any part of it; yet we will venture to aſk, Whether, according to the courſe of nature, and in the eſtimation of a Chriſtian philoſopher, it can be accounted a misfortune, that a young man of 37 ſhould ſurvive his mother, an old woman of 67?

But to return to Mr. Gray. About the beginning of the year 1756, while he reſided at Peter-Houſe, two or three young men of fortune, who lived in the ſame ſtair-caſe, frequently and intentionally diſturbed him with their riots. He complained to the governing part of the ſociety; but, not thinking that his remonſtrance was ſufficiently attended to, he quitted the college, and removed to Pembroke-Hall.

From July, 1759, to the year 1762, he generally reſided in London, with a view, as we have already obſerved, of having recourſe to the Britiſh Muſeum.

In July, 1768, his Grace the Duke of Grafton wrote him a polite letter, informing him, that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to offer to him the Profeſſorſhip of Modern Hiſtory in the univerſity of Cambridge, then vacant by the death of Mr. Laurence Brocket.

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This place was valuable in itſelf, the ſalary being 400l. a year; but what rendered it particularly acceptable to Mr. Gray was its being given him without any ſolicitation. He was indeed remarkably diſintereſted in all his purſuits. Though his income, before this addition, was very ſmall, he never read or wrote with a view of making his labours uſeful to himſelf. He may be ſaid to have been one of thoſe few perſonages in the annals of literature, eſpecially in the poetical claſs, who are devoid of ſelf-intereſt, and at the ſame time attentive to œconomy; and alſo was, among mankind in general, one of thoſe very few œconomiſts, who poſſeſſed that talent, untinctured with the ſlighteſt ſtain of avarice. When his circumſtances were at the loweſt, he gave away ſuch ſums in private charity, as would have done credit to an ampler purſe. But what chiefly deterred him from ſeeking any advantage by his literary purſuits, was a certain degree of pride, which led him to deſpiſe the idea of being thought an author by profeſſion.

However, it is probable, that early in life he had an intention of publiſhing an edition of Strabo; for his papers contain a great number of notes and geographical diſquiſitions on that author, particularly with reſpect to that part of Aſia which comprehends Perſia and India. The indefatigable pains which he took with the writings of Plato, and the quantity of critical, as well as explanatory obſervations, which he has left upon almoſt every part of his works, plainly indicate, that no man in Europe was better prepared to re-publiſh and illuſtrate that philoſopher, than Mr. Gray. Another work, on which he beſtowed uncommon labour, was the Anthologia. In an interleaved copy of that collection of Greek epigrams, he has tranſcribed ſeveral additional ones, which he ſelected in his extenſive reading; has inſerted a great number of critical notes and emendations, and ſubjoined a copious index. But, whether he intended this performance for the preſs or not, is uncertain. The only work, which he meditated upon, with this direct view from the beginning, was a hiſtory of Engliſh poetry, upon a plan ſketched out by Mr. Pope, and ſince publiſhed in Ruffhead's Life of Pope. He has mentioned this himſelf in an advertiſement to thoſe three fine imitations of Norſe and Welch poetry, which he gave the world in the laſt edition of his poems. But, after he had made ſome conſiderable preparations for the execution of this deſign, and Mr. Maſon had offered him his aſſiſtance, he was informed, that Mr. Warton, of Trinity College, Oxford, was engaged in a work of the ſame kind. The undertaking was therefore relinquiſhed, by mutual conſent; and, ſoon after, on that gentleman's deſiring a ſight of the plan, our author readily ſent him a copy of it.

Among other ſciences, Mr. Gray had acquired a great knowledge of Gothic architecture. He had ſeen, and accurately ſtudied in his youth, while abroad, the Roman proportions on the ſpot, both in ancient times, and in the works of Palladio. In his later years he applied himſelf to conſider thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures of more modern date, that adorn our own country; which, if they have not the ſame grace, have undoubtedly equal dignity. He

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endeavoured to trace this mode of building, from the time it commenced, thro' its various changes, till it arrived at its perfection in the reign of Henry VIII. and ended in that of Elizabeth. For this purpoſe, he did not ſo much depend upon written accounts, as that internal evidence, which the buildings themſelves give of their reſpective antiquity; ſince they conſtantly furniſh to the well-informed eye arms, ornaments, and other marks, by which their ſeveral ages may be aſcertained. On this account he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of heraldry, as a preparatory ſcience, and has left behind him a number of genealogical papers, more than ſufficient to prove him a complete maſter of it. By theſe means he arrived at ſo very extraordinary a pitch of ſagacity, as to be enabled to pronounce, at firſt ſight, on the preciſe time, when every particular part of any of our cathedrals was erected.

But the favourite ſtudy of Mr. Gray, for the laſt ten years of his life, was natural hiſtory, which he then rather reſumed than began; as by the inſtructions of his uncle Antrobus he was a conſiderable botaniſt at fifteen. The marginal notes, which he has left on Linnæus, and other writers on the vegetable, animal, and foſſible kingdoms, are very numerous: but the moſt conſiderable are on Hudſon's Flora Anglica, and the tenth edition of the Syſtema Naturæ; which latter he interleaved and filled almoſt entirely. While employed on zoology, he read Ariſtotle's treatiſe on that ſubject with great care, and explained many obſcure paſſages in the ancient, by the lights he he had received from modern naturaliſts. In a word, excepting pure mathematics, and the ſtudies dependant on that ſcience, there was hardly any part of human learning in which he had not acquired a competent ſkill; and, in moſt of them, a conſummate maſtery.

To this account of his literary character we may add, that he had a fine taſte in painting, prints, gardening, and muſic; and was moreover a man of good-breeding, virtue, and humanity.

His health, eſpecially in the latter part of his life, was precarious. The gout, which he always believed hereditary in his conſtitution (for both his parents died of that diſtemper) had for ſeveral years attacked him in a weakly and unfixed manner; the great temperance which he obſerved, particularly in regard to drinking, ſerved perhaps to prevent any ſevere paroxyſm, but by no means eradicated the conſtitutional malady. About the end of May, 1771, he removed to London, where he became feveriſh; and his dejection of ſpirits increaſed. The weather being then very ſultry, his friend Dr. Giſborne adviſed him, for an opener and freer air, to remove from his lodgings in Jermyn-ſtreet to Kenſington, where he frequently attended him, and where Mr. Gray ſo far got the better of his diſorder, as to be able to return to Cambridge; meaning from thence to ſet out very ſoon for Old-Park, near Durham, the reſidence of his intimate friend and correſpondent Dr. Wharton; in hopes that travelling, from which he uſually received great benefit, would complete his cure. But, on the 24th of July, while at dinner in the college hall, he felt a ſudden nauſea, which obliged him to riſe from table,

table, and retire to his chamber. This continued to increaſe; and nothing ſtaying on his ſtomach, he ſent for his friend Dr. Glyn, who finding it to be the gout in that part, thought his caſe dangerous, and called in Dr. Plumptree, the phyſical profeſſor. They preſcribed to him the uſual cordials given in that diſtemper, but without any good effect; for, on the 29th, he was ſeized with a ſtrong convulſion fit, which, on the 30th, returned with increaſed violence; and the next evening he expired. He was ſenſible at times almoſt to the laſt, and from the firſt aware of his extreme danger; but expreſſed no viſible concern at the thoughts of his approaching diſſolution. He was buried in the vault in which his aunt and his mother were interred, in the church-yard of Stoke, according to the direction in his will.

Mr. Maſon, inſtead of employing his own pen in drawing Mr. Gray's character, has adopted one drawn by the Rev. Mr. Temple, rector of Mamhead in Devonſhire, in a letter to Mr. Boſwell; to whom the public is indebted for communicating it.

Mr. Maſon introduces it thus: "I might here lay down my pen, yet if any reader ſhould ſtill want his character, I will give him one which was publiſhed very ſoon after Mr. Gray's deceaſe*. It appears to be well written; and, as it comes from an anonymous pen, I chuſe the rather to inſert it, as it will, on that account, be leſs ſuſpected of partiality.

"Perhaps he was the moſt learned man in Europe. He was equally acquainted with the elegant and profound parts of ſcience, and that not ſuperficially but thoroughly. He knew every branch of hiſtory, both natural † and civil; had read all the original hiſtorians of England, France, and Italy; and was a great antiquarian. Criticiſm, metaphyſics, morals, politics, made a principal part of his plan of ſtudy; voyages and travels of all ſorts were his favourite amuſement; and he had a fine taſte in painting,

* It appeared in the London Magazine a month or two after his deceaſe, (March, 1772) and was prefaced with an eulogy on his poetical merit.

† I have given, in the beginning of this ſection, an account of the great pains which Mr. Gray beſtowed on natural hiſtory. I have ſince been favoured with a letter from a gentleman well ſkilled in that ſcience, who, after carefully peruſing his interleaved *Syſtema Naturæ* of Linnæus, gives me this character of it: "In the claſs of animals (the Mammalia) he has concentrated (if I may uſe the expreſſion) what the old writers and the diffuſe Buffon have ſaid upon the ſubject; he has univerſally adopted the conciſe language of Linnæus, and has given it an elegance which the Swede has no idea of; but there is little of his own in this claſs, and it ſerved him only as a common-place: but it is ſuch a common-place that few men but Mr. Gray could form. In the birds and fiſhes he has moſt accurately deſcribed all that he had an opportunity of examining; but the volume of inſects is the moſt perfect: on the Engliſh inſects there is certainly nothing ſo perfect. In regard to the plants, there is little elſe than the Engliſh names and their native ſoils, extracted from the *Species Plantarum* of Linnæus. I ſuppoſe no man was ſo complete a maſter of his ſyſtem; he has ſelected the diſtinguiſhing marks of each animal, &c. with the greateſt judgment, and, what no man elſe probably could have done, he has made the German Latin of Linnæus purely claſſical."

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prints, architecture, and gardening ‡. With such a fund of knowledge, his conversation must have been equally instructing and entertaining; but he was also a good man, a well-bred man, a man of virtue and humanity. There is no character without some speck, some imperfection; and I think the greatest defect in his was an affectation in delicacy, or rather effeminacy §, and a visible fastidiousness, or contempt and disdain of his inferiors in science. He also had, in some degree, that weakness which disgusted Voltaire so much in Mr. Congreve ‖: though he seemed to value others, chiefly according to the progress they had made in knowledge*, yet he could not bear to be considered himself merely as a man of letters: and though without birth, or fortune, or station, his desire was to be looked upon as a private independent gentleman, who read for his amusement. Perhaps it may be said, What signifies so much knowledge, when it produces so little? Is it worth taking so much pains to leave no memorial but a few poems? But let it be considered, that Mr. Gray was, to others, at least innocently employed; to himself, certainly beneficially. His time passed agreeably; he was every day making some new acquisition in science; his mind was enlarged, his heart softened, and his virtue strengthened; the world and mankind were shewn to him without a mask; and he was taught to consider every thing as trifling, and unworthy the attention of a wise man, except the pursuit of knowledge, and the practice of virtue, in that state wherein God hath placed us." The notes to this character are by Mr. Mason.

Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Dr. Smollett.

IT is generally said, that the lives of literary men can be lit-

‡ He has disclaimed any skill in this art in the 36th letter of the 4th section, and usually held it in less estimation than I think it deserves, declaring himself to be only charmed with the bolder features of unadorned nature.

§ This is rightly put; it was rather an affectation in delicacy and effeminacy than the things themselves; and he chose to put on this appearance chiefly before persons whom he did not wish to please.

‖ I have often thought that Mr. Congreve might very well be vindicated on this head. It seldom happens that the vanity of authorship continues to the end of a man's days; it usually soon leaves him where it found him; and, if he has not something better to build his self-approbation upon than that of being a popular writer, he generally finds himself ill at ease, if respected only on that account. Mr. Congreve was much advanced in years when the young French poet paid him this visit; and, though a man of the world, he might now feel that indifference to literary fame which Mr. Gray, who always led a more retired and philosophic life, certainly felt much earlier. Both of them therefore might reasonably, at times, express some disgust, if their quiet was intruded upon by persons who thought they flattered them by such intrusion.

* It was not on account of their knowledge that he valued mankind. He contemned indeed all pretenders to literature, but he did not select his friends from the literary class, merely because they were literate. To be his friend, it was always either necessary that a man should have something better than an improved understanding, or at least that Mr. Gray should believe he had.

tle more than an enumeration and account of their works. There have been few men of real genius who have written more voluminously than Dr. Smollet; yet the foregoing obſervation will by no means apply to him. On the contrary, he has himſelf wrought up the incidents of his own life, at leaſt the earlieſt part of it, in one of the moſt entertaining novels that ever appeared in any language. Every body knows I muſt mean Roderick Random; a book which ſtill continues to have a moſt extenſive ſale, and firſt eſtabliſhed the Doctor's reputation. All the firſt volume, and the beginning of the ſecond, appears to conſiſt of real incident and character, though certainly a good deal heightened and diſguiſed. The Judge, his grandfather; Crab and Potion, the two apothecaries; and 'Squire Gawkey, were characters well known in that part of the kingdom where the ſcene was laid. Captains Oakhum and Whiffle, Doctors Mackſhane and Morgan, were alſo ſaid to be real perſonages; but their names we have either never learnt, or have now forgotten. A bookbinder and barber long eagerly contended for being ſhadowed under the name of Strap. The Doctor ſeems to have enjoyed a peculiar felicity in deſcribing ſea characters, particularly the officers and ſailors of the navy. His Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes, are highly-finiſhed originals; but what exceeds them all, and perhaps equals any character that has yet been painted by the happieſt genius of ancient or modern times, is his Lieutenant Bowling. This is indeed nature itſelf; original, *unique*, and *ſui generis*. As well as the ladder of promotion, his very name has long become proverbial for an honeſt blunt ſeaman, unacquainted with mankind and the ways of the world.

It is pretty ſurprizing that, notwithſtanding Dr. Smollet was ſo very ſucceſsful in hitting off original characters in narration, he could never ſucceed in the drama. Very early in life he wrote a tragedy, entitled, The Regicide, founded on the ſtory of the aſſaſſination of James I. of Scotland; which, with all his intereſt and addreſs, he never could get repreſented on the ſtage. He afterwards publiſhed it by ſubſcription; with what ſucceſs we cannot now recollect; but we are much miſtaken if he has not alluded to ſome of his own theatrical occurrences, in the ſtory of Melopoyne, in Roderick Random.

By the publication of that work the Doctor had acquired ſo great a reputation, that henceforth a certain degree of ſucceſs was inſured to every thing known or ſuſpected to proceed from his hand. In the courſe of a few years, The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle appeared; a work of great ingenuity and contrivance in the compoſition, and in which an uncommon degree of erudition is diſplayed, particularly in the deſcription of the entertainment given by the Republican Doctor, after the manner of the ancients. Under this perſonage the late Dr. Akenſide, author of a famous poem, entitled, The Pleaſures of the Imagination, is ſuppoſed to be typified; and it would be difficult to determine whether profound learning or genuine humour predominate moſt in this epiſode. Butler and Smollett ſeem to be the only two who have united things, ſeemingly ſo diſcordant, happily together; for Hudibras is one of

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the moſt learned works in any language; and it requires no common ſhare of reading, aſſiſted with a good memory, thoroughly to reliſh and underſtand it. Another epiſode of The Adventures of a Lady of Quality, likewiſe inſerted in this work, contributed greatly to its ſucceſs, and is indeed admirably well executed. Yet, after giving all due praiſe to the merit and invention diſplayed in Peregrine Pickle, we cannot help thinking it is inferior, in what may be called *naïveté*, a thing better conceived than expreſſed, to Roderick Random.

Theſe were not the only original compoſitions of this ſtamp, with which the Doctor has favoured the public. Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Lancelot Greaves are ſtill in the liſt of what may be called reading novels, and have gone through ſeveral editions; but there is no injuſtice in placing them in a rank far below the former. No doubt invention, character, compoſition, and contrivance, are to be found in both; but then ſituations are deſcribed which are hardly poſſible, and characters are painted, which, if not altogether unexampled, are at leaſt incompatible with modern manners; and which ought not to be, as the ſcenes are laid in modern times.

The laſt work which we believe the Doctor publiſhed, was of much the ſame ſpecies, but caſt into a different form—The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. It conſiſts of a ſeries of letters, written by different perſons to their reſpective correſpondents. He has here carefully avoided the faults which may be juſtly charged to his two former productions. Here are no extravagant characters, nor unnatural ſituations. On the contrary, an admirable knowledge of life and manners is diſplayed; and moſt uſeful leſſons are given applicable to intereſting, but to very common ſituations.

We know not that ever the remark has been made, but there is certainly a very obvious ſimilitude between the characters of the three heroes of the Doctor's chief productions. Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Matthew Bramble, are all brothers of the ſame family. The ſame ſatyrical, cynical diſpoſition, the ſame generoſity and benevolence, are the diſtinguiſhing and characteriſtical features of all three; but they are far from being ſervile copies or imitations of each other. They differ as much as the Ajax, Diomed, and Achilles of Homer. This was undoubtedly a great effort of genius; and the Doctor ſeems to have deſcribed his own character at the different ſtages and ſituations of his life.

He was bred to phyſic, and in the early part of his life ſerved as ſurgeon's mate in the navy. It appears from Roderick Random, that he was at the ſiege of Carthagena; of which expedition he gives a faithful, tho' no very pleaſing account. Soon after his return he muſt have taken his degree of Doctor of Phyſic, though we have not been able to learn at what time and at what place. It is ſaid that, before he took a houſe at Chelſea, he attempted to ſettle as practitioner of phyſic at Bath; and, with that view, wrote a treatiſe on the waters—but was unſucceſsful, chiefly becauſe he could not render himſelf agreeable to the women, whoſe favour is certainly of great conſequence to all candidates for eminence, whether in

in medicine or divinity. This, however, was a little extraordinary; for those who remembered Dr. Smollet at that time, cannot but acknowledge that he was as graceful and handsome a man as any of the age he lived in; besides, there was a certain dignity in his air and manner which could not but inspire respect wherever he appeared. Perhaps he was too soon discouraged; in all probability, had he persevered, a man of his great learning, profound sagacity, and intense application, besides being endued with every other external as well as internal accomplishment, must have at last succeeded, and, had he attained to common old age, been at the head of his profession.

Abandoning physic altogether as a profession, he fixed his residence at Chelsea, and turned his thoughts entirely to writing. Yet, as an author, he was not near so successful as his happy genius and acknowledged merit certainly deserved. He never acquired a patron among the great, who by his favour and beneficence relieved him from the necessity of writing for a subsistence. The truth is, Dr. Smollett possessed a loftiness and elevation of sentiment and character which appears to have disqualified him from currying favour among those who were able to confer favours. It would be wrong to call this disposition of his, pride or haughtiness; for to his equals and inferiors he was ever polite, friendly, and generous. Booksellers may therefore be said to have been his only patrons; and from them he had constant employment in translating, compiling, and reviewing. He translated Gil Blas and Don Quixote, both so happily, that all the former translations of these excellent productions of genius are in a fair way of being superseded by his. His name likewise appears to a translation of Voltaire's Prose Works, but little of it was done by his own hand; he only revised it, and added a few notes. He was concerned in a great variety of compilations. His History of England was the principal work of that kind. It has in itself real intrinsic merit; but, considering the time and circumstances in which it was written, it is indeed a prodigy of genius, and a great effort of application. It had a most extensive sale, and the doctor is said to have received 2000l. for writing it and the continuation. He was employed, during the last years of his life, in abridging the Modern Universal History, great part of which he had originally written himself, particularly the Histories of France, Italy, and Germany. He lived nearly to compleat this work, and it is said it will soon be published.

In the year 1755 he set on foot the Critical Review, and continued the principal manager of it, till he went abroad for the first time in the year 1763. To speak impartially, he was, perhaps, too acrimonious sometimes in the conduct of that work, and at the same time too sore, and displayed too much sensibility when any of the unfortunate authors whose works he had, it may be, justly censured, attempted to retaliate. He had made some very severe strictures on a pamphlet published by admiral Knowles, as well as on the writer's character, who commenced a prosecution against the printer, declaring, it was said, he only wanted,

to

to know the author, that, if a gentleman, he might obtain the ſatisfaction of a gentleman from him. In this affair the doctor behaved with great ſpirit. Juſt as ſentence was going to be pronounced againſt the printer, he came into court, avowed himſelf the author of the ſtrictures in queſtion, and declared himſelf ready to give the admiral any ſatisfaction he choſe. Upon this, the admiral began a freſh action againſt the doctor, who was found guilty, fined 100 l. and condemned to three months impriſonment in the King's-Bench. It is there he is ſaid to have written the Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves; in which he has deſcribed ſome remarkable characters, then his fellow-priſoners.

When lord Bute was called to the chief adminiſtration of affairs, he was prevailed upon to write in defence of that nobleman's meaſures; which he did in a weekly paper, called the Briton. This gave riſe to the famous North-Briton; wherein, according to the opinion of the public, he was rather baffled. The truth is, the doctor did not ſeem to poſſeſs the talents neceſſary for political altercation. He wanted temper and coolneſs; and his friends accuſed his patron of having denied him the neceſſary information, and even neglected the fulfiling of ſome of his other engagements with him. Be that as it will, the doctor is ſaid not to have forgotten him in his ſubſequent performances.

His conſtitution being at laſt greatly impaired by a ſedentary life, and aſſiduous application to ſtudy, he went abroad for his health in the year 1763. He wrote an account of his travels in a Series of Letters to ſome friends, which were afterwards publiſhed in two volumes, octavo. During all that time he appears to have laboured under a conſtant fit of chagrin. But the ſtate of his mind will be beſt learnt from himſelf. Thus he writes in his firſt letter: "In gratifying your curioſity I ſhall find ſome amuſement to beguile the tedious hours; which without ſome ſuch empioyment would be rendered inſupportable by diſtemper and diſquiet. You knew and pitied my ſituation, traduced by malice, perſecuted by faction, abandoned by falſe patrons, and overwhelmed by the ſenſe of a domeſtic calamity, which it was not in the power of fortune to repair." By this domeſtic calamity he means the loſs of his only child, a daughter, whom he loved with the tendereſt affection. The doctor lived to return to his native country: but his health continuing to decline, and meeting with freſh mortifications and diſappointments, he went back to Italy, where he died on October the 21ſt, 1771, having been born in the year 1720.

It would be needleſs to expatiate on the character of a man ſo well known as Dr. Smollet, who has beſides given ſo many ſtrictures of his own character and manner of living in his writings, particularly in Humphry Clinker; where he appears under the appellation of Mr. Serle, and has an interview with Mr. Bramble; and his manner of living is deſcribed in another letter, where young Melford is ſuppoſed to dine with him at his houſe in Chelſea. No doubt he made a great deal of money by his connexions with bookſellers; and,

had he been a rigid œconomiſt, or endued with the gift of retention, (an expreſſion of his own) he might have lived and died very independent. However, to do juſtice to his memory, his difficulties, whatever they were, proceeded not from extravagance, or want of œconomy He was hoſpitable, but not oſtentatiouſly ſo; and his table was plentiful, but not extravagant. No doubt he had his failings; but ſtill it would be difficult to name a man who was ſo reſpectable for the qualities of his head, or amiable for the virtues of his heart.

Memoirs of the Life and Family of the late Rev. Mr. Laurence Sterne. *Written by himſelf, and addreſſed to his Daughter, Miſs* Lydia Sterne, *now Mrs.* Medalle, *being married to a* French *Gentleman of that Name.*

ROGER STERNE, (grandſon to Archbiſhop Sterne) Lieutenant in Handaſide's regiment, was married to Agnes Hebert, widow of a Captain of a good family: her family name was (I believe) Nuttle—though, upon recollection, that was the name of her father-in-law, who was a noted ſutler in Flanders, in Queen Anne's wars, where my father married his wife's daughter. (N. B. he was in debt to him) which was in September 25, 1711, Old Stile.—This Nuttle had a ſon by my grandmother——a fine perſon of a man, but a graceleſs whelp—what became of him I know not.—The family (if any left) live now at Clonmel, in the ſouth of Ireland, at which town I was born, November 24, 1713, a few days after my mother arrived from Dunkirk.—My birth-day was ominous to my poor father, who was, the day after our arrival, with many other brave officers, broke, and ſent a-drift into the wide world with a wife and two children—the elder of which was Mary; ſhe was born at Liſle in French Flanders, July the tenth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, New Stile.—This child was moſt unfortunate—ſhe married one Weemans in Dublin—who uſed her moſt unmercifully—ſpent his ſubſtance, became a bankrupt, and left my poor ſiſter to ſhift for herſelf,—which ſhe was able to do but for a few months, for ſhe went to a friend's houſe in the country, and died of a broken heart. She was a moſt beautiful woman—of a fine figure, and deſerved a better fate. —The regiment, in which my father ſerved, being broke, he left Ireland as ſoon as I was able to be carried, with the reſt of his family, and came to the family-ſeat at Elvington, near York, where his mother lived. She was daughter to Sir Roger Jaques, and an heireſs. There we ſojourned for about ten months, when the regiment was eſtabliſhed, and our houſhold decamped with bag and baggage for Dublin.—Within a month of our arrival, my father left us, being ordered to Exeter, where, in a ſad winter, my mother and her two children followed him, travelling from Liverpool by land to Plymouth. (Melancholy deſcription of this journey not neceſſary to be tranſmitted here). In twelve months we were all ſent back to Dublin.—My mother, with three of us, (for ſhe lay in at Plymouth of a boy, Joram) took ſhip at Briſtol, for Ireland, and had a narrow eſcape from being caſt away, by a leak ſpring-

ſpringing up in the veſſel.——At length, after many perils and ſtruggles, we got to Dublin.—There my father took a large houſe, furniſhed it, and in a year and a half's time ſpent a great deal of money.——In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen, all unhinged again; the regiment was ordered, with many others, to the iſle of Wight, in order to embark for Spain in the Vigo expedition. We accompanied the regiment, and were driven into Milford Haven, but landed at Briſtol, from thence by land to Plymouth again, and to the Iſle of Wight—where I remember we ſtaid incamped ſome time before the embarkation of the troops—(in this expedition from Briſtol to Hampſhire we loſt poor Joram—a pretty boy, four years old, of the ſmall-pox) my mother, ſiſter, and myſelf, remained at the Iſle of Wight during the Vigo expedition, and until the regiment had got back to Wicklow in Ireland, from whence my father ſent for us.—We had poor Joram's loſs ſupplied during our ſtay in the Iſle of Wight, by the birth of a girl, Anne, born September the twenty-third, one thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen.—This pretey bloſſom fell at the age of three years, in the barracks of Dublin—ſhe was, as I well remember, of a fine delicate frame, not made to laſt long, as were moſt of my father's babes.—We embarked for Dublin, and had all been caſt away by a moſt violent ſtorm, but, through the interceſſions of my mother, the captain was prevailed upon to turn back into Wales, where we ſtayed a month, and at length got into Dublin, and travelled by land to Wicklow, where my father had for ſome weeks given us over for loſt.—We lived in the barracks at Wicklow, one year, (one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty) when Devijeher (ſo called after Colonel Devijeher) was born; from thence we decamped to ſtay half a year with Mr. Fetherſton, a clergyman, about ſeven miles from Wicklow, who, being a relation of my mother's, invited us to his parſonage at Animo.—It was in this pariſh, during our ſtay, that I had that wonderful eſcape in falling through a mill-race whilſt the mill was going, and of being taken up unhurt.—The ſtory is incredible, but known for truth in all that part of Ireland—where hundreds of the common people flocked to ſee me.—From hence we followed the regiment to Dublin, where we lay in the barracks a year.—In this year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one, I learned to write, &c.—The regiment, ordered in twenty-two, to Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland, we all decamped, but got no further than Drogheda, thence ordered to Mullengar, forty miles weſt, where by Providence we ſtumbled upon a kind relation, a collateral deſcendant from Archbiſhop Sterne, who took us all to his caſtle, and kindly entertained us for a year—and ſent us to the regiment at Carrickfergus, loaded with kindneſſes, &c.——a moſt rueful and tedious journey had we all, in March, to Carrickfergus, where we arrived in ſix or ſeven days.—Little Devijeher here died; he was three years old.—He had been left behind at nurſe at a farm-houſe near Wicklow, but was fetched to us by my father the ſummer after—another child ſent to fill his place, Suſan; this babe too left us behind in this weary journey.——

The autumn of that year, or the ſpring afterwards, (I forget which) my father got leave of his Colonel to fix me at ſchool—which he did near Halifax, with an able maſter, with whom I ſtaid ſome time, till by God's care of me my couſin Sterne, of Elvington, became a father to me, and ſent me to the univerſity, &c. &c. To purſue the thread of our ſtory, my father's regiment was the year after ordered to Londonderry, where another ſiſter was brought forth, Catharine, ſtill living, but moſt unhappily eſtranged from me by my uncle's wickedneſs, and her own folly.—From this ſtation the regiment was ſent to defend Gibraltar, at the ſiege, where my father was run through the body by Capt. Phillips, in a duel, (the quarrel begun about a gooſe) with much difficulty he ſurvived—though with an impaired conſtitution, which was not able to withſtand the hardſhips it was put to—for he was ſent to Jamaica, where he ſoon fell by the country fever, which took away his ſenſes firſt, and made a child of him, and then, in a month or two, walking about continually without complaining, till the moment he ſat down in an arm-chair, and breathed his laſt—which was at Port Antonio, on the north of the iſland.—My father was a little ſmart man—active to the laſt degree, in all exerciſes—moſt patient of fatigue and diſappointment, of which it pleaſed God to give him full meaſure.——He was in his temper ſomewhat rapid and haſty—but of a kindly, ſweet diſpoſition, void of all deſign; and ſo innocent in his own intentions, that he ſuſpected no one; ſo that you might have cheated him ten times in a day, if nine had not been ſufficient for your purpoſe.—My poor father died in March, 1731.—I remained at Halifax till about the latter end of that year, and cannot omit mentioning this anecdote of myſelf and ſchool-maſter.—He had had the ceiling of the ſchool-room new white-waſhed—the ladder remained there—I one unlucky day mounted it, and wrote with a bruſh, in large capital letters, LAU. STERNE, for which the uſher ſeverely whipped me. My maſter was very much hurt at this, and ſaid, before me, that never ſhould that name be effaced, for I was a boy of genius, and he was ſure I ſhould come to preferment.—This expreſſion made me forget the ſtripes I had received.—In the year 1732 my couſin ſent me to the univerſity, where I ſtaid ſome time. 'Twas there that I commenced a friendſhip with Mr. H....., which has been moſt laſting on both ſides.—I then came to York, and my uncle got me the living of Sutton—and at York I became acquainted with your mother, and courted her for two years.——She owned ſhe liked me, but thought herſelf not rich enough, or me too poor, to be joined together.—She went to her ſiſter's in S———, and I wrote to her often.——I believe then ſhe was partly determined to have me, but would not ſay ſo.—At her return ſhe fell into a conſumption—and, one evening that I was ſitting by her with an almoſt broken heart to ſee her ſo ill, ſhe ſaid, "My dear Laurey, I can never be yours, for I verily believe I have not long to live—but I have left you every ſhilling of my fortune."—Upon that ſhe ſhewed me her will:—this generoſity overpowered me.—It pleaſed God that ſhe

ſhe recovered, and I married her in the year 1741. My uncle and myſelf were then upon very good terms, for he ſoon got me the prebendary of York—but he quarrelled with me afterwards, becauſe I would not write paragraphs in the newspapers.—Though he was a party-man, I was not, and deteſted ſuch dirty work, thinking it beneath me.—From that period, he became my bittereſt enemy.—By my wife's means I got the living of Stillington—a friend of her's in the ſouth had promiſed her, that if ſhe married a clergyman in Yorkſhire, when the living became vacant, he would make her a compliment of it. I remained near twenty years at Sutton, doing duty at both places.—I had then very good health.—— Books, painting, fiddling, and ſhooting, were my amuſements.—As to the 'Squire of the pariſh, I cannot ſay we were upon a very friendly footing—but at Stillington the family of the C———s ſhewed us every kindneſs—'twas moſt truly agreeable to be within a mile and a half of an amiable family, who were ever cordial friends.—In the year 1760 I took a houſe at York for your mother and yourſelf, and went up to London to publiſh my two firſt volumes of Shandy.—In that year Lord F——— preſented me with the curacy of Coxwold—a ſweet retirement in compariſon of Sutton. In 1762 I went to France before the peace was concluded, and you both followed me.—I left you both in France, and in two years after I went to Italy for the recovery of my health—and when I called upon you, I tried to engage your mother to return to England with me—ſhe and yourſelf are at length come—and I have had the inexpreſſible joy of ſeeing my girl every thing I wiſhed her.

I have ſet down theſe particulars relating to my family, and ſelf, for my Lydia, in caſe hereafter ſhe might have a curioſity, or a kinder motive to know them.

Sketch of the Character of the late Dr. Hawkeſworth.

NAture had endowed him with an uncommonly fine underſtanding, which had been improved not only by long ſtudy, but by converſe with mankind. His fertile mind teemed with ideas, which he delivered in ſo clear, and yet conciſe a manner, that no one could be at a loſs perfectly to comprehend his meaning, or ever tired by hearing him ſpeak; eſpecially as his diction was ſo unaffectedly pure, and his language ſo ſimply elegant, that the learned and unlearned attended with equal pleaſure to that unſtudied flow of eloquence, which, without ſeeming to look for them, always adapted thoſe words which were moſt ſuitable to the ſubject, as well as moſt pleaſing to his hearers,

It has been objected to this gentleman, that he ſuffered his paſſions to hold too ſtrong a dominion over him: it muſt be confeſſed, a too keen ſenſibility ſeemed to him, as indeed it ever is to all who poſſeſs it, a pleaſing but unfortunate gift. Alive to every tender ſentiment of friendſhip, his heart dilated with joy whenever heaven put it in his power to be beneficial to thoſe he loved; but this feeling diſpoſition was the means of leading him into ſuch frequent though tranſient guſts of paſſion, as were too much for his

delicate conſtitution to bear, without feeling the effects of them. Yet, with all theſe quick ſenſations, he was incapable of laſting reſentment, or revenge; and had he never found an enemy till he had done an injury, he would, we may venture to pronounce, have left the world without having known one.

Dr. Hawkeſworth was certainly of a ſerious turn of mind, and his *fort* in writing was on ſubjects of the graver kind; yet his Edgar and Emmeline, ſeveral little detached pieces ſcattered in the Gentleman's Magazine, as well as many of his papers in the Adventurer, abound with a ſtrain of wit and humour, which affords ſufficient proof to any one of his ſportive powers of fancy, whenever he gave it play. All who have enjoyed his ſociety, when mirth circulated round the convivial board, will acknowledge the pleaſure they have often felt at thoſe inoffenſive ſallies of imagination, which were never employed to ridicule religion, or expoſe the infirmities of his fellow-creatures. To ſum up the whole in a few words: He was the ſcholar and the gentleman joined—two characters which ſeldom meet in one; and, if we add to this the good man, ſurely it is all that humanity can arrive at. Such was Dr. Hawkeſworth. While remembrance remains in the minds of thoſe who knew and loved him, he will ever be lamented.

He was born in the year 1719, and died in the year 1774.

Anecdotes of the Life, with Obſervations on the Character and Writings, of the late Paul Whitehead, *Eſq.*

MR. Paul Whitehead was the ſon of a reputable tradeſman in Weſtminſter *, where he was born in 1710. Having received an education ſuitable to his birth and circumſtances, he was apprenticed to a woollen-draper; in which ſituation he became acquainted with Mr. Lowth, as well known for his deſerving character as a man, as for the confidential diſtinction it obtained him, in being appointed executor to the celebrated tragedian Mr. Quin.

Mr. Lowth being apprenticed to the ſame maſter, an intimacy naturally aroſe between two fellow-ſervants of congenial diſpoſitions, if not of equal talents. Their acquaintances and friendſhips of courſe became in a great degree reciprocal; ſo that it was probably owing to Mr. Lowth's intimacy with Quin, that Mr. Whitehead firſt became acquainted with Fleetwood, the manager of Drury-Lane theatre, an acquaintance which proved fatal to Mr. Whitehead's affairs in the early part of his life.

Mr. Fleetwood, it ſeems, whoſe diſſipated character and neceſſitous circumſtances were as well known, as the deſperate means he frequently employed to extricate himſelf from them, had influence enough over his friend Paul to induce him to enter into a joint ſecurity with him for the payment of three thouſand pounds. "Not, ſays Fleetwood, "that the obligation will be bind-"ing on *you* at all, but another "name is wanting as a matter of "courſe." How Mr. Whitehead, who, in the latter part of his life, wanted not for prudence or caution, came to be ſo egregiouſly over-

* Mr. Whitehead's father was by profeſſion a taylor, and lived in the pariſh of St. Martin's.

reached

reached in this matter-of-courſe, is hard to account, unleſs we may ſuppoſe his latter ſhrewdneſs the artificial effect of dear-bought experience, as ſuſpicion is the natural conſequence of diſappointed credulity. On the other hand, it is but doing juſtice to Mr. Fleetwood to obſerve, that, though he muſt be allowed to have greatly deviated from the truth on this occaſion, he might flatter himſelf with hopes, and even have ſome kind of aſſurance, that things would take ſuch a turn in his favour, as in the end not to prove ſo injurious to his too credulous and good-natured friend.

Fleetwood, indeed, to a real careleſſneſs and extreme inattention to his affairs, added an affected openneſs and unconcern, that, joined to his natural, eaſy, and inſinuating behaviour, would impoſe the moſt deſigning maſk of duplicity for the genuine countenance of ſimplicity and ſecurity. It were otherwiſe difficult to account for a man of Mr. Whitehead's underſtanding and knowledge of the world, (for he was then no boy) becoming ſo great a dupe. Be this, however, as it may, Fleetwood's failure to diſcharge the obligation ſubjected Mr. Whitehead to the penalty of the bond; and he was accordingly reduced to the neceſſity of reſiding in the rules of the Fleet for a conſiderable time. This circumſtance happened about the year 1742, ſome years before which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the career of political party by converſation and action, and in the world of letters by his writings.

It was principally to Mr. Whitehead the town was indebted for that hearty laugh it enjoyed many years ago from the mock proceſſion, whoſe juſt and timely ridicule put the anniverſary parade of the free-maſons ſo much out of countenance, that it has been ever ſince diſcontinued *.

In the famous conteſted election between Trentham and Vandeput for Weſtminſter, Mr. Whitehead exerted all his activity, frequently heading numerous bodies of the electors in perſon, and ſupplying the preſs with daily advertiſements and electioneering ſquibs in favour of Sir George Vandeput †.

As to his political principles in general, if we may judge of them by his writings, he appears to have been animated with that laudable zeal liberty, with that laudable zeal for liberty, which uſually diſplays its greateſt warmth in the breaſt of men of genius. His apoſtrophe to the *Patriot* on this ſubject is animated and beautiful:

Thrice happy *Patriot*, whom no courts debaſe,
No titles leſſen, and no ſtars diſgrace!
Still nod the plumage o'er the brainleſs head;
Still o'er the faithleſs heart the ribband ſpread,
Such toys may ſerve to ſignalize the tool,
To ſhield the knave, or garniſh out the fool;
While you, with *Roman* virtue arm'd, diſdain
The tinſel trappings of the glitt'ring chain:
Fond of your freedom, ſpurn the venal fee,
And prove he's only *great*—who dares be *free*.

MANNERS. A *Satire*.

It is much to be doubted, however, whether in his attachment to

* In this he was aſſiſted by the well-known Mr. Squire Carey.

† Mr. Whitehead is ſaid to have been the author of the famous *Caſe of Alexander Murray*, Eſq; which owed its origin to the ſame election.

parties in particular, he either acted or wrote from any other principle than perſonal views or attachments, motives that have actuated political partizans from the days of Salluſt to the preſent. *Bonum publicum ſic certabat.* Mr. Whitehead, indeed, was generally ſuppoſed to be what they call a rank Tory, with a ſtrong tincture of the Jacobite, for which ſuppoſition he gave no little reaſon. Among other frequent ſneers at the royal houſe of Hanover, he has the following, in a note to a paſſage in one of his poems, celebrating the rowing-match for the prize given by Dogget to be annually conteſted for on the firſt of Auguſt: "As among "the ancients, *games* and *ſports* "were celebrated on mournful as "well as joyful events, there has "been ſome controverſy, whether "our *loyal comedian* meant the "compliment to the ſetting or "riſing monarch of *that day*; but, "as the plate has a *horſe* for its de-"vice, I am induced to impute it "to the latter: and, doubtleſs, he "prudently conſidered, that, as a "living *dog* is better than a dead "*lion*, the living *horſe* had, at leaſt, "an equal title to the ſame pre-"ference."

From ſo groſs a ſneer might be inferred a rooted diſlike to the reigning family on the throne, and a grounded partiality to the line of Stuarts; but if we pay any regard to the warmth with which this writer breathes the ſpirit of independence, the enthuſiaſm with which he ſpeaks of public virtue, and the ſeverity with which he laſhes private vice, we may juſtly call in queſtion his having any attachment to a race tyrants from principle.

I cannot truckle to a ſlave in ſtate,
And praiſe a blockhead's wit, becauſe he's great;
Down, down, ye hungry garetteers, deſcend,
Call *Walpole Burleigh*, call him *Britain's* friend;
Behold the genial ray of gold appear,
And rouſe the ſwarms of *Grub-ſtreet* and *Rag-Fair*.
See with what zeal yon tiny inſect burns,
And follows Queens from palaces to urns:
Tho' cruel Death has clos'd the royal ear,
The flattering fly ſtill buzzes round the bier:
But what avails, ſince Queens no longer live?
Why, Kings can read, and Kings, you know, may give.
A Mitre may repay his heav'nly crown;
And while he decks her brow, adorn his own.
Let Laureat Cibber birth-day ſonnets ſing,
Or Fanny erawl, an ear-wig on the King;
While one is void of wit, and one of grace,
Why ſhould I envy either ſong or place?
I could not flatter, the rich butt to gain,
Nor ſink a ſlave, to riſe Vice-Chamberlain.
Periſh my verſe, whene'er one venal line
Bedaubs a Duke, or makes a King divine!

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

Again, in his Honour, a Satire:

Great in her laurel'd Sages *Athens* ſee;
Free flow'd her ſatire while her ſons were free:
Then purpled guilt was dragg'd to public ſhame,
And each offence ſtood flagrant with a name;
Polluted ermine no reſpect could win,
No hallow'd lawn could ſanctify a ſin;
'Till tyrant Power uſurp'd a lawleſs rule:
Then ſacred grew the titled knave and fool; [ſong,
Then penal ſtatutes aw'd the poignant
And ſlaves were taught that *Kings could do no wrong*, [king,
Guilt ſtill is guilt, to me, in ſlave or
Fetter'd in cells, or garter'd in the ring:
And yet behold how various the reward,
WILD falls a felon, *Walpole* mounts a lord.
The *little* knave the law's laſt tribute pays,
While crowns around the *great* one's chariot blaze.

Blaze,

Blaze, meteors, blaze! to me is ſtill the ſame
The cart of Juſtice and the coach of Shame.
Say, what's Nobility, ye gilded train?
Does Nature give it, or can guilt ſuſtain?
Blooms the form fairer, if the birth be high;
Or takes the vital ſtream a richer dye?
What! tho' a long patrician line ye claim,
Are noble ſouls entail'd upon a name?
Anſtis may ermin out the lordly earth,
Virtue's the herald that proclaims its worth.
Vice levels all, however high or low,
And all the difference but conſiſts its ſhow.
Who aſks an alms, or ſupplicates a place,
Alike is beggar, tho' in rags or lace:
Alike his country's ſcandal and its curſe,
Who vends a vote, or who purloins a purſe;
Thy gamblers, *Bridewell* and St. *J—s*'s bites,
The rooks of *Mordington*'s and ſharks at *White*'s.

The truth perhaps, is, that the party Mr. Whitehead firſt embraced, and to which he afterwards conſiſtently enough adhered, was as much an object of accident as choice. His diſpoſition, indeed, appears to have had an original turn to ſarcaſm and ſatire; but to this may be added, that he came into life at a time when the reputation and ſucceſs of Mr. Pope had raiſed the character of a ſatiriſt much beyond its true ſtandard. Mr. Pope, therefore, was choſen as the model, of which our author gloried in the imitation. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that he followed his adopted guide *haud paſſibus æquis*; at leaſt in his poetical career, and the ſucceſs attending it; of which he pathetically complains:

Pope writes unhurt—but know, 'tis diff'rent quite
To beard the Lion, and to cruſh the Mite:
Safe may he daſh the Stateſman in each line,
Thoſe dread his ſatire, who dare puniſh mine.

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

The great, and particularly courtiers, are always the object of the ſpirited ſatiriſt: hence, as the people *then* in power were Whigs, our enterpriſing bard of courſe took the ſide of the Tories.—Hence alſo his terrible averſion *at that time* to courts and drawing-rooms.

Well—of all plagues which make mankind their ſport,
Guard me, ye Heavens! from that worſt plague—a court.
Midſt the mad manſions of *Moorfields* I'd be
A ſtraw-crown'd monarch, in mock majeſty;
Rather than ſov'reign rule Britannia's fate,
Curs'd with the follies and the farce of ſtate.
Rather in *Newgate-walls*, O let me dwell
A doleful tenant of the darkling cell,
Than ſwell in palaces the mighty ſtore
Of Fortune's fools and paraſites of pow'r.
Than crowns, ye gods! be any ſtate my doom;
Or any dungeon, but—a drawing room;

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

What a horrid antipathy, one would think, the author of the above lines muſt have to courts and courtiers! And yet when the patrons, to whom a congeniality of ſentiment had recommended him, had by a ſimilar congeniality recommended themſelves to royal patronage, it was not found that either the ſecondary patron or the poet entertained any ſuch antipathy to courts or courtiers any longer.

Sir Francis Daſhwood, now lord Le Deſpencer, was Mr. Whitehead's patron, and, when he roſe to

to power himſelf, did not ungratefully neglect the merit or intereſt of his dependent friend. His lordſhip, however, was but a ſhort time in ſo elevated a ſtation in government as to

——————ſwell the ſtore
Of Fortune's fools and paraſites of power

Not that we would inſinuate honeſt Paul to have been either the *fool* of fortune or the *paraſite* of power. It might happen to him, with fortune, as Falſtaff ſays of Worceſter's unſought rebellion, "It lay in his way, and he found it." Like a ſhrewd game-keeper, therefore, he dropped without reluctance the oſtentatious badge of office, to take up, like the ſnug poacher, with the ſilent emoluments of a ſinecure *.

Thus provided againſt the reverſes of fortune, he retired, to ſpend the evening of his days, to an agreeable and convenient retreat on Twickenham Common; where he frequently entertained his friends with that ſpecies of humous which was peculiar to him, and a conviviality of diſpoſition, for which his company was ever agreeable to his acquaintance †.

The eaſe, if not affluence, of his circumſtances in this ſituation, is thus poetically depicted by himſelf in his epiſtle to Dr. Thompſon:

E'er wants my table the health-chearing meal,
With *Banſtead* mutton crown'd, or *Eſſex* veal?
Smokes not from *Lincoln* meads the ſtately loin,
Or roſy gammon of *Hantonian* ſwine?
From *Dorking*'s roofts the feather'd victims bleed,
And *Thames* ſtill wafts me Ocean's ſcaly breed.
Tho' *Gallia*'s vines their coſtly juice deny,
Still *Tajo*'s banks the jocund glaſs ſupply;
Still diſtant worlds nectarious treaſures roll,
And either *India* ſparkles in my bowl;
Or *Devon*'s boughs, or *Dorſet*'s bearded fields,
To *Britain*'s arms a *Britiſh* beverage yields.

Nor do the pleaſures of the table and exhilarating conveniencies of good cheer appear to have been ſuperior to the complacency and tranquillity of mind with which Mr. Whitehead ſpent the latter part of his days; as he has deſcribed it at the cloſe of the ſame epiſtle, in a tranſlation of the concluſion of Dr. King's Apology, which he poetically applies to himſelf:

My eaſe and freedom, if for aught I vend,
Would not you cry? To Bedlam, Bedlam, friend!
But to ſpeak out:—ſhall what could ne'er engage
My frailer youth, now captivate in age?
What cares can vex, what terrors frightful be,
To him whoſe ſhield is hoary ſixty-three;

* When Lord Le Deſpencer came into office with Lord Bute's party, he procured a patent place of 800 l. a year for his favourite bard, which he enjoyed to his death.

† Mr. Whitehead was a facetious companion, and poſſeſſed the epithets of ingenious and ingenuous to their utmoſt extent. He belonged for ſome years to that jovial aſſociation of Choice Spirits denominated the Beef-ſteak Club, held in Covent-Garden Theatre, and conſiſting of an heterogeneous mixture of Peers, Poets, and Players.

When

When life itſelf ſo little worth appears,
That miniſters can give no hopes, or fears?
Altho' grown grey within my humble gate,
I ne'er kiſs'd hands, nor trod the rooms of ſtate;
Yet not unhonour'd have I liv'd, and bleſt
With rich convenience, careleſs of the reſt;
What boon more grateful can the gods beſtow
On thoſe, avow'd, their favourite ſons below?

From the above quotations the reader may ſee, that Mr. Whitehead poſſeſſed a manly ſtrength of expreſſion, and a flowing vein of poetry. So little tenacious, however, was he of literary reputation, that he could never be prevailed on to collect and publiſh his productions*; altho' ſuch a circumſtance could not fail of being acceptable to the public; who may hope nevertheleſs to ſee a collection of them, if we are rightly informed, by an ingenious gentleman who is favoured with the approbation and communications of all his friends and relations.

Mr. Whitehead departed this life on the 30th of December 1774, at the age of ſixty-four, beſtowing among other bequeſts the very ſingular one of his heart on his noble friend and patron, lord Le Deſpencer, who depoſited it in a ſolemn manner, on the 16th of Auguſt of this year, in a Mauſoleum erected for that purpoſe, in his garden at High Wycomb in Buckinghamſhire, as a monument due to ſo acceptable a preſent as that of the *heart* of an *honeſt man*.

The following account of this ceremonial appeared in a letter printed in the *Whitehall Evening-Poſt* of Aug. 19.

"Dear Sir,

"I was a little diſappointed in not having the pleaſure to ſee you at Weſt Wycomb on Wedneſday, when the heart of Paul Whitehead, Eſq; was depoſited in the Mauſoleum. I will therefore attempt to give you a deſcription of it:

"There was a numerous appearance of ladies and gentlemen aſſembled upon this occaſion. The country people came from various quarters, big with the expectations of the grandeur and ſolemnity of this unuſual ſight: and, if you will rely upon my imperfect judgment, I think it equalled and exceeded all the ideas which had been framed of it.

"The day was very fine, and all nature ſeemed to approve the honour which was ſhewn to the memory of the deceaſed. The proceſſion began at half paſt eleven. It conſiſted of a company of the Buckinghamſhire militia with their officers; lord Deſpencer at their head, as lord-lieutenant of the county; the officers in their regimentals, with crape round their left arm; ſeven vocal performers habited as a choir, in ſurplices, attended with fifes, flutes, horns, and a drum covered with crape. A certain ſpot, adjacent to the

houſe,

* The principal are M nners, a Satire; the State Dunces, a Satire; Honour, a Satire; the Gymnaſiad, or Boxing Match, a mock-heroic Poem; and an epiſtle to Dr. Thompſon. His leſſer pieces both in proſe and verſe are numerous.——He employed three days before he died in burning his manuſcript works.

houſe, was marked out for the perſons engaged in the proceſſion. Here they aſſembled. The proceſſion began with the ſoldiers, &c. (as above-mentioned) marching round this ſpot three ſeveral times, the choir ſinging ſelect pieces of muſic ſuitable to the occaſion, and accompanied with ſifes, flutes, horns, and drums, conducted by Mr. Atterbury and Mr. Mulſo. This being done, ſix grenadiers went into the grand hall of his lordſhip's houſe, and brought out the very elegant urn in curious and variegated marble, which contained the heart.

"The epitaph upon the urn was as follows:

PAUL WHITEHEAD, Eſq;
of Twickenham,
Obiit December 30, 1774.
Unhallowed hands, this Urn forbear:
No gems, nor orient ſpoil,
Lie here conceal'd—but, what's more rare,
A Heart that knows no guile!

"On one ſide of the urn was a medallion of white marble, of elegant workmanſhip, with the following curious device: three ſeveral figures, highly finiſhed, appeared in the medallion. I could not learn the hiſtory of the firſt of them. The ſecond was the image of Æſculapius, the god of phyſic, attending the deceaſed in his laſt illneſs — but in vain. The third repreſented the deceaſed at his departure—pourtrayed by the ſoul leaving the body, and aſcending into the air. This ſeems to allude to the Pythagorean notion of the ſoul aſcending into the air, and hovering in it for ſome time round the body of the deceaſed.

"The urn was carried on a bier, ſupported by ſix grenadiers; who were attended by ſix more, who walked as a corps de reſerve to relieve the others. The urn, thus carried on the bier, was preceded by a part of the ſoldiers, by the vocal and inſtrumental performers, and by the Rev. Mr. Powell, curate of High Wycomb; and it was followed by lord Deſpencer, walking alone by the officers of the militia, two and two; and the proceſſion was cloſed by a number of private men in the militia.

"The proceſſion, thus formed and conducted, paſſed in the moſt ſolemn manner from the houſe through the gardens, up the hill to the Mauſoleum; the muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, accompanying it almoſt all the time. I have read of Elyſian fields, but never had any tolerable idea of them before this day, when the ſolemnity of the proceſſion through the groves, and the pleaſing effect of the muſic upon this occaſion, gave a degree of probability to the deſcription I have read of them. Near two hours paſſed in marching from the houſe to the Mauſoleum. Being arrived here, a proceſſion was made round the inſide of the Mauſoleum three ſeveral times, with the muſic accompanying it. At length arrived the time for depoſing the urn in one of the niches. Immediately before this, the following incantation, ſet to muſic by Dr. Arnold, was ſung, as follows.

From earth to Heaven Whitehead's ſoul is fled!
Immortal glories beam around his head!
This Muſe, concording with the ſounding ſtrings,
Gives Angels words to praiſe the King of Kings.

"The urn was then placed on a very elegant pedeſtal of white marble. After this, the ſoldiers fired a triple ſalute with great exactneſs and preciſion. The whole proceſſion

proceſſion was conducted with great propriety, and gave general ſatiſfaction. I had almoſt forgot to tell you that minute guns were fired upon this occaſion.

"To make this celebrity as compleat as poſſible, a new Oratorio was performed yeſterday in Weſt Wycomb church. The words were ſelected by Mr. Arnold, and the muſic compoſed by Mr. Atterbury. The name of the Oratorio was Goliah. The choruſes were grand, moſt of the airs very pleaſing and ſweet, particularly the following, *Help us now, O Lord: O Lord, ſend us now proſperity*. All the muſic was very well choſen and adapted to the words. The performers were too few to do juſtice to the muſic. A charming Concerto was performed on the Hautboy, between the firſt and ſecond parts of the Oratorio, by Mr. Foſter. The performance began at half paſt twelve, and continued till three. No tickets were required for admiſſion: but every perſon genteelly dreſſed was admitted into the church on giving ſomething to the poor's Box."

A ſhort Account of the Life, Writings, and Genius of the late Sir John Hill.

EXtraordinary characters have been conſidered to hold up uſeful views of human nature; and that the late Sir John Hill was an extraordinary one, we believe, is not what his enemies deny.

This gentleman was originally bred an apothecary, but marrying early, and without a fortune, made him very ſoon look round for other reſources than his profeſſion. Having therefore, in his apprenticeſhip, attended the botanical lectures, which are periodically given under the patronage of the company, and being poſſeſſed of quick natural parts, he ſoon made himſelf acquainted with the theoretical, as well as practical parts of botany; from whence being recommended by the late D. of Richmond and Lord Petre, he was by them employed in the inſpection and arrangement of their botanic gardens.

Aſſiſted by the liberality of theſe noblemen, he executed a ſcheme of travelling over ſeveral parts of this kingdom, to gather certain of the moſt rare and uncommon plants, which he afterwards publiſhed by ſubſcription; but after great reſearches and uncommon induſtry, which he poſſeſſed in a peculiar degree, this undertaking turned out by no means either adequate to his merits or expectations.

The ſtage next preſented itſelf, as a ſoil in which genius might ſtand a chance of flouriſhing; but this plan (after two or three unſucceſsful attempts at the Little Theatre, Hay-market, and the Theatre Royal, Covent-garden, at which laſt place he played the ſecond Spirit in Comus) became abortive; it was found he had no pretenſions either to the ſock or buſkin, which once more reduced him to his botanical advantages, and his buſineſs as an apothecary.

In the courſe of theſe purſuits. he was introduced to the acquaintance of Martin Folkes and Henry Baker, Eſqrs. both of the Royal Society, the former the late preſident, and thro' them to the literary world, where he was received and entertained on every occaſion with much candour and warmth of friendſhip; in ſhort, he was conſidered by them as a young man of great natural and acquired knowledge, ſtruggling with

with a laudable aſſiduity to ſtem the tide of misfortune, and in this view was pitied and encouraged.

At length, about the year 1746 (at which time he had the trifling appointment of being apothecary to a regiment or two in the Savoy), he tranſlated from the Greek a ſmall tract, written by Theophraſtus, on Gems, which he publiſhed by ſubſcription; and, being well executed, gave him friends, reputation, and money. Encouraged by this, he engaged in works of greater extent and importance. The firſt he undertook was a General Natural Hiſtory, in three volumes folio. He next engaged, in conjunction with George Lewis Scott, Eſq; for a Supplement to Chambers's Dictionary. He at the ſame time ſtarted the Britiſh Magazine; and, at the time when he was engaged in a great number of theſe and other works, ſome of which ſeemed to claim the unique attention of a whole life, he carried on a *daily* eſſay under the title of *Inſpector*. Amidſt this hurry of buſineſs, where much enquiry and great attention were neceſſary, it may be thought to engroſs the whole of his time; but Mr. Hill was ſo laborious and ready in all the parts of his undertakings, and was at the ſame time ſo exact an œconomiſt of his time, that he ſcarcely ever miſſed a public amuſement for many years. Here, indeed, he mixed the *utile dulci*, as, while he relaxed from the ſeverer purſuits of ſtudy, he gleaned up many articles of information for his periodical works.

There are not wanting many men, and ſome of them of eminence, who have pronounced Sir John Hill to be little better than a *quack* in his literary, as well as phyſical knowledge; but this judgment, we muſt ſuppoſe, is inferred from the peruſal of ſome of his publications, which are decided on as pieces of writing, without conſidering the embarraſſed ſituation of the author. As for thoſe who knew, and will make allowances for the various literary engagements he has been embarked in, *all at one time*, many of them ſufficient for the labour of a long life, they will be aſtoniſhed at the depth of his judgment, and the quickneſs and variety of his parts, and will be fully juſtified in drawing this general concluſion, that was he early in life poſſeſſed of a fortune ſufficient to chuſe his *favourite ſcience*, and had ſteadineſs enough not to be diverted from it by pleaſures, there can be little doubt of Sir John Hill holding a reſpectable rank in the annals of Britiſh literature.

It would be an hiſtorical folio, inſtead of a news-paper eſſay, were we to trace Mr. Hill, now Dr. Hill (for he had taken his diploma from the college of St. Andrew's) through all his various purſuits in life. In ſuch a collection, the limits of a ſketch will only point to ſelect the moſt leading. Be it ſufficient then to know, that from this ſucceſsful period he ſtarted a man of faſhion, kept his equipage, dreſſed, went into all polite companies, laughed at the drier ſtudies, and in every reſpect claimed the character of the man of *bon ton*. His writings ſupported him for a while in all this; and notwithſtanding the graver part of them were only compilations, and the lighter part what the copy-money could not be extraordinary, yet there is no doubt he made for ſeveral years, *communibus annis*, not leſs than 1500l.

A quar-

A quarrel, however, he had had with the Royal Society, for being refuſed as a member, and the ſterility of his genius, merely from being over exerciſed, after ſome time made him ſink in the reputation of the public nearly in the ſame pace as he aſcended. He found as uſual, however, reſources in his own invention. He applied himſelf to the preparation of certain ſimple medicines, ſuch as the eſſence of water-dock, tincture of valerian, balſam of honey, &c. &c. The well-known ſimplicity of theſe medicines made the public judge favourably of their effects, (which we really believe are ſerviceable in many caſes, inoffenſive in all) inſomuch that they had a rapid ſale, and once more enabled the Doctor to figure away in that ſtile of life ever ſo congenial to his inclination.

Soon after the publication of the firſt of theſe medicines, he obtained the patronage of the Earl of Bute, through whoſe intereſt he acquired the management of the Royal Gardens at Kew, with an handſome ſalary; and to wind up the whole of ſo extraordinary a life, having, a little before his death, preſented an elegant ſet of his botanical works to the preſent king of Sweden; that monarch, in return, inveſted him with one of the orders of his court, which title he had not the happineſs of enjoying above two years.

Anecdotes of Signiora Gabrieli, *the celebrated Opera Singer. By Mr.* Brydone *and Mr.* Wraxall.

MR. Brydone ſaw this lady at Palermo a few years ſince. She is, ſays he, certainly the greateſt ſinger in the world; and thoſe that ſing, on the ſame theatre with her, muſt be capital, otherwiſe they never can be attended to. This indeed has been the fate of all the other performers here, except Pacherotti; and he too gave himſelf up for loſt, on hearing her firſt performance. It happened to be an air of execution, exactly adapted to her voice, which ſhe exerted in ſo aſtoniſhing a manner, that, before it was half done, poor Pacherotti burſt out a crying, and ran in behind the ſcenes; lamenting that he had been prevailed on to appear on the ſame ſtage with ſo wonderful a ſinger, where his ſmall talents muſt not only be totally loſt, but where he muſt ever be accuſed of a preſumption, which he hoped was foreign to his character.

It was with ſome difficulty they could prevail on him to appear again, but, from an applauſe well merited, both from his talents and his modeſty, he ſoon began to pluck up a little courage; and, in the ſinging of a tender air, addreſſed to Gabrieli in the character of a lover, even ſhe herſelf, as well as the audience, is ſaid to have been moved.

The performance of Gabrieli is ſo generally known and admired, that it is almoſt needleſs to ſay any thing to you on that ſubject. Her wonderful execution and volubility of voice have long been the admiration of Italy, and have even obliged them to invent a new term to expreſs it; and, would ſhe exert herſelf as much to pleaſe as to aſtoniſh, ſhe might almoſt perform the wonders that have been aſcribed to Orpheus and Timotheus; but it happens, luckily perhaps for the repoſe of mankind, that her caprice

price is, if poſſible, even greater than her talents, and has made her ſtill more contemptible than theſe have made her celebrated. By this means, her character has often proved a ſufficient antidote both to the charms of her voice and thoſe of her perſon, which are indeed almoſt equally powerful; but, if theſe had been united to the qualities of a modeſt and an amiable mind, ſhe muſt have made dreadful havock in the world. However, with all her faults, ſhe is certainly the moſt dangerous Syren of modern times, and has made more conqueſts, I ſuppoſe, than any one woman breathing.

It is but juſtice to add, that, contrary to the generality of her profeſſion, ſhe is by no means ſelfiſh or mercenary; but, on the contrary, has given many ſingular proofs of generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs. She is very rich; from the bounty, as is ſuppoſed, of the laſt emperor, who was fond of having her at Vienna; but ſhe was at laſt baniſhed that city, as ſhe has likewiſe been moſt of thoſe in Italy, from the broils and ſquabbles that her intriguing ſpirit, perhaps ſtill more than her beauty, had excited.

There is a variety of anecdotes concerning her, that would not make an unentertaining volume: and, I am told, either are, or will ſoon be publiſhed.

Although ſhe is conſiderably upwards of thirty, on the ſtage ſhe ſcarcely appears to be eighteen; and this art of appearing young is none of the moſt contemptible that ſhe poſſeſſes. When ſhe is in good humour, and really chuſes to exert herſelf, there in nothing in muſic, that I have ever heard, at all to be compared to her performance; for ſhe ſiugs to the heart, as well as the fancy, when ſhe pleaſes; and ſhe then commands every paſſion with unbounded ſway. But ſhe is ſeldom capable of exerciſing theſe wonderful powers; and her caprice and her talents, exerting themſelves by turns, have given her, all her life, the ſingular fate of becoming alternately an object of admiration and of contempt.

Her powers, in acting and reciting, are ſcarcely inferior to thoſe of her ſinging; ſometimes a few words in the recitative, with a ſimple accompaniment only, produced an effect, that I have never been ſenſible of from any other performer; and inclines me to believe what Roſſeau advances on this branch of muſic, which with us is ſo much deſpiſed. She owes much of her merit to the inſtructions ſhe received from Metaſtaſio, particularly in acting and reciting; and he has ever ſaid, that ſhe does more juſtice to his operas than any other actreſs that ever attempted them.

Her caprice is ſo fixed and ſo ſtubborn, that neither intereſt, nor flattery, nor threats, nor puniſhments, have the leaſt power over it; and it appears, that treating her with reſpect or contempt have an equal tendency to increaſe it.

It is ſeldom that ſhe condeſcends to exert theſe wonderful talents; but moſt particularly if ſhe imagines that ſuch an exertion is expected. And, inſtead of ſinging her airs as other actreſſes do, for the moſt part ſhe only hums them over, a mezza voce. And no art whatever is capable of making her ſing, when ſhe does not chuſe it.

The moſt ſucceſsful expedient has ever been found to prevail on her favourite lover, for ſhe always has

has one, to place himſelf in the center of the pit, or the front box; and if they are on good terms, which is ſeldom the caſe, ſhe will addreſs all her tender airs to him, and exert herſelf to the utmoſt.—Her preſent inamorato promiſed to give us this ſpecimen of his power over her; he took his place accordingly; but Gabrieli, probably ſuſpecting the contrivance, would take no notice of him: ſo that even this expedient does not always ſucceed.

The Viceroy, who is fond of muſic, has tried every method with her to no purpoſe. Some time ago he gave a great dinner to the principal nobility of Palermo, and ſent an invitation to Gabrieli to be of the party. Every other perſon arrived preciſely at the hour of invitation. The Viceroy ordered dinner to be kept back for ſome time, and ſent to let her know that the company waited her. The meſſenger found her reading in bed; ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſorry for having made the company wait, and begged he would make her apology, but that really ſhe had entirely forgotten her engagement.

The Viceroy would have forgiven this piece of inſolence, but, when the company came to the opera, Gabrieli repeated her part with the moſt perfect negligence and indifference, and ſung all her airs in what they call *ſotto voce*, that is, ſo low, that they can ſcarcely be heard. The Viceroy was offended, but, as he is a good-tempered man, he was loth to make uſe of authority: but at laſt, by a perſeverance in this inſolent ſtubbornneſs, ſhe obliged him to threaten her with puniſhment, in caſe ſhe any longer refuſed to ſing.

On this ſhe grew more obſtinate than ever, declaring that force and authority ſhould never ſucceed with her; that he might make her cry, but that he never could make her ſing. The Viceroy then ſent her to priſon, where ſhe remained twelve days; during which time ſhe gave magnificent entertainments every day, paid the debts of all the poor priſoners, and diſtributed large ſums in charity. The Viceroy was obliged to give up ſtruggling with her, and ſhe was at laſt ſet at liberty amidſt the acclamations of the poor. Luckily for us ſhe is at preſent in very good humour, and ſometimes exerts herſelf to the utmoſt of her power.

She ſays ſhe has ſeveral times been on terms with the managers of our opera, but ſhe thinks ſhe ſhall never be able to pluck up reſolution enough to go to England. What do you think is her reaſon? It is by no means a bad one. She ſays ſhe cannot command her caprice; but, for the moſt part, that it commands her; and that there ſhe could have no opportunity of indulging it: for, ſays ſhe, were I to take it into my head not to ſing, I am told the people there would certainly mob me, and perhaps break my bones;—now I like to ſleep in a ſound ſkin, although it ſhould even be in priſon.—She alledges too that it is not always caprice that prevents her from ſinging, but that it often depends upon phyſical cauſes; and this indeed I can readily believe: for that wonderful flexibility of voice, that runs with ſuch rapidity and neatneſs thro' the moſt minute diviſions, and produces almoſt inſtantaneouſly ſo great a variety of modulation, muſt ſurely

depend on the very niceſt tone of the fibres. And if theſe are in the ſmalleſt degree relaxed, or their elaſticity diminiſhed, how is it poſſible that their contractions and expanſions can ſo readily obey the will, as to produce theſe effects?—The opening of the glottis which forms the voice is extremely ſmall, and, in every variety of tone, its diameter muſt ſuffer a ſenſible change; for the ſame diameter muſt ever produce the ſame tone.--So wonderfully minute are its contractions and dilatations, that Dr. Keil, I think, computes, that, in ſome voices, its opening, not more than the tenth of an inch, is divided into upwards of 1200 parts, the different ſound of every one of which is perceptible to an exact ear. Now, what a nice tenſion of fibres muſt this require! I ſhould imagine every the moſt minute change in the air muſt cauſe a ſenſible difference, and that in our foggy climate the fibres would be in danger of loſing this wonderful ſenſibility; or at leaſt that they would very often be put out of tune. It is not the ſame caſe with an ordinary voice, where the variety of diviſions run through, and the volubility with which they are executed bear no proportion to thoſe of Gabrieli" Thus far Mr. Brydone.

Mr. Wraxall ſaw this wonderful ſinger at the court of Peterſburgh, in the month of July, 1774. He was introduced to her by Count Ruewzſky, a Poliſh nobleman. "She roſe up, ſays Mr. Wraxall, with great politeneſs on the Count's introducing me to her, as an Engliſh gentleman who was lately arrived; and I did not loſe the opportunity to enter into a converſation with her. She was perfectly free and unreſerved in her replies to a number of little queſtions which I put to her. She ſaid, that though uſed to the warmer climates of Italy and Sicily, her conſtitution was not impaired or injured by the ſeverity of that here; that the Empreſs was a bounteous miſtreſs, and ſhe had no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with her preſent ſituation; but that, notwithſtanding, ſhe had a paſſionate deſire to viſit England, a journey ſhe had been many times on the point of executing, but had never yet accompliſhed. I aſſured her how happy the Engliſh nation would be to ſee among them a woman of ſuch pre-eminent merit, and how generous their patronage was to all the performers in the fine arts. I mentioned Mademoiſelle Heinel to her, as a proof of the juſtice of my aſſertion; and told her, that the name of La belle Gabrieli was already too well known among us, not to inſure her the moſt welcome reception. I ſeized this moment to aſk her, if ſhe had never heard of or known a Mr. Brydone, who was at Palermo a very few years ſince, and had given us a deſcription of her perſon and voice, as far as they admitted of it? She ſaid ſhe had not the pleaſure to know him, nor recollected to have heard his name; but mentioned Sir William Hamilton and Lord Cowper, as perſons with whom ſhe was well acquainted. Our converſation was moſt agreeably interrupted by her ſtanding up to ſing. I muſt own, I never heard any voice ſo perfectly ſweet, melting, and abſolute in its command over the ſoul; nor can any thing exceed the negligent careleſneſs apparent in her whole manner, while employed in this occupation, as if ſhe deſpiſed the appearance of exertion, or any labour to pleaſe. I

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am assured, however, her powers are somewhat impaired since her arrival here, and that she does not possess that compass or extent at present, which she had two years ago. The character of caprice, which she maintained in the southern parts of Europe, she has not lost here, as they universally ascribe this quality to her in the highest degree. She was at Milan, when the Empress engaged her to sing in her court. The price she demanded was 7000 rubles (or about 1500 l. sterling) a year, besides a house and carriage; nor would she relax the least article of the sum. They remonstrated with her on the unreasonableness of so enormous a salary; and, to induce her to diminish it, informed her, that a field-marshal had no more. "If that be the case, (said she) I would advise her Majesty to make one of her marshals sing." Her person, strictly considered in itself, is by no means irresistible; she does not exceed, if she reaches, the middle size; her features are small, and her eyes blue; but her neck is exquisitely white; and, as her dress usually discloses more than can strictly be confined to that part of the human body, it cannot be gazed on with impunity. Her attractions have not failed to procure her many admirers during her stay here, and she has had her favourite Muscovite, as well as her Sicilian lover. Though her salary is so ample, it is only on peculiar occasions and great festivals that she usually sings."

NATURAL HISTORY.

The ſuppoſed Effect of boiling upon Water, in diſpoſing it to freeze more readily, aſcertained by Experiments. By Joſeph Black, *M. D. Profeſſor of Chemiſtry at* Edinburgh, *in a Letter to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. P. R. S.*

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

To Sir John Pringle, Bart. P.R. S.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, Feb. 11, 1775.

WE had lately one day of a calm and clear froſt; and I immediately ſeized the opportunity, which I miſſed before, to make ſome experiments relating to the freezing of boiled water, in compariſon with that of water not boiled. I ordered ſome water to be boiled in the tea-kettle four hours. I then filled with it a Florentine flaſk, and immediately applied ſnow to the flaſk until I cooled it to 48° of FAHRENHEIT, the temperature of ſome unboiled water, which ſtood in my ſtudy in a bottle; then putting four ounces of boiled, and four of the unboiled water, ſeparately, into two equal tea-cups, I expoſed them on the outſide of a north window, where a thermometer pointed to 29°. The conſequence was, that ice appeared firſt upon the boiled water; and this, in ſeveral repetitions of the experiment, with the ſame boiled water, ſome of which were made nine hours after it was poured out of the tea-kettle. The length of time which intervened between the firſt appearance of ice upon the two waters was different in the different experiments. One cauſe of this variety was plainly a variation of the temperature of the air, which became colder in the afternoon, and made the thermometer deſcend gradually to 25°. Another cauſe was the diſturbance of the water; when the unboiled water was diſturbed now and then by ſtirring it gently with a quill tooth-pick, the ice was formed upon it as ſoon, or very nearly as ſoon, as upon the other; and, from what I ſaw, I have reaſon to think, that were it to be ſtirred inceſſantly, provided at the ſame time the experiment were made with quantities of water, not much larger or deeper than theſe, it would begin to freeze full as ſoon. In one of theſe trials, having inſpected my tea-cups when they had been an hour expoſed, and finding ice upon the boiled water, and none upon the other, I gently ſtirred the unboiled water with my tooth-pick, and ſaw immediately, under my eye, fine feathers of ice formed upon its ſurface, which quickly increaſed in ſize and number, until there was as much ice in this cup as in the other, and all of it

it formed in one minute of time, or two at moſt. And in the reſt of the trials, though the congelation began in general later in the unboiled water than in the other; when it did begin in the former, the ice quickly increaſed ſo as, in a very ſhort time, to equal, or nearly equal in quantity, that which had been formed more gradually in the boiled water. The opinion, therefore, which I have formed from what I have hitherto ſeen is, that the boiled and common water differ from one another in this reſpect; that whereas the common water, when expoſed in a ſtate of tranquillity to air that is a few degrees colder than the freezing point, may eaſily be cooled to the degree of ſuch air, and ſtill continue perfectly fluid, provided it ſtill remain undiſturbed: the boiled water, on the contrary, cannot be preſerved fluid in theſe circumſtances; but when cooled down to the freezing point, if we attempt to make it in the leaſt colder, a part of it is immediately changed into ice; after which, by the continued action of the cold air upon it, more ice is formed in it every moment, until the whole of it be gradually congealed before it can become as cold as the air that ſurrounds it. From this diſcovery it is eaſy to underſtand, why they find it neceſſary to boil the water in India, in order to obtain ice. The utmoſt intenſity of the cold which they can obtain by all the means they employ, is probably not greater than 31° or 30° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Common water, left undiſturbed, will eaſily deſcend to this degree without freezing; and, if they have not the means of making it colder, may continue fluid for any time, provided it be not diſturbed: the refrigerating cauſes of that part of the world when they have done ſo much, have done their utmoſt, and can act no further upon the water. But this cannot happen to the boiled water; when the refrigerating cauſes have cooled it to 32°, the next effect they produce is to occaſion in it the beginning of congelation; while the water is afterwards gradually aſſuming the form of ice, we know, by experience, that the temperature of it muſt remain at 32°; it cannot be made colder, ſo long as any conſiderable part of it remains unfrozen*. The refrigerating cauſes continue, therefore, to have power over it, and to act upon it, and will gradually change the whole into ice, if their action be continued ſufficiently long.

The next object of inveſtigation may be the cauſe of this difference between the boiled and the common water. In conſidering this point, the following idea was ſuggeſted: as we know from experience, that, by diſturbing common water, we haſten the beginning of its congelation, or render it incapable of being cooled below 32°, without being congealed; may not the only difference between it and boiling water, when they are expoſed together to a calm froſty air, conſiſt in this circumſtance: that the boiled water is neceſſarily ſubjected to the action of a diſturbing cauſe, during the whole time of its

* Common water, when cooled in a ſtate of tranquillity to ſeveral degrees below the freezing point, will ſuddenly riſe up to it again, if diſturbed in ſuch a manner as to occaſion in it a beginning of congelation.

expoſure, which the other is not? One effect of boiling water long is to expel the air which it naturally contains; as ſoon as it cools, it begins to attract and abſorb air again, until it hath recovered its former quantity; but this probably requires a conſiderable time. During the whole of this time, the air entering into it muſt occaſion an agitation or diſturbance in the water, which, though not ſenſible to the eye, may be very effectual in preventing it to become, in the leaſt, colder than the freezing point, without beginning to freeze, in conſequence of which its congelation muſt begin immediately after it is cooled to that point. When I reflect upon this idea, I remember a fact which appears to me to ſupport it ſtrongly. Fahrenheit was the firſt perſon who diſcovered that water, when preſerved in tranquillity, may be cooled ſome degrees below the freezing point without freezing. He made the diſcovery while he was endeavouring to obtain ice from water that had been purged of its air: with this intention he had put ſome water into little glaſs globes, and having purged it of air, by boiling and the air-pump, he ſuddenly ſealed up the globes, and then expoſed them to the froſty air. He was ſurprized to find the water remain unfrozen much longer than he expected, when at laſt he opened ſome of his globes, in order to apply a thermometer to the water, or otherwiſe examine what ſtate it was in. The immediate conſequence of the admiſſion of the air was a ſudden congelation which happened in the water; and in the reſt of his globes a ſimilar production of ice was occaſioned by ſhaking them. The inference that may be drawn from theſe experiments of Fahrenheit's is ſufficiently obvious; it appears to me to remove all doubt with regard to the above ſuppoſition. Before theſe experiments of Fahrenheit occurred to my memory, I had planned a few, ſuggeſted by the above ſuppoſition, that might have led to the ſame concluſion; but the ſhort duration of the froſt, for one day only, did not give me time to put them in execution.

Of the ſtilling of Waves by means of Oil. Extracted from ſundry Letters between Benjamin Franklin, *LL.D. F.R.S.* William Brownrigg, *M.D. F.R.S. and the Rev. Mr.* Pariſh*.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

Extract of a Letter from Doctor Brownrigg, *to Dr.* Franklin, *dated* Ormathwait, *January* 27, 1773.

BY the incloſed from an old friend, a worthy clergyman at Carliſle, whoſe great learning and

* This property, in oil and other greaſy ſubſtances, of ſmoothing the ſurface of water, nay and of ſtilling waves, has been more or leſs obſerved, and even taken advantage of, in ſeveral diſtant parts of the world, down to the preſent times. The inhabitants of St. Kilda themſelves have been acquainted with it, as appears by the following paſſage, in Martin's Deſcription of the weſtern iſlands of Scotland;

"The

and extenſive knowledge in moſt ſciences would have more diſtinguiſhed him, had he been placed in a more conſpicuous point of view, you will find that he had heard of your experiment on Derwent lake, and has thrown together what he could collect on that ſubject; to which I have ſubjoined one experiment from the relation of another gentleman.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Fariſh, *to Dr.* Brownrigg.

I ſome time ago met with Mr. Dun, who ſurpriſed me with an account of an experiment you had tried upon the Derwent water, in company with Sir John Pringle and Dr. Franklin. According to his repreſentation, the water, which had been in great agitation before, was inſtantly calmed, upon pouring in only a very ſmall quantity of oil, and that to ſo great a diſtance round the boat as ſeems a little incredible. I have ſince had the ſame accounts from others, but I ſuſpect all of a little exaggeration. Pliny mentions this property of oil, as known particularly to the divers, who made uſe of it in his days, in order to have a more ſteady light at the bottom*. The ſailors, I have been told, have obſerved ſomething of the ſame kind in our days, that the water is always remarkably ſmoother in the wake of a ſhip that hath been newly tallowed, than it is it one that is foul.—Mr. Pennant alſo mentions an obſervation of the like nature made by the ſeal-catchers in Scotland, *Brit. Zool.* vol. iv. *Article* Seal. When theſe animals are devouring a very oily fiſh, which they always do under water, the waves above are obſerved to be remarkably ſmooth, and by this mark the fiſhermen know where to look for them.——Old Pliny does not uſually meet with all the credit I am inclined to think he deſerves. I ſhall be glad to have an authentic account of the Keſwick experiment, and, if it comes up to the repreſentations that have been made of it, I ſhall not much heſitate to believe the old gentleman in another more wonderful phænomenon, he relates, of ſtilling a tempeſt only by throwing up a little vingear into the air.

Extract of a Letter to Dr. Brownrigg, *from Dr.* Franklin.

London, Nov. 7, 1773.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the remarks of your learned friend at Carliſle.—I

"The ſteward of Kilda, who lives in Pabbay, is accuſtomed, in the time of a ſtorm, to tie a bundle of puddings, made of the fat of ſea fowl, to the end of his cable, and lets it fall into the ſea, behind the rudder. This, he ſays, hinders the waves from breaking, and calms the ſea; but the ſcent of the greaſe attracts the whales, which puts the veſſel in danger."

Does not the concluſion of this paſſage afford an uſeful hint to the whale-fiſhers?

* Sir Gilfred Lawſon, who ſerved long in the army at Gibraltar, aſſures me that the fiſhermen in that place are accuſtomed to pour a little oil on the ſea, in order to ſtill its motion, that they may be enabled to ſee the oyſters lying at its bottom; which are there very large, and which they take up with a proper inſtrument. This Sir Gilfred had often ſeen there performed, and ſaid the ſame was practiſed on other parts of the Spaniſh coaſt.

had, when a youth, read and ſmiled at Pliny's account of a practice among the ſeamen of his time, to ſtill the waves in a ſtorm by pouring oil into the ſea; which he mentions, as well as the uſe made of oil by the divers; but the ſtilling a tempeſt by throwing vinegar into the air had eſcaped me. I think with your friend, that it has been of late too much the mode to ſlight the learning of the antients. The learned, too, are apt to ſlight too much the knowledge of the vulgar. The cooling by evaporation was long an inſtance of the latter. This art of ſmoothing the waves with oil is an inſtance of both.

Perhaps you may not diſlike to have an account of all I have heard, and learnt, and done in this way. Take it, if you pleaſe, as follows:

In 1757, being at ſea in a fleet of 96 ſail, bound againſt Louiſbourg, I obſerved the wakes of two of the ſhips to be remarkably ſmooth, while all the others were ruffled by the wind, which blew freſh. Being puzzled with the differing appearance, I at laſt pointed it out to our captain, and aſked him the meaning of it? "The cooks," ſays he, "have, I ſuppoſe, been juſt emptying their greaſy water through the ſcuppers, which has greaſed the ſides of thoſe ſhips a little;" and this anſwer he gave me with an air of ſome little contempt, as to a perſon ignorant of what every body elſe knew. In my own mind I at firſt ſlighted his ſolution, tho' I was not able to think of another; but, recollecting what I had formerly read in Pliny, I reſolved to make ſome experiment of the effect of oil on water, when I ſhould have opportunity.

Afterwards being again at ſea in 1762, I firſt obſerved the wonderful quietneſs of oil on agitated water, in the ſwinging glaſs lamp I made to hang up in the cabbin, as deſcribed in my printed papers, page 438 of the fourth edition.—This I was continually looking at and conſidering, as an appearance to me inexplicable. An old ſea captain, then a paſſenger with me, thought little of it, ſuppoſing it an effect of the ſame kind with that of oil put on water to ſmooth it, which he ſaid was a practice of the Bermudians when they would ſtrike fiſh, which they could not ſee, if the ſurface of the water was ruffled by the wind. This practice I had never before heard of, and was obliged to him for the information; tho' I thought him miſtaken as to the ſameneſs of the experiment, the operations being different, as well as the effects. In one caſe, the water is ſmooth till the oil is put on, and then becomes agitated. In the other it is agitated before the oil is applied, and then becomes ſmooth.—The ſame gentleman told me, he had heard it was a practice with the fiſhermen of Liſbon, when about to return into the river, (if they ſaw before them too great a ſurf upon the bar, which they apprehended might fill their boats in paſſing) to empty a bottle or two of oil into the ſea, which would ſuppreſs the breakers, and allow them to paſs ſafely: a confirmation of this I have not ſince had an opportunity of obtaining; but diſcourſing of it with another perſon, who had often been in the Mediterranean, I was informed that the divers there, who, when under water in their buſineſs, need light which the curling of the ſurface interrupts by the refractions of ſo many

many little waves, let a ſmall quantity of oil now and then out of their mouths, which riſing to the ſurface ſmooths it, and permits the light to come down to them.—All theſe informations I at times revolved in my mind, and wondered to find no mention of them in our books of experimental philoſophy.

At length being at Clapham, where there is on the common a large pond, which I obſerved to be one day very rough with the wind, I fetched out a cruet of oil, and dropt a little of it on the water. I ſaw it ſpread itſelf with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs upon the ſurface; but the effect of ſmoothing the waves was not produced; for I had applied it firſt on the leeward ſide of the pond, where the waves were largeſt, and the wind drove my oil back upon the ſhore. I then went to the windward ſide, where they began to form; and there the oil, though not more than a tea ſpoonful, produced an inſtant calm over a ſpace ſeveral yards ſquare, which ſpread amazingly, and extended itſelf gradually till it reached the lee-ſide, making all that quarter of the pond, perhaps half an acre, as ſmooth as a looking-glaſs.

After this, I contrived to take with me, whenever I went into the country, a little oil in the upper hollow joint of my bamboo cane, with which I might repeat the experiment as opportunity ſhould offer; and I found it conſtantly to ſucceed.

In theſe experiments, one circumſtance ſtruck me with particular ſurprize. This was the ſudden, wide, and forcible ſpreading of a drop of oil on the face of the water, which I do not know that any body has hitherto conſidered. If a drop of oil is put on a poliſhed marble table, or on a looking-glaſs that lies horizontally; the drop remains in its place, ſpreading very little. But, when put on water, it ſpreads inſtantly many feet round, becoming ſo thin as to produce the priſmatic colours, for a conſiderable ſpace, and beyond them ſo much thinner as to be inviſible, except in its effect of ſmoothing the waves at a much greater diſtance. It ſeems as if a mutual repulſion between its particles took place as ſoon as it touched the water, and a repulſion ſo ſtrong as to act on other bodies ſwimming on the ſurface, as ſtraws, leaves, chips, &c. forcing them to recede every way from the drop, as from a center, leaving a large clear ſpace. The quantity of this force, and the diſtance to which it will operate, I have not yet aſcertained; but I think it a curious enquiry, and I wiſh to underſtand whence it ariſes.

In our journey to the north, when we had the pleaſure of ſeeing you at Ormathwaite, we viſited the celebrated Mr. Smeaton, near Leeds. Being about to ſhew him the ſmoothing experiment on a little pond near his houſe, an ingenious pupil of his, Mr. Jeſſop, then preſent, told us of an odd appearance on that pond, which had lately occurred to him. He was about to clean a little cup in which he kept oil, and he threw upon the water ſome flies that had been drowned in the oil. Theſe flies preſently began to move, and turned round on the water very rapidly, as if they were vigorouſly alive, though on examination he found they were not ſo. I immediately concluded that the motion was occaſioned by the power of the repulſion above-

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mentioned, and that the oil iſſuing gradually from the ſpungy body of the fly continued the motion. He found ſome more flies drowned in oil, with which the experiment was repeated before us. To ſhew that it was not any effect of life recovered by the flies, I imitated it by little bits of oiled chips and paper cut in the form of a comma, of the ſize of a common fly; when the ſtream of repelling particles iſſuing from the point made the comma turn round the contrary way. This is not a chamber experiment; for it cannot well be repeated in a bowl or diſh of water on a table. A conſiderable ſurface of water is neceſſary to give room for the expanſion of a ſmall quantity of oil. In a diſh of water, if the ſmalleſt drop of oil be let fall in the middle, the whole ſurface is preſently covered with a thin greaſy film proceeding from the drop; but as ſoon as that film has reached the ſides of the diſh, no more will iſſue from the drop, but it remains in the form of oil, the ſides of the diſh putting a ſtop to its diſſipation by prohibiting the farther expanſion of the film.

Our friend Sir John Pringle, being ſoon after in Scotland, learnt there, that thoſe employed in the herring fiſhery, could at a diſtance ſee where the ſhoals of herrings were, by the ſmoothneſs of the water over them, which might poſſibly be occaſioned, he thought, by ſome oilineſs proceeding from their bodies.

A gentleman from Rhode-iſland told me, it had been remarked that the harbour of Newport was ever ſmooth while any whaling-veſſels were in it: which probably aroſe from hence, that the blubber which they ſometimes bring looſe in the hold, or the leakage of their barrels, might afford ſome oil to mix with that water, which from time to time they pump out to keep the veſſel free; and that ſame oil might ſpread over the ſurface of the water in the harbour, and prevent the forming of any waves.

This prevention I would thus endeavour to explain.

There ſeems to be no natural repulſion between water and air, ſuch as to keep them from coming into contact with each other. Hence we find a quantity of air in water; and, if we extract it by means of the air-pump, the ſame water again expoſed to the air will ſoon imbibe an equal quantity.

Therefore air in motion, which is wind, in paſſing over the ſmooth ſurface of water, may rub, as it were, upon that ſurface, and raiſe it into wrinkles, which, if the wind continues, are the elements of future waves.

The ſmalleſt wave once raiſed does not immediately ſubſide, and leave the neighbouring water quiet; but in ſubſiding raiſes nearly as much of the water next to it, the friction of the parts making little difference. Thus a ſtone dropt in a pool raiſes firſt a ſingle wave round itſelf; and leaves it, by ſinking to the bottom; but that firſt wave ſubſiding raiſes a ſecond, the ſecond a third, and ſo on in circles to a great extent.

A ſmall power continually operating will produce a great action. A finger applied to a weighty ſuſpended bell can at firſt move it but little; if repeatedly applied, though with no greater ſtrength, the motion increaſes till the bell ſwings to its utmoſt height, and with

with a force that cannot be reſiſted by the whole ſtrength of the arm and body. Thus the ſmall firſt-raiſed waves, being continually acted upon by the wind, are, though the wind does not increaſe in ſtrength, continually increaſed in magnitude, riſing higher and extending their baſes, ſo as to include a vaſt maſs of water in each wave, which in its motion acts with great violence.

But if there be a mutual repulſion between the particles of oil, and no attraction between oil and water, oil dropt on water will not be held together by adhefion to the ſpot whereon it falls; it will not be imbibed by the water; it will be at liberty to expand itſelf; and it will ſpread on a ſurface that, beſides being ſmooth to the moſt perfect degree of poliſh, prevents, perhaps by repelling the oil, all immediate contact, keeping it at a minute diſtance from itſelf; and the expanſion will continue, till the mutual repulſion between the particles of the oil is weakened and reduced to nothing by their diſtance.

Now I imagine, that the wind, blowing over water thus covered with a film of oil, cannot eaſily *catch* upon it, ſo as to raiſe the firſt wrinkles, but ſlides over it, and leaves it ſmooth as it finds it. It moves a little the oil indeed, which, being between it and the water, ſerves it to ſlide with, and prevents friction, as oil does between thoſe parts of a machine, that would otherwiſe rub hard together. Hence the oil dropt on the windward ſide of a pond proceeds gradually to leeward, as may be ſeen by the ſmoothneſs it carries with it, quite to the oppoſite ſide. For the wind, being thus prevented from raiſing the firſt wrinkles that I call the elements of waves, cannot produce waves, which are to be made by continually acting upon and enlarging thoſe elements, and thus the whole pond is calmed.

Totally therefore we might ſuppreſs the waves in any required place, if we could come at the windward place where they take their riſe. This in the ocean can ſeldom, if ever, be done. But perhaps ſomething may be done on particular occaſions, to moderate the violence of the waves, when we are in the midſt of them, and prevent their breaking, where that would be inconvenient.

For, when the wind blows freſh, there are continually riſing on the back of every great wave a number of ſmall ones, which roughen its ſurface, and give the wind hold, as it were, to puſh it with greater force. This hold is diminiſhed by preventing the generation of thoſe ſmall ones. And poſſibly too, when a wave's ſurface is oiled, the wind, in paſſing over it, may rather in ſome degree preſs it down, and contribute to prevent its riſing again, inſtead of promoting it.

This as mere conjecture would have little weight, if the apparent effects of pouring oil into the midſt of waves were not conſiderable, and as yet not otherwiſe accounted for.

When the wind blows ſo freſh, as that the waves are not ſufficiently quick in obeying its impulſe, their tops being thinner and lighter are puſhed forward, broken, and turned over in a white foam. Common waves lift a veſſel, without entering it; but theſe when large

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ſometimes break above and pour over it, doing great damage.

That this effect might in any degree be prevented, or the height and violence of waves in the ſea moderated, we had no certain account; Pliny's authority for the practice of ſeamen in his time being ſlighted. But diſcourſing lately on this ſubject with his excellency Count Bentinck of Holland, his ſon the honourable Captain Bentinck, and the learned Profeſſor Allemand, (to all whom I ſhewed the experiment of ſmoothing in a windy day the large piece of water at the head of the Green Park;) a letter was mentioned which had been received by the Count from Batavia, relative to the ſaving of a Dutch ſhip in a ſtorm, by pouring oil into the ſea. I much deſired to ſee that letter, and a copy of it was promiſed me, which I afterward received *.

" *Extract of a Letter from Mr.*
" Tengnagel *to Count* Bentinck,
" *dated at* Batavia *the* 15*th of*
" *January* 1770.

" Near the iſlands Paul and
" Amſterdam, we met with a
" ſtorm, which had nothing par-
" ticular in it worthy of being
" communicated to you, except
" that the captain found himſelf
" obliged, for greater ſafety in
" wearing the ſhip, to pour oil into
" the ſea, to prevent the waves
" breaking over her, which had an
" excellent effect, and ſucceeded in
" preſerving us.—As he poured out
" but a little at a time, the Eaſt-
" India company owes perhaps its
" ſhip to only ſix demi-aumes of
" oil-olive. I was preſent upon
" deck when this was done; and
" I ſhould not have mentioned this
" circumſtance to you, but that we
" have found people here ſo preju-
" diced againſt the experiment, as
" to make it neceſſary for the offi-
" cers on board and myſelf to give
" a certificate of the truth on this
" head, of which we made no
" difficulty."

On this occaſion, I mentioned to Captain Bentinck a thought which had occurred to me in reading the voyages of our late circumnavigators, particularly where accounts are given of pleaſant and fertile iſlands which they much deſired to land upon, when ſickneſs made it more neceſſary, but could not effect a landing through a violent ſurf breaking on the ſhore, which rendered it impracticable. My idea was, that poſſibly by ſailing to and fro at ſome diſtance from ſuch lee ſhore, continually pouring oil into

* *Extrait d'une Lettre de Mr.* Tengnagel *à Mr. le Comte* de Bentinck, *écrite de* Batavia *le* 15 *Janvier*, 1770.

Près des iſles Paulus & Amſterdam nous eſſuiames un orage, qui n'eut rien d'aſſez particulier pour vous être marqué, ſi non que notre capitaine ſe trouva obligé, en tournant ſous le vent, de verſer de l'huile contre la haute mer, pour empecher les vagues de ſe briſer contre le navire, ce qui réuſſit à nous conſerver, & a été d'un très bon effet: comme il n'en verſa qu'une petite quantité à la fois, la compagnie doit peut-être ſon vaiſſeau à ſix demi aumes d'huile d'olive: j'ai été préſent quand cela s'eſt fait, & je ne vous aurois pas entretenu de cette circonſtance, ſi ce n'étoit que nous avons trouvé les gens ici ſi prévenus contre l'expérience, que les officiers du bord ni moi n'avons fait aucune difficulté de donner un certificat de la vérité ſur ce chapitre.

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the ſea, the waves might be ſo much depreſſed and leſſened before they reached the ſhore as to abate the height and violence of the ſurf, and permit a landing; which, in ſuch circumſtances, was a point of ſufficient importance to juſtify the expence of the oil that might be requiſite for the purpoſe. That gentleman, who is ever ready to promote what may be of public utility, though his own ingenious inventions have not always met with the countenance they merited, was ſo obliging as to invite me to Portſmouth, where an opportunity would probably offer, in the courſe of a few days, of making the experiment on ſome of the ſhores about Spithead, in which he kindly propoſed to accompany me, and to give aſſiſtance with ſuch boats as might be neceſſary. Accordingly, about the middle of October laſt, I went with ſome friends to Portſmouth; and a day of wind happening, which made a lee-ſhore between Haſlar Hoſpital and the point near Jillkecker, we went from the Centaur with the long-boat and barge towards that ſhore. Our diſpoſition was this: the long-boat was anchored about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore; part of the company were landed behind the point (a place more ſheltered from the ſea) who came round and placed themſelves oppoſite to the long-boat, where they might obſerve the ſurf, and note if any change occurred in it, upon uſing the oil. Another party in the barge, plied to windward of the long-boat, as far from her as ſhe was from the ſhore, making trips of about half a mile each, pouring oil continually out of a large ſtone-bottle, through a hole in the cork, ſomewhat bigger than a gooſe-quill. The experiment had not, in the main point, the ſucceſs we wiſhed, for no material difference was obſerved in the height or force of the ſurf upon the ſhore; but thoſe who were in the long-boat could obſerve a tract of ſmoothed water, the whole length of the diſtance in which the barge poured the oil, and gradually ſpreading in breadth towards the long-boat. I call it ſmoothed, not that it was laid level; but becauſe, though the ſwell continued, its ſurface was not roughened by the wrinkles, or ſmaller waves, before-mentioned; and none, or very few white caps (or waves whoſe tops turn over in foam) appeared in that whole ſpace, though to windward and leeward of it there were plenty; and a wherry, that came round the point under ſail, in her way to Portſmouth, ſeemed to turn into that tract of choice, and to uſe it from end to end, as a piece of turnpike-road.

It may be of uſe to relate the circumſtances even of an experiment that does not ſucceed, ſince they may give hints of amendment in future trials: it is therefore I have been thus particular. I ſhall only add what I apprehend may have been the reaſon of our diſappointment.

I conceive, that the operation of oil on water is, firſt, to prevent the raiſing of new waves by the wind; and, ſecondly, to prevent its puſhing thoſe before raiſed with ſuch force, and conſequently their continuance of the ſame repeated height, as they would have done, if their ſurface were not oiled. But oil will not prevent waves being raiſed by another power, by a ſtone,

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for inſtance, falling into a ſtill pool; for they then riſe by the mechanical impulſe of the ſtone, which the greaſineſs on the ſurrounding water cannot leſſen or prevent, as it can prevent the wind's catching the ſurface, and raiſing it into waves. Now waves once raiſed, whether by the wind or any other power, have the ſame mechanical operation, by which they continue to riſe and fall, as a *pendulum* will continue to ſwing a long time after the force ceaſes to act by which the motion was firſt produced: that motion will, however, ceaſe in time; but time is neceſſary. Therefore, though oil, ſpread on an agitated ſea, may weaken the puſh of the wind on thoſe waves whoſe ſurfaces are covered by it, and ſo, by receiving leſs freſh impulſe, they may gradually ſubſide; yet a conſiderable time, or a diſtance through which they will take time to move, may be neceſſary to make the effect ſenſible on any ſhore in a diminution of the ſurf: for we know, that, when wind ceaſes ſuddenly, the waves it has raiſed do not as ſuddenly ſubſide, but ſettle gradually, and are not quite down till long after the wind has ceaſed. So though we ſhould, by oiling them, take off the effect of wind on waves already raiſed, it is not to be expected that thoſe waves ſhould be inſtantly levelled. The motion they have received will, for ſome time, continue; and, if the ſhore is not far diſtant, they arrive there ſo ſoon, that their effect upon it will not be viſibly diminiſhed. Poſſibly, therefore, if we had begun our operations at a greater diſtance, the effect might have been more ſenſible. And perhaps we did not pour oil in ſufficient quantity. Future experiments may determine this.

I was, however, greatly obliged to Captain Bentinck, for the chearful and ready aids he gave me: and I ought not to omit mentioning Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, General Carnac, and Dr. Blagden, who all aſſiſted at the experiment, during that bluſtering unpleaſant day, with a patience and activity that could only be inſpired by a zeal for the improvement of knowledge, ſuch eſpecially as might poſſibly be of uſe to men in ſituations of diſtreſs.

I would wiſh you to communicate this to your ingenious friend, Mr. Fariſh, with my reſpects; and believe me to be, with ſincere eſteem,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

B. FRANKLIN.

An Account of a Woman accidentally burnt to death at Coventry. *By* B. Wilmer, *Surgeon, at* Coventry. *In a Letter to Mr.* William Sharpe.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

SIR,

THE following caſe, which has lately engaged the attention of every one in this part of the world, appears to me ſo very extraordinary, that I was determined to give you a minute account of its circumſtances; which will be the more

more agreeable to you, as you may depend upon the truth of every thing that I ſhall relate to you concerning it.

Mary Clues, of Gosford-ſtreet, in this city, aged 52 years, was of an indifferent character, and much addicted to drinking. Since the death of her huſband, which happened about a year and a half ago, her propenſity to this vice increaſed to ſuch a degree, that, as I have been informed by ſeveral of her neighbours, ſhe has drank the quantity of four half pints of rum, undiluted with any other liquor, in a day. This practice was ſo familiar to her, that ſcarce a day has paſſed this laſt twelvemonth, but ſhe has ſwallowed from half a pint to a quart of rum or aniſeed-water. Her health gradually declined; and, from being a jolly, well-looking woman, ſhe grew thinner, her complexion altered, and her ſkin became dry. About the beginning of February laſt, ſhe was attacked with the jaundice, and took to her bed. Though ſhe was now ſo helpleſs, as hardly to be able to do any thing for herſelf, ſhe continued her old cuſtom of dram-drinking, and generally ſmoaked a pipe every night. No one lived with her in the houſe. Her neighbours uſed, in the day, frequently to come in, to ſee after her; and in the night, commonly, though not always, a perſon ſat up with her; to whom ſhe has often cried out, that ſhe ſaw the devil in ſome part of the room, who was come to take her away.

Her bed room was next the ſtreet, on the ground-floor, the walls of which were plaiſtered, and the floor made of bricks. The chimney is ſmall, and there was a grate in it, which, from its ſize, could contain but a very ſmall quantity of fire. Her bed-ſtead ſtood parallel to, and at the diſtance of about three feet from the chimney. The bed's head was cloſe to the wall. On the other ſide the bed, oppoſite the chimney, was a window opening to the ſtreet. One curtain only belonged to the bed, which was hung on the ſide next the window, to prevent the light being troubleſome. She was accuſtomed to lie upon her ſide, cloſe to the edge of the bedſtead, next the fire; and on Sunday morning, March the 1ſt, tumbled upon the floor, where her helpleſs ſtate obliged her to lie ſome time, till Mary Hollyer, her next neighbour, came accidentally to ſee her. With ſome difficulty ſhe got her into bed. The ſame night, though ſhe was adviſed to it, ſhe refuſed to have any one to ſit up with her; and, at half paſt eleven, one Brooks, who was an occaſional attendant, left her as well as uſual, locked up her door, and went home. He had placed two bits of coal quite backward upon the fire in the grate, and put a ſmall ruſh-light in a candleſtick, which was ſet in a chair, near the head of the bed; but not on the ſide where the curtain was. At half after five the next morning, a ſmoak was obſerved to come out of the window in the ſtreet; and, upon breaking open the door, ſome flames were perceived in the room, which, with five or ſix buckets of water, were eaſily extinguiſhed. Betwixt the bed and fire-place lay the remains of Mrs. Clues. The legs and one thigh were untouched. Except theſe parts, there were not the leaſt remains of any ſkin, muſcles, or *viſcera*. The bones of the ſkull, *thorax*, ſpine, and the upper extremities,

extremities, were completely calcined, and covered with a whitiſh efflorescence. The ſkull lay near the head of the bed, the legs toward the bottom, and the ſpine in a curved direction, ſo that ſhe appeared to have been burnt on her right ſide, with her back next the grate. The right *femur* was ſeparated from the *acetabulum* of the *iſchium*; the left was alſo ſeparated, and broken off about three inches below the great *trochanter*. The connection of the *ſacrum* with the *oſſa innominata*, and the inferior *vertebræ* of the loins were deſtroyed. The intervening ligaments kept the *vertebræ* of the loins, back, and neck together, and the ſkull was ſtill reſting upon the *atlas*. When the flames were extinguiſhed, it appeared that very little damage had been done to the furniture of the room, and that the ſide of the bed next the fire had ſuffered moſt. The bedſtead was ſuperficially burnt, but the feather-bed, ſheets, blankets, &c. were not deſtroyed. The curtain on the other ſide of the bed was untouched, and a deal door, near the bed, not in the leaſt injured. I was in the room about two hours after the miſchief was diſcovered. I obſerved that the walls and every thing in the room were coloured black: there was a very diſagreeable vapor; but I did not obſerve, that any thing was much burnt, except Mrs. Clues; whoſe remains I ſaw in the ſtate I have juſt deſcribed. I took away one of the bones (the remains of the *ſacrum*) which you have incloſed with this letter. The only way that I can account for it is, by ſuppoſing that ſhe again tumbled out of bed on Monday morning, and that her ſhift was ſet fire to, either by the candle from the chair, or a coal falling from the grate; that her ſolids and fluids were rendered inflammable, by the immenſe quantity of ſpirituous liquors ſhe had drank, and that when ſhe was ſet fire to, ſhe was probably ſoon reduced to aſhes, for the room ſuffered very little.

B. WILMER.

Coventry, April 9, 1772.

Obſervations on the Poiſon of Copper and Braſs, and the very great danger attending the uſe of utenſils made of theſe metals, and other mixed metals, wherein copper and braſs make a part, eſpecially in the preparing and keeping of food and phyſick, &c. By William Falconer, *M. D. F. R. S.*

WE might imagine copper in its metallic form not very likely to find admiſſion into the body; but I ſuſpect it occurs oftener than is apprehended. Halfpence and farthings are frequently given to children to play with, and, as they generally put their toys into their mouths, they are often ſwallowed, or part of the copper abraded by their teeth. The laſt of the above circumſtances is applicable to all toys whatever, for young children, made of braſs or copper, or other mixed metals wherein copper makes a part of the compoſition. I likewiſe believe, that ſometimes copper in this form gains admiſſion into our food, by the ſcraping of the bottoms of braſs or copper pans, &c. eſpecially when they contain ſome viſcid ſubſtance, as ſweetmeats, or ſome other food dreſſed with thick ſauces. The like may happen from ſome of the coarſer kind of ſpoons made of a mixed metal called ockamy, (corruptly

ruptly for alchemy) which is a coarſe kind of braſs. Theſe are in frequent uſe among ſervants and the lower kind of people, and I have often ſeen them greatly diminiſhed in their ſubſtance by uſe. The dangerous cuſtom of many, of putting pins into their mouths, deſerves to be particularly noticed, as it is generally imagined all the danger lies in its mechanical action, if ſwallowed; but, by the aforementioned account of its effects, it appears to be likely to produce diſagreeable conſequences by its ſpecific action as metal.

Great caution ſhould be had in the uſe of copper veſſels by thoſe who inhabit a country where mines, of coal eſpecially, are frequent; as the ſprings in ſuch ſituations are frequently impregnated with this acid.

Fermented liquors likewiſe (whether from an acid generated in the vinous fermentation, or from part of the liquor having gone on to the acetous, is not certain) are obſerved to corrode copper. On this account, we ſhould be very cautious relative to the cocks by which wine and beer are drawn off, that they are kept as clean as poſſible, and not be ſuffered to remain longer in the wine caſks than is neceſſary for bottling it. This caution is more eſpecially neceſſary with reſpect to made wines, which are more aceſcent and imperfectly fermented, part of them being generally in a ſtate of muſt, and part changed into vinegar, and more apt to corrode copper than the foreign wines. I ſuſpect that an emetic quality, which I have ſeveral times obſerved in made wines, may ſometimes be produced by ſome accident of this kind. For malt liquors which are drunk out of the caſk, I think the common wooden ſpigot and faucet much cleaner and ſafer than braſs cocks; and I think ſome contrivance of the ſame kind might be found out for wine, which is drunk out of the caſk; or perhaps ſome compound metal of tin and biſmuth, which is not affected by the vegetable acid, might anſwer very well.

All the above cautions are applicable, in a greater degree, to vinegar, which corrodes copper very powerfully, and even quicker than the native acid, in my opinion. I have obſerved the vapour of vinegar to be remarkably corroſive of this metal; and, on this account, the diſtillation of vinegar is a point of great importance to be attended to *. I have frequently found diſtilled vinegar to have gained an impregnation of copper, which was probably contracted from the head of the ſtill in diſtillation. Indeed, I think no veſſels but thoſe of glaſs are proper for this operation.

The above mentioned quality of vinegar ſhould make us very cautious in what veſſel it is boiled, as it is frequently done for pickles. The preparation of theſe is a matter of great conſequence, as they are ſo much uſed, eſpecially by thoſe of higher rank. The fine blue and green colour, for which ſeveral of them are ſo much valued,

* This caution is very neceſſary to be attended to in ſome pharmaceutical preparations, as in diſtilling the aqua alexeteria ſpirituoſa cum aceto, and all others where vinegar is directed to be to diſtilled.

has been eſteemed by many a preſumptive circumſtance of their having gained ſome impregnation of this kind. As this fact is very material to be aſcertained, I made the following experiments in order to determine it.

I took about an ounce of pickle from ſome cucumbers which were bought at a noted ſhop, and were remarkable for their colour in a high degree. It had a peculiar taſte of the metallic kind, and ſmelled like the effluvia from copper that has been ſtrongly rubbed, which was even ſo powerful as to produce a ſlight degree of nauſea. Into this I put ſome bright iron wire, which in a ſhort time was covered with a red ruſt, exactly reſembling what iron acquires from a ſolution of copper in an acid. I tried the ſame experiment with ſome pickle of the ſame kind from cucumbers procured from another place, which were rather inferior in colour, but ſtill ſhewed ſome, though leſs, ſigns of containing copper. Pickles, I have obſerved, which are prepared without any impregnation of this kind, are generally of a faint green, rather inclining to yellow; and I am perſuaded that this colour, which is made ſo greatly a teſt of their goodneſs, is always owing to this cauſe.

It is a well known maxim among houſe-keepers, that pickles will never be green, unleſs a copper or braſs pan be uſed, and, if the deſired colour be not obtained thus in ſufficient degree, it is common, I am informed, to throw in a few half pence afterwards, which ſeldom fails to impart the tinge required. This is very probable, when we conſider that copper is more acted on by the vegetable acid in the cold, than when heated. I have examined ſome books of modern cookery, and find that, whenever a green or blue colour * is deſired, a braſs, bell-metal, or copper pan, is directed to be uſed. It is not improbable that this often happens when ſuch an adulteration is neither deſigned nor ſuſpected, from uſing diſtilled vinegar, which is often employed for theſe purpoſes, and is frequently impregnated with copper from the head of the ſtill. Vinegar likewiſe diſſolves the copper alloy in ſilver, and even the vapour that exhales from it when cold will have the ſame effect. On this account I think the tops of vinegar-cruets are improperly made of ſilver, as is now frequently the faſhion. I have ſeen theſe acquire a thick coat of verdigreaſe on their inſide, eſpecially when they are made hollow with a narrow opening, ſo as to be with difficulty cleaned. This objection holds ſtill ſtronger when the ſpout itſelf, through which the vinegar is poured, is made of ſilver.

Extraordinary Inſtance of Maternal Affection in a ſavage Animal, to which ſeveral of the Gentlemen and Seamen belonging to the Carcaſs

* Vide Art of Cookery made plain and eaſy, by H. Glaſſe. London printed, 1770. New edition. Receipts for pickling walnuts green; to pickle gerkins; large cucumbers; French beans; grapes and ſamphire, p. 260, 262, 264, 267, 270. Vide alſo the Univerſal Cook, by John Townſend, printed 1774, and ſeveral others.—May not the falſe gilding on ginger-bread, &c. prove very detrimental to children, who make nothing of eating it as well as the ginger-bread itſelf.

Frigate,

Frigate, which went out, a ſhort Time ſince, to make Diſcoveries towards the North Pole, were Eye Witneſſes.

WHILE the Carcaſs was locked in the ice, early one morning the man at the maſt-head gave notice, that three bears were making their way very faſt over the frozen ocean, and were directing their courſe towards the ſhip. They had, no doubt, been invited by the ſcent of ſome blubber of a ſea-horſe the crew had killed a few days before, which had been ſet on fire, and was burning on the ice at the time of their approach. They proved to be a ſhe-bear and her two cubs; but the cubs were nearly as large as the dam. They ran eagerly to the fire, and drew out from the flames part of the fleſh of the ſea-horſe that remained unconſumed, and eat it voraciouſly. The crew from the ſhip threw great lumps of the fleſh of the ſea-horſe, which they had ſtill left, upon the ice, which the old bear fetched away ſingly, laid every lump before her cubs as ſhe brought it, and, dividing it, gave each a ſhare, reſerving but a ſmall portion to herſelf. As ſhe was fetching away the laſt piece, they levelled their muſquets at the cubs, and ſhot them both dead, and, in her retreat, they wounded the dam, but not mortally. It would have drawn tears of pity, from any but unfeeling minds, to have marked the affectionate concern expreſſed by this poor beaſt in the dying moments of her expiring young. Though ſhe was ſorely wounded, and could but juſt crawl to the place where they lay, ſhe carried the lump of fleſh ſhe had fetched away, as ſhe had done others before; tore it in pieces, and laid it down before them; and, when ſhe ſaw that they refuſed to eat, ſhe laid her paws firſt upon one, and then upon the other, and endeavoured to raiſe them up: all this while, it was pitiful to hear her moan. When ſhe found ſhe could not ſtir them, ſhe went off, and, when ſhe had got at ſome diſtance, looked back and moaned; and, that not availing her to entice them away, ſhe returned, and, ſmelling round them, began to lick their wounds. She went off a ſecond time, as before; and, having crawled a few paces, looked again behind her, and for ſome time ſtood moaning. But ſtill, her cubs not riſing to follow her, ſhe returned to them again, and, with ſigns of inexpreſſible fondneſs, went round one, and round the other, pawing them and moaning. Finding at laſt that they were cold and lifeleſs, ſhe raiſed her head towards the ſhip, and growled a curſe upon the murderers, which they returned with a volley of muſquet balls. She fell between her cubs, and died licking their wounds.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſingular anecdote without obſerving, that the white bear of Greenland and Spitzbergen is conſiderably larger than the brown bear of Europe, or the black bear of North-America. This animal lives upon fiſh and ſeals, and is not only ſeen upon land in the countries bordering on the North Pole, but often on floats of ice ſeveral leagues at ſea.

MARINUS.

A letter from David Macbride, *M. D. to* John Walſh, *Eſq;* F.R.S.

F. R. S. accompanying two Letters from Mr. Simon *to Dr.* Macbride, *concerning the Reviviſcence of ſome Snails preſerved many Years in Mr.* Simon's *Cambinet.*

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

To John Walſh, Eſq;

DEAR SIR, Dublin, Jan. 22, 1774.

I Incloſe to you two letters, which I received from Mr. Stuckey Simon, concerning that extraordinary fact in natural hiſtory, which you ſeemed to regret had not been ſufficiently authenticated to be communicated to the public, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of laſt year.—The Royal Society are undoubtedly in the right to be extremely cautious of allowing any thing, ſo very much out of the hitherto obſerved courſe of nature, as this is, to appear in their publications, without the fulleſt evidence.

In Mr. Simon's letter of the 26th of November, you will pleaſe to obſerve, that he mentions a particular ſhell, whoſe ſnail had come out repeatedly four different times, in the preſence of different people; each of whom have aſſured me that they ſaw it. That gentleman having done me the favour to dine with me, a day or two after the date of that letter, he brought the identical ſhell, (as he declared) in order that we might try if the ſnail would again make its appearance.

The company were not diſappointed; for, after the ſhell had lain about ten minutes in a glaſs of water that had the cold barely taken off, the ſnail began to appear; and in five minutes more we perceived half the body fairly puſhed out from the cavity of the ſhell. We then removed it into a baſin, that the ſnail might have more ſcope than it had in the glaſs: and here, in a very ſhort time, we ſaw it get above the ſurface of the water, and crawl up towards the edge of the baſin. While it was thus moving about, with its horns erect, a fly chanced to be hovering near, and, perceiving the ſnail, darted down upon it. The little animal inſtantly withdrew itſelf within the ſhell, but as quickly came forth again, when it found the enemy had gone off. We allowed it to wander about the baſin for upwards of an hour, when we returned it into a wide-mouthed phial, wherein Mr. Simon had lately been uſed to keep it. He was ſo obliging as to preſent me with this remarkable ſhell; and I obſerved, at twelve o'clock, as I was going to bed, that the ſnail was ſtill in motion: but, next morning, I found it in a torpid ſtate, ſticking to the ſide of the glaſs.

In a few weeks after the time above-mentioned, I took an opportunity of ſending this ſhell to Sir John Pringle, who ſhewed it at a meeting of the ſociety; but, as he has been pleaſed to inform me, ſome of the members could not bring themſelves to believe, but hat Mr. Simon muſt have ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed on by his ſon, who, as they imagined, ſubſtituted freſh ſhells for thoſe which he had got out of the cabinet.

When Sir John Pringle acquainted me with this difficulty, I wrote to Mr. Simon, and that produced his letter of the 4th of February. I afterwards alſo examined the boy myſelf,

myſelf, and could find no reaſon to believe, that he either did, or could impoſe on his father.

Mr. Simon is a merchant of this place, of a very reputable character, and undoubted veracity. He lives in the heart of the city, a circumſtance which rendered it almoſt impoſſible for the ſon (if he had been ſo diſpoſed) to collect freſh ſhells. The father of Mr. Stuckey Simon was Mr. James Simon, a Fellow of the Royal Society; who, being a lover of natural hiſtory, as well as an antiquarian, made a little collection of foſſils, which is ſtill in the ſon's poſſeſſion, and contains ſome articles that are rather uncommon.

Should Mr. Simon's letters be inſerted in the Tranſactions, they will no doubt be the means of exciting naturaliſts to enquire into the extent of vitality in the lower orders of animals. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

And very humble Servant,

DAVID MACBRIDE.

Mr. Stuckey Simon *to Dr.* Macbride.

SIR, Dublin, Nov. 26, 1772.

AN accident having brought to light what ſome naturaliſts have not had an opportunity to examine into, and which has been a ſubject of ſome converſation amongſt gentlemen to whom I have mentioned it, has made me commit to writing the ſimple facts, in order to put others on making further experiments on the ſubject.—About three months ſince, I was ſettling ſome ſhells in a drawer, amongſt which were ſome ſnail-ſhells. I took them out, and gave them to my ſon, (a child about ten years old) who was then in the room with me. The Saturday following, the child diverted himſelf with the ſhells, put them into a flower-pot, which he filled with water, and next morning put them into a baſin. Having occaſion to uſe it, I obſerved the ſnails had come out of the ſhells. I examined the child. He aſſured me they were the ſame I gave him ſome days before; and ſaid he had a few more, which he brought me. I put one of them in water, and in half an hour after, I obſerved him put out his horns and body, which he moved with a ſlow motion, I ſuppoſe from weakneſs. I then informed Major Vallancy and Dr. Span of this ſurprizing diſcovery. They did me the favour to come to my houſe the Saturday following, to examine the ſnails; and, on putting them in water, found that only one had life, which was that I put in water, for he came out of his ſhell, and carried it on his back about the baſin. The reſt, I ſuppoſe, died by being kept too long in water; for, on the firſt diſcovery, I let them remain in the water until the Monday following, when I poured off the water, the ſnails being ſtill out of their ſhells, and ſeemingly dead. They lay in that ſtate until Tueſday night, when I found they had all withdrawn into their ſhells; and though I ſeveral times ſince put them into water, they ſhewed no ſigns of life. Dr. Quin and Dr. Rutty did me the favour, at different times, to examine the ſnail that is living; and were greatly pleaſed to ſee him come out of his ſolitary habitation, in which he has been confined upwards of fifteen years, for ſo long I can declare with truth he has been in my poſſeſſion; as my father died

th January, 1758, in whoſe collection of foſſils thoſe ſnails were, and or what I know they might have been many years in his poſſeſſion before they came into my hands. The ſhells are ſmall, and of one kind; white, ſtriped with brown. Since this diſcovery, I have kept this ſnail in a ſmall phial, with a cover with holes, to let in air; and he ſeems at preſent very ſtrong, and in health. I ſhall be extremely glad, if this plain account I have given you would induce gentlemen to make ſome further experiments on this ſubject. I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
STUCKEY SIMON.

Mr. Stuckey Simon *to Dr.* Macbride.

DEAR SIR, Strand-ſtr. 4 Feb. 1773.

I RECEIVED your letter; and ſee that Sir John Pringle received the ſnail ſafe. You ſay, that ſome gentlemen are inclined to think my ſon has impoſed on me freſh ſhells, in the ſtead of thoſe I gave him. He had no opportunity to get any other ſhells, being at the time, and for ſeveral days after, confined to the houſe with a cold. I am poſitive they are the ſame I gave him, having more of the ſame ſort of ſhells in my cabinet, and nearly the ſame ſize

The nine ſhells, which produced the ſnails, are of the ſame kind as the one you ſent to Sir John Pringle; and I now ſend you one of them, with the ſnail in it, which I take to be dead. Having put it in water ſeveral times, it became ſoft; and a part of it puſhed out of the ſhell, but ſhewed no other ſign of life. I would have ſent you a few more of the ſhells, but that the Biſhop of Derry, and ſome other friends, have begged of me to give them a ſhare. I am,

Dear Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble Servant,
STUCKEY SIMON.

Extraordinary Inſtance of the Hardineſs of Snails to reſiſt Heat, which may ſerve, in ſome Degree, as a Confirmation of their Hardineſs to reſiſt Dryneſs, the Subject of the preceding Article. By Mr. T. Rowe.

SIR,

IN confirmation of Dr. Macbride's letter on the reviviſcence of ſnails, I ſhall here tranſcribe an extract from a letter of an ingenious and curious lady, of undoubted veracity, whom yet I am not at liberty to name, as relative to the ſame ſubject. Her words are as follows.

"There is, in the laſt Magazine, an account (viz. the ſame with the preceding one) of the reviving of ſome ſnails, which had lain in a Mr. Simon's cabinet fifteen years. Is it not a moſt extraordinary ſtory? And yet I am not faithleſs in that point, as many a reader probably is; for I once ſaw a very remarkable property in ſnails, which gave me ſuch uneaſineſs as fixed the remembrance ſtrongly in my mind to this minute, though it happened many years ago.

"I was at Wrotham, at Mr. Haddock's, in Kent, and was making a little ſhell work tower, to ſtand on a cabinet, in a long gallery. After having repaired two ſmall amber temples to grace the corners,

I was

was desirous of having some odd pretty ornament in front; and sea-shells running short before I had finished, I recollected the having seen some pretty little snails on the chalk-hills there; and we all went one evening to pick up some, and found variety of forms, and colours, and sizes. We returned home weary enough, and longed for tea, though it was latish; and a large boiler was brought in, as we were a round company. I was contriving how to kill the snails in the easiest and most merciful manner, when a wag said, "Stick them on alive;" at which I shuddered, and called him brute. At length I got a large China bason, and putting an handful or two of snails into it, I filled it up with boiling water; and, though my heart recoiled at the deed, yet my eagerness to finish my work next morning conquered my compassion. To make sure of giving my snails the *coup de grace*, I poured off the first water, and then filled the bowl again with more out of the hot boiling kettle. I carried the bason into a summer-house in the garden, where I loved to go to work early in a morning, before my friends were stirring, and the next morning I arose sooner than common, and went to the summer-house: but how great was my surprize, to find my poor snails crawling about, some on the edge of the bason, some tumbling over, some on the table, and one or two actually eating the paste that was to stick them on. I was perfectly shocked, and burst into tears; and, picking up every snail carefully, carried them into a field beyond the garden, where I make no doubt but they perfectly recovered their two scaldings in boiling water.

"I had an abundance of empty shells of the same kinds, but they had not the beauty of those which had snails in them. However, I used those only which I could apply without cruelty and compunction.

"This I thought then a very surprising event; but Mr. Simon's snails, I must confess, are far superior to mine."

So far my fair and observing correspondent. All the observations I shall make upon the fact here related, of which I have not the least doubt in respect of its truth, are, first, that snails inclosed in their shells receive no injury or bruises in their organs or limbs, but are entirely perfect in all their parts. Secondly, that their torpidity whilst in their quiescent state in a cabinet, or chalky hill, must be owing to a want of moisture, and that a liquid of some sort seems to be necessary to give them motion. And thirdly, that though it may not be improper to examine the extent of vitality in other small animals, yet little can be inferred or argued from snails to them, on account of the foregoing observations. The wasp, on the contrary, when seemingly drowned, and when quite senseless and motionless, will be brought to life, as I have often seen, by being laid for a short time in the sun.

I am, &c.

T. Row.

An Account of the Gymnotus Electricus, *or Electrical Eel. In a Letter from* Alexander Garden, *M. D. F. R. S. to* John Ellis, *Esq; F. R. S.*

From the Philosophical Transactions.

Charles-Town, South Carolina,
Aug. 14, 1774.

SIR,

A FEW days ſince, I went to ſee ſome very curious fiſh, which were brought here about nine or ten weeks ago from Surinam; and I was both ſurprized and delighted to obſerve their ſtrange ſhape, and experience their wonderful properties. I had before received ſome vague account of ſuch a fiſh; but I always thought that much of what I heard was fabulous. There are five of theſe fiſhes now here, of different ſizes, from two feet in length to three feet eight inches. The following deſcription was made out from the longeſt and largeſt. It might have been much more accurate, if there had been a poſſibility of handling the fiſh, and examining it leiſurely; or if I could have had a dead ſpecimen, as many things relating to the internal and external ſtructure could in that caſe have been more exactly aſcertained. But this fiſh hath the amazing power of giving ſo ſudden and ſo violent a ſhock to any perſon that touches it, that there is, I think, an abſolute impoſſibility of ever examining accurately a living ſpecimen; and the perſon who owns them rates them at too high a price (not leſs than fifty guineas for the ſmalleſt) for me to get a dead ſpecimen, unleſs one ſhould die by accident; if that ſhould happen, you may depend on having a more exact and accurate account for the Society.

George Baker, mariner, who brought them here, intends to carry them to England; but as it is very uncertain whether they will arrive in health and all alive, I have recommended to him to get a ſmall caſk of rum, with a large bung, into which he may put any of them that may die, and ſo preſerve them for the inſpection and examination of the curious when he arrives.

The largeſt of theſe fiſh was three feet eight inches in length, when extending itſelf moſt, and might have been from ten to fourteen inches in circumference about the thickeſt part of his body. The head is large, broad, flat, ſmooth, and impreſſed here and there with holes, as if perforated with a blunt needle, eſpecially towards the ſides, where they are more regularly ranged in a line on each ſide. The *roſtrum* is obtuſe and rounded. The upper and lower jaws are of an equal length, and the gape is large. The noſtrils are two on each ſide; the firſt large, tubular, and elevated above the ſurface; and the others ſmall, and level with the ſkin, placed immediately behind the verge of the *roſtrum*, at the diſtance of an inch aſunder. The eyes are ſmall, flattiſh, and of a blueiſh colour, placed about three quarters of an inch behind the noſtrils, and more towards the ſides of the head. The whole head ſeems to be well ſupported; but whether with bones or cartilages, I could not learn. The body is large, thick, and roundiſh, for a conſiderable diſtance from the head, and then gradually grows ſmaller, but at the ſame time deeper, or becomes of an *acinaciform* ſhape, to the point of the tail, which is rather blunt. There are many light-coloured ſpots on the back and ſides of the body, placed at conſiderable diſtances in irregular lines, but more numerous and diſtinct towards the tail. When the fiſh was ſwimming, it meaſured ſix inches in depth near the middle, from the upper

upper part of the back to the lower edge of the fin, and it could not be more than two inches broad on the back at that place. The whole body, from about four inches below the head, ſeems to be clearly diſtinguiſhed into four different longitudinal parts or diviſions. The upper part or back is roundiſh, of a dark colour, and ſeparated from the other parts on each ſide by the *lateral lines*; which, taking their riſe at the baſe of the head, juſt above the pectoral fins, run down the ſides, gradually converging, as the fiſh grows ſmaller, to the tail, and make ſo viſible a depreſſion or furrow in their courſe, as to diſtinguiſh this from the ſecond part or diviſion, which may be properly called the body, or at leaſt appears to be the ſtrong muſcular part of the fiſh. This ſecond diviſion is of a lighter and more clear blueiſh colour than the upper or back part, and ſeems to ſwell out ſomewhat on each ſide, from the depreſſion of the lateral lines; but, towards the lower or under part, is again contracted, or ſharpened into the third part, or *carina*. This *carina*, or heel, is very diſtinguiſhable from the other two diviſions, by its thinneſs, its apparent laxneſs, and by the reticulated ſkin of a more grey and light colour, with which it is covered. When the animal ſwims gently in pretty deep water, the rhomboidal reticulations of the ſkin of this *carina* are very diſcernible; but when the water is ſhallow, or the depth of the *carina* is contracted, theſe reticulations appear like many irregular longitudinal *plicæ*. The *carina* begins about ſix or ſeven inches below the baſe of the head, and gradually widening or deepening as it goes along, reaches down to the tail, where it is thinneſt. It ſeems to be of a ſtrong muſcular nature. Where it firſt takes its riſe from the body of the fiſh, it ſeems to be about one inch or one inch and an half thick, and is gradually ſharpened to a thin edge, where the fourth and laſt part is ſituated; *videlicet*, a long, deep, ſoft, wavy fin, which takes its riſe about three or four inches at moſt below the head, and runs down along the ſharp edge of the *carina* to the extremity of the tail. Where it firſt riſes it is not deep, but gradually deepens or widens as it approaches to the tail. It is of a very pliable ſoft conſiſtence, and ſeems rather longer than the body. The ſituation of the *anus* in this fiſh is very ſingular, being placed underneath, and being about an inch more forward than the pectoral fins, and conſequently conſiderably nearer the *roſtrum*. It is a pretty long *rima* in appearance; but the aperture muſt be very ſmall, as the formed excrements are only about the ſize of a quill of a common dunghill fowl. There are two pectoral (if I may call them ſo) fins, placed one on each ſide, juſt behind the head, over the *foramina ſpiratoria*, which are ſmall, and generally covered with a lax ſkin, ſituated in the *axillæ* of theſe fins. Theſe fins are ſmall for the ſize of the fiſh, being ſcarcely an inch in length, of a very thin, delicate conſiſtence, and orbicular ſhape. They ſeem to be chiefly uſeful in ſupporting and raiſing the head of the fiſh when he wants to breathe, which he does every four or five minutes, by raiſing his mouth out of the water. This ſhews that he has lungs and is amphibious, and the *foramina ſpiratoria* ſeem to indicate his having *bronchiæ* likewiſe;

wiſe; but this I only offer as a conjecture, not being certain of the fact. I muſt now mention the appearances of a number of ſmall croſs bands, annular diviſions, or rather *rugæ* of the ſkin of the body. They reach acroſs the body down to the baſe of the *carina* on each ſide; but thoſe that croſs the back ſeem to terminate at the lateral lines, where new rings take their riſe, not exactly in the ſame line, and run down to the *carina*. This gives the fiſh ſomewhat of a worm-like appearance; and indeed it ſeems to have ſome of the properties of this tribe, for it has a power of lengthening or ſhortening its body to a certain degree, for its own conveniency, or agreeable to its own inclination. I have ſeen this ſpecimen, which I have meaſured three feet eight inches, ſhorten himſelf to three feet two inches; but beſides this power of lengthening or ſhortening his body, he can ſwim forwards or backwards with apparently equal eaſe to himſelf, which is another property of the vermicular tribe. When he ſwims forward, the undulation or wavy motion of the fin and *carina* begin from the upper part, and move downwards; but when he ſwims backwards, and the tail goes foremoſt, the undulations of the fin begin at the extremity of the tail or fin, and proceed in ſucceſſion from that backwards to the upper part of the body; in either caſe he ſwims equally ſwift. Every now and then the fiſh lays himſelf on one ſide, as it were, to reſt himſelf, and then the four ſeveral diviſions of his body abovementioned are very diſtinctly ſeen; *videlicet*, the vermiform appearance of the two upper diviſions; the retiform appearance of the *carina*; and the laſt, or dark-coloured fin, whoſe rays ſeem to be exceedingly ſoft and flexible, and entirely at the command of the ſtrong muſcular *carina*. When he is taken out of the water, and laid on his belly, the *carina* and fin lye to one ſide, in the ſame manner as the ventral fin of the *tetraodon* does, when he creeps on the ground. I have been the longer and more particular in the deſcription of the external ſtructure of this animal's body, becauſe I think, as it is of a moſt ſingular nature, and endowed with ſome amazing properties, even the moſt minute circumſtance I was able to obſerve relating to it ſhould be mentioned.

The perſon, to whom theſe animals belong, calls them *electrical fiſh*; and indeed the power they have of giving an electrical ſhock to any perſon, or to any number of perſons who join hands together, the extreme perſon on each ſide touching the fiſh, is their moſt ſingular and aſtoniſhing property. All the five we have here are poſſeſſed of this power in a very great degree, and communicate the ſhock to one perſon, or to any number of perſons, either by the immediate touch of the fiſh with the hand, or by the mediation of any metalline rod. The keeper ſays, that when they were firſt caught, they could give a much ſtronger ſhock by a metalline conductor than they can do at preſent. The perſon who is to receive the ſhock muſt take the fiſh with both hands, at ſome conſiderable diſtance aſunder, ſo as to form the communication, otherwiſe he will not receive it; at leaſt I never ſaw any one ſhocked from taking hold of it with one hand only: though ſome have aſſured me, that

that they were ſhocked by laying one hand on him. I myſelf have taken hold of the largeſt with one hand often, without ever receiving a ſhock; but I never touched it with both hands, at a little diſtance aſunder, without feeling a ſmart ſhock. I have often remarked, that when it is taken hold of with one hand, and the other hand is put into the water over its body, without touching it, the perſon received a ſmart ſhock; and I have obſerved the ſame effect follow, when a number joined hands, and the perſon at one extremity of the circle took hold of, or touched the fiſh, and the perſon at the other extremity put his hand into the water, over the body of the fiſh. The ſhock was communicated through the whole circle, as ſmartly as if both the extreme perſons had touched the fiſh. In this it ſeems to differ widely from the *torpedo*, or elſe we are much miſinformed of the manner in which the benumbing effect of that fiſh is communicated. The ſhock which our Surinam fiſh gives, ſeems to be wholly electrical; and all the phænomena or properties of it exactly reſemble thoſe of the electric *aura* of our atmoſphere when collected, as far as they are diſcoverable from the ſeveral trials made on this fiſh. This ſtroke is communicated by the ſame conductors, and intercepted by the interpoſition of the ſame original electrics, or electrics *per ſe* as they uſed to be called. The keeper of this fiſh informs me, that he catched them in Surinam river, a great way up, beyond where the ſalt water reaches; and that they are a freſh-water fiſh only. He ſays, that they are eaten, and by ſome people eſteemed a great delicacy. They live on fiſh, worms, or any animal food, if it is cut ſmall, ſo that they can ſwallow it. When ſmall live fiſhes are thrown into the water, they firſt give them a ſhock, which kills or ſo ſtupifies them, that they can ſwallow them eaſily, and without any trouble. If one of theſe ſmall fiſhes, after it is ſhocked, and to all appearance dead, be taken out of the veſſel where the electrical fiſh is, and put into freſh water, it will ſoon revive again. If a larger fiſh than they can ſwallow be thrown into the water, at a time that they are hungry, they give him ſome ſmart ſhocks, till he is apparently dead, and then they try to ſwallow or ſuck him in; but, after ſeveral attempts, finding he is too large, they quit him. Upon the moſt careful inſpection of ſuch fiſh, I could never ſee any mark of teeth, or the leaſt wound or ſcratch on them. When the electrical fiſh are hungry, they are pretty keen after their food; but they are ſoon ſatisfied, not being able to contain much at one time. An electrical fiſh of three feet and upwards in length cannot ſwallow a ſmall fiſh above three or at moſt three inches and a half long. Since I wrote the above deſcription and remarks, I have had Mr. Bancroft's Eſſay on the Natural Hiſtory of Guiana put into my hands, in which I find an account of this animal; but, as I think that he has not been very particular in the deſcription of it, I reſolved ſtill to ſend you the above account, that you might judge for yourſelf. I obſerve, that his account or deſcription and mine differ in ſeveral things; and amongſt others, where he ſays, that thoſe fiſh were uſually about three feet in length; but the one, of which I have ſent a ſlight deſcription, was

three

hree feet eight inches. This ſmall variation might indeed have happened without any error; but I am told, that ſome of them have been ſeen in Surinam river upwards of twenty feet long, whoſe ſtroke or ſhock proved inſtant death to any perſon that unlucky received it.

I ſhall be on the watch to procure a more accurate knowledge of, and acquaintance with, this animal; and if I can learn any thing farther about it, you may depend on my communicating it.

Some Account of a Tree growing in Spain, *called the* Algarroba, Garofero, Carrobe, *or* Locuſt-Tree, *which produces vaſt Quantities of Fruit, often eaten by Man, and conſtantly by the Cattle of that Country, to whom it is Phyſic, as well as Food.*

From Travels through Spain, *by* Richard Twiſs, Eſq;

THIS tree is an evergreen; the trunk of it is uſually from one to two feet in diameter; the leaves are of a dark green, ten on a twig, five on a each ſide; the fruit exactly reſembles kidney-beans, and is an inch broad, and nine or ten inches long; they iſſue in cluſters from the branches and body of the tree in a very ſingular manner; theſe pods are thick, mealy, and of a ſweetiſh taſte: when dry they are given to horſes and cattle as provender. Theſe trees are only found in this province, and thoſe of Murcia, Granada, and Andaluſia *.

I obſerved at Alicant, in the garden of el Señor Barnabeu, a very large garofero, or carrobe-tree; it produces annually one hundred and thirty arrobes of fruit (each arrobe is twenty-ſix pounds), which are ſold for ſeventy dollars, about eleven pound fourteen ſhillings.

This tree may ſerve as companion to the great orange-tree, which Mr. Wood of Oporto ſhewed me in the garden of his country-houſe, and from which, he aſſured me, he had gathered in one ſeaſon no leſs than ſixteen thouſand oranges.

* In the ſecond volume of Mr. James's Hiſtory of Gibraltar, the author, deſcribing the plains of Tetuan, ſays, "the next remarkable ſort of wood is "the alcarobe, a tree of great curioſity, and merits much notice; the alca-"robe bears a cod in quantity and likeneſs much reſembling the Engliſh bean; "the inner ſubſtance thereof is ſweet, and lodgeth hard ſmall kernels. This "fruit is eaten by the Moors of inferior condition, and by all at the feaſt "Aſhorah; but it is chiefly preſerved for their horſes, to whom it is both "phyſic and repaſt: for the fruit of the alcarobe hath two excellent proper-"ties, to drench and make their horſes fat.

"Some have called the fruit locuſta, and ſuppoſed it was the Baptiſt's food "in the wilderneſs, &c. &c. There is a great probability that the fruit of "the alcarobe is the ſame with the Prodigal's *ceratia*, or huſks, for it doth "excellently accord with their deſcription."

Mr. Armſtrong, in his Hiſtory of Minorca, p. 195, likewiſe mentions the opinion in regard to its having been the food of St. John, but he adds wild honey to it.

Miller calls it ceratonia, carouge, and St. John's bread.

Ceratonia Siliqua, Linn. Sp. pl. 1513.

A Deſcription of a newly diſcovered Senſitive Plant, called Dionæa Muſcipula, *or* Venus's Fly-trap.

EVERY one ſkilled in Natural Hiſtory, knows that the Mimoſæ, or ſenſitive plants, cloſe their leaves, and bend their joints upon the leaſt touch: and this has aſtoniſhed us; but no end or deſign of nature has yet appeared to us from theſe ſurpriſing motions: they ſoon recover themſelves again, and their leaves are expanded as before. But the plant, which we are now going to deſcribe, ſhews that nature may have ſome view towards its nouriſhment, in forming the upper joint of its leaf like a machine to catch food; upon the middle of this lies the bait for the unhappy inſect that becomes its prey. Many minute red glands that cover its inner ſurface, and which perhaps diſcharge ſweet liquor, tempt the poor animal to taſte them; and, the inſtant theſe tender parts are irritated by its feet, the two lobes riſe up, graſp it faſt, lock the rows of ſpines together, and ſqueeze it to death. And further, leſt the ſtrong efforts for life, in the creature thus taken, ſhould ſerve to diſengage it, three ſmall erect ſpines are fixed near the middle of each lobe among the glands, that effectually put an end to all its ſtruggles. Nor do the lobes ever open again, while the dead animal continues there. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that the plant cannot diſtinguiſh an animal from a vegetable or mineral ſubſtance; for, if we introduce a ſtraw or a pin between the lobes, it will graſp it full as faſt as if it was an inſect.

A ſhort time ſince, Mr. Peter Collinſon ſent Mr. Ellis a dried ſpecimen of this curious plant, which he had received from Mr. John Bartram, of Philadelphia, Botaniſt to the King. The flower of this ſpecimen, Dr. Solander diſſected, found it to be a new genus; but, not ſuſpecting then the extraordinary ſenſitive power of its leaves, as they were withered and contracted, he concluded they approached near to the Droſera or Roſa Solis, to which they have been ſuppoſed by many perſons ſince to have a great affinity, as the leaves of the moſt common Engliſh ſpecies of the Roſa Solis are round, concave, beſet with ſmall hairs, and full of red viſcid glands. But we are indebted to Mr. William Young, a native of Philadelphia, (to whom likewiſe the royal favour has been extended for his encouragement in his botanical reſearches in America) for the introduction of this curious plant alive, and in conſiderable quantities. He informs me, that they grow in ſhady wet places, and flower in July and Auguſt; that the largeſt leaves which he has ſeen were about three inches long, and an inch and half acroſs the lobes; and obſerves, that the glands of thoſe that were expoſed to the ſun were of a beautiful red colour, but thoſe in the ſhade were pale, and inclining to green. It is now likely to become an inhabitant of the curious gardens in this country, and merits the attention of the ingenious. The botanical characters of the Genus Dionæa, according to the Linæan ſexual ſyſtem, where it came under the claſs of Decandria Monogynia, are theſe:

The

The Calix, or flower-cup, conſiſts of five ſmall, equal, erect leaves of a concave oval form, pointed at the top.

The Corolla, or flower, has five concave petals of an oblong inverted oval form, blunt at the top; which curls in at each ſide, and is ſtreaked from the bottom upwards with ſeven tranſparent lines.

The Stamina, or Chives, have ten equal filaments; ſhorter than the petals; and their tops, which contain the male duſt, are roundiſh. This duſt, or farina fœcundans, when highly magnified, appears like a tricoccous fruit.

The Piſtil, or female organ, has a roundiſh germen, or embryo ſeed-veſſel, placed above the receptacle of the flower; this is a little depreſſed and ribbed like a melon. The ſtile is of a threadlike form, ſomething ſhorter than the filaments. The ſtigma or top of the ſtile is open, and fringed round the margin.

The Pericarpium, or ſeed-veſſel, is a gibbous capſule, with one cell or apartment.

The Seeds are many, very ſmall, of an oval ſhape, ſitting on the bottom of the capſule.

This plant is herbaceous, and grows in the ſwamps of North-Carolina, near the confines of South-Carolina, about the latitude of 35 degrees north, where the winters are ſhort, and the ſummers very hot. The roots are ſquamous, ſending forth but few fibres, like thoſe of ſome bulbs; and are perennial. The leaves are many, inclining to bend downwards, and are placed in a circular order; they are jointed and ſucculent; the lower joint, which is a kind of ſtalk, is flat, longiſh, two-edged, and inclining to heart-ſhaped. In ſome varieties they are ſerrated on the edges near the top. The upper joint conſiſts of two lobes; each lobe is of a ſemi-oval form, with their margins furniſhed with ſtiff hairs like eye-brows, which embrace or lock in each other, when they cloſe: this they do, when they are inwardly irritated.

The upper ſurfaces of theſe lobes are covered with ſmall red glands, each of which appears, when highly magnified, like a compreſſed Arbutus berry.

Among the glands about the middle of each lobe are three very ſmall erect ſpines. When the lobes incloſe any ſubſtance, they never open again, while it continues there. If it can be ſhoved out, ſo as not to ſtrain the lobes, they expand again; but, if force is uſed to open them, ſo ſtrong has nature formed the ſpring of their fibres that one of the lobes generally ſnaps off rather than yield.

The ſtalk is about ſix inches high, round, ſmooth, and without leaves, ending in a ſpike of flowers. The flowers are milk-white, and ſtand on foot ſtalks, at the bottom of each of which is a little painted bractea or flower-leaf.

As to the culture of it, the ſoil it grows in (as appears from what comes about the roots of the plants, when they are brought over) is a black light mould, intermixed with white ſand, ſuch as is uſually found in our mooriſh heaths.

Being a ſwamp plant, a north-eaſt aſpect will be the propereſt ſituation at firſt to plant it in, to keep it from the direct rays of the meridian ſun; and, in winter, till we are acquainted with what cold

weather

weather it can endure, it will be neceſſary to ſhelter it with a bell-glaſs, ſuch as is uſed for melons; which ſhould be covered with ſtraw or a matt in hard froſts: by this method ſeveral plants were preſerved laſt winter in a very vigorous ſtate. Its ſenſitive quality will be found in proportion to the heat of the weather, as well as the vigour of the plant.

Our ſummers are not warm enough to ripen the ſeed: or poſſibly we are not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the culture of this plant.

In order to try further experiments to ſhew the ſenſitive powers of this plant, ſome of them may be planted in pots of light mooriſh earth, and placed in pans of water in an airy ſtove in ſummer, where the heat of ſuch a ſituation, being like that of its native country, will make it ſurprizingly active.

A Deſcription of a petrified Stratum, *formed from the Waters of* Matlock, *in* Derbyſhire. *By* Matthew Dobſon, *M. D. Communicated by Dr.* Fothergill.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

DURING a ſhort ſtay at Matlock, this ſummer, I made ſome obſervations on the petrifying quality of the waters, and examined a very ſingular Stratum, which has been formed in their courſe.

This Stratum I found about 500 yards in length; in ſeveral places, near 100 yards in breadth; and, where thickeſt, from 3 to 4 yards in depth. The manner, in which this body of ſtone has been produced, is eaſily aſcertained.

Within the memory of ſome perſons now alive, the waters of Matlock were not appropriated to the purpoſes either of bathing or drinking. They iſſued from near the bottom of the hill, which lies to the weſt, immediately behind the preſent houſes, and ran at random, down a declivity of about 100 yards, to the river Derwent. In their courſe, they formed large petrified maſſes, intermingled with great quantities of petrified moſs, nuts, leaves, acorns, pieces of wood, and even trunks of trees.

The waters were thus conſtantly raiſing obſtacles to their own progreſs, and were frequently therefore forced into new channels; ſo as, by degrees, to be extended over a ſurface of at leaſt 500 yards in length. And, by being repeatedly returned into the ſame channels, a Stratum, of conſiderable thickneſs, has been formed.

On examining this Stratum, ſome parts are diſcovered to be extremely hard, and others ſo ſoft, as eaſily to be cut. The ſoft parts, however, on expoſure to the air, become as hard as flint; and on being ſtruck, ſound like metal. The reaſon of this difference in the hardneſs of different parts, appears to be this: as the waters frequently changed their channels, and repeatedly likewiſe returned again to the ſame channels, if, in the intervals, there were any parts conſiderably raiſed, and conſequently longer before they were covered with freſh incruſtations, theſe, from a longer expoſure to the air, would acquire a greater degree of hardneſs.

Whole houſes, in the neighbourhood, are built of this ſtone, which they find more durable, than any other

other they meet with; and as it has the excellent property of growing harder, from being expoſed, and has likewiſe many little cavities and intereſtices, good mortar ſo inſinuates itſelf into theſe, as to form a wall as firm as one continued ſtone.

This Stratum affords very curious and beautifully varied petrifactions. Moſs exhibits great varieties; for it is evident, that the moſs has continued to vegetate, after the roots and lower parts had been penetrated by the ſtony particles; and thus, ſtretching itſelf to a conſiderable extent, it has, in ſome places, been mixed and interwoven with other ſubſtances. In ſome parts, ſnails have been arreſted in their ſluggiſh walks, and locked up in the ſtony concrete. In others, the petrifying matter has ſhot, in different directions, and formed an intricate kind of net-work. And in others again, there are large maſſes, which, on being broken aſunder, are found hollow; and their cavities ornamented with branches of petrifaction, ſomewhat reſembling coral, but of a darkiſh white colour, and generally of a rough and granulated ſurface.

Under the Stratum there is, from a foot to a foot and a half, of good ſoil; and immediately under this lies the limeſtone rock. The ſoil is of the ſame nature with that of the adjoining fields, which form the ſlope of the hill, and is evidently a continuation of that ſoil.

Any further additions to this petrified Stratum are now inconſiderable, and in many places none at all; for the two principal ſprings are confined to their channels, covered from the day, through the greateſt part of their courſe, and are rapid in their motion.

Had proper obſervations been made on the progreſs of this Stratum, a tolerably exact eſtimate might have been formed, with reſpect to the time, when theſe waters were firſt impregnated with their mineral ingredients. From theſe two conſiderations, however, that the Stratum is not very thick, and that the ſoil, immediately under it, is a continuation of that, which lies on the ſlope of the neighbouring hills, it is probable, that many centuries have not been requiſite to its production; and, conſequently, that theſe mineral waters are not of very ancient date.

And, if we may rely upon an obſervation, which I had from a plain, inquiſitive, and intelligent man on the ſpot, the ſource, whence theſe waters derive their impregnation, is in ſome degree exhauſted. This perſon aſſured me, from his own experience, that pieces of moſs, and other ſubſtances, put in the courſe of the waters, and in the ſame circumſtances as formerly, require more than double the time, for their petrifaction, that they did thirty years ago.

The Statum, therefore, from which the Matlock waters are impregnated, muſt either be conſiderably exhauſted; or the waters have deviated from their former courſe, and are now only partially diſtributed over this Stratum.

Leverpool, Oct. 15, 1773.

Glorious Proſpect during the Paſſage of the Strait of Gibraltar, *in the Month of July*, 1764. *From the Reverend*

Reverend Doctor Chandler's *Travels in* Aſia Minor.

OUR paſſage through the ſtrait of Gibraltar was amuſing and delightful beyond imagination. The coaſt on each ſide is irregular, adorned with lofty groteſque mountains of various ſhapes, the majeſtic tops worn white with rain, and looking as crowned with ſnow. From one of the narrow vallies a thick ſmoke aroſe. The land is of a brown complexion, as ſun burnt and barren. On the Spaniſh ſhore are many watch-towers, ranging along to a great extent, deſigned to alarm the country by ſignals on the appearance of an enemy. We had Spaniſh and Mooriſh towns in view, with the rock and fortreſs of Gibraltar. Sea birds were flying, and numerous ſmall craft moving to and fro, on every quarter. We had a gentle breeze, and our ſails all ſet, with the current from the weſtern or atlantic ocean in our favour. In this, the water was agitated and noiſy, like a ſhallow brook running over pebbles; while in the contrary currents, it was ſmooth and calm as in a mill-pond, except where diſturbed by albicores, porpuſſes, and ſea-monſters, which ſported around us, innumerable. Their burniſhed ſides reflected the rays of the ſun, which then ſhone in a picturesque ſky, of clear azure ſoftened by thin fleecy clouds, imparting chearfulneſs to the waves, which ſeemed to ſmile on us.

Our entry into the Mediterranean is here faintly deſcribed, as no words can convey the ideas excited by ſcenes of ſo much novelty, grandeur, and beauty. The vaſt aſſemblage of bulky monſters in particular was beyond meaſure amazing; ſome leaping up, as if aiming to divert us; ſome approaching the ſhip, as it were to be ſeen, floating together, abreaſt, and half out of the water. We counted in one company fourteen, of the ſpecies called by the ſailors *The Bottle-Noſe*, each, as we gueſſed, about twelve feet long. Theſe are almoſt ſhapeleſs, looking black and oily, with a large thick fin on the back, no eyes or mouth diſcernible, the head rounded at the extremity, and ſo joined with the body as to render it difficult to diſtinguiſh, where the one ends or the other begins; but on the upper part is a hole about an inch and a half in diameter, from which, at regular intervals, the log-like Being blows out water accompanied with a puff audible at ſome diſtance.

To complete this wonderful day, the ſun before its ſetting was exceedingly big, and aſſumed a variety of fantaſtic ſhapes. It was ſurrounded firſt with a golden glory, of great extent, and flamed upon the ſurface of the ſea in a long column of fire. The lower half of the orb ſoon after immerged in the horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, with half of a ſmaller orb beneath it, and ſeparate, but in the ſame direction, the circular rim approaching the line of its diameter. Theſe two by degrees united, and then changed rapidly into different figures, until the reſemblance was that of a capacious punch-bowl inverted. The rim of the bottom extending upward, and the body lengthening below, it became a muſhroom on a ſtalk, with a round head. It was next metamorphoſed into a flaming cauldron, of which the lid, riſing

rising up, swelled nearly into an orb, and vanished. The other portion put on several uncircular forms, and after many twinklings and faint glimmerings slowly disappeared, quite red; leaving the clouds, hanging over the dark rocks on the Barbary shore, finely tinged with a vivid bloody hue.

And here we may recollect, that the antients had various stories concerning the setting of the sun in the atlantic ocean; as for instance, that it was accompanied with a noise, as of the sea hissing, and that night immediately followed. That its magnitude in going down apparently increased, was a popular remark, but had been contradicted by an author, who observed thirty evenings at Gades, and never perceived any augmentation. One writer had affirmed, that the orb became an hundred times bigger than its common size.

This phænomenon will vary, as it depends on the state of the atmosphere. It is likely to be most remarkable when westerly winds have prevailed for some time; these coming over the atlantic ocean, and bringing with them the gross vapours, which arise continually, or are exhaled, from that immense body of water.

PROJECT

PROJECTS.

Plan and Summary of the Reports, &c. &c of the Society inſtituted at London, *in the Year* 1774, *for the Recovery of Perſons apparently drowned; containing plain Directions for the Recovery of ſuch Perſons; as alſo of thoſe greatly injured, and even apparently dead, by hanging or any other kind of Strangulation; Suffocation by Damps and noxious Vapours, whether proceeding from Coal or other Mines, the confined Air of Wells, Ciſterns, or Caves, or the Muſt of fermenting Liquors; and alſo by being frozen, ſeized with Syncopes, apoplectic or other ſimilar Fits, &c. ſtruck with Lightning, ſtupified by Falls or Blows; as likewiſe to the Recovery of* OVERLAID *and even* STILL-BORN *Children. Extracted from the Pieces publiſhed by the Society themſelves, on this very curious and intereſting Subject, and from authentic Informations, kindly furniſhed by Mr.* William Hawes, *Apothecary in the Strand, one of the firſt, and ſtill moſt active Members of the Society; the whole contrived to form as compleat a little Code of Benevolence, or rather Duty, as the Bounds of this Publication will admit, to our Fellow-creatures, and eventually to ourſelves, in the moſt dreadful and deſperate Condition, next to that of being actually buried alive, in which any human Being can well be conceived at this Side of Eternity.*

INTRODUCTION.

MANY and indubitable are the inſtances of the poſſibility of reſtoring to life perſons apparently ſtruck with ſudden death; whether the evil proceeded from a ſtroke of apoplexy, convulſive fits, ſuffocation by noxious vapours, ſtrangulation by the cord, or drowning; although the party had remained ſenſeleſs, and without any the leaſt ſigns of life, for a conſiderable time. Caſes of this nature have occaſionally preſented themſelves in every country; but, although they could not fail to ſurpriſe for a ſeaſon, they were, for a long time, conſidered merely as very ſingular and extraordinary phænomena, from which no ſalutary conſequences could be drawn; and of courſe conſidered to very little or no purpoſe.

Providentially, however, theſe phænomena at length attracted the attention of ſome benevolent gentlemen in Holland; where, from the great abundance of canals and inland ſeas, the inhabitants are particularly expoſed to accidents by

water. These gentlemen perceived with deep regret, that numbers, and those principally among the most laborious and deserving part of the community, were annually drowned; and it was justly conjectured that some at least might have been saved, had they not been entirely abandoned as dead, or very superficially treated. They, therefore, sedulously set about collecting the hints that were dispersed through various publications, concerning the method of treating persons in such critical circumstances; made these hints public; and proposed rewards to those who should put them into execution. These humane attempts far exceeded their most sanguine expectations. They became instrumental in the restoration of several, who must otherwise have perished inevitably. This surprising success engaged the general notice, and was so universally countenanced, that they were at length enabled to form themselves into a respectable society, which extended their plan over the seven provinces. And it must afford real pleasure to every friend of the unfortunate to be informed, that about 150 persons, of whom the lives of many were very important to their families, and to the community, have been redeemed from death, by their means, in the space of a few years. In several of these cases, the recovered patients had continued *upwards of an hour*, without any signs of life, after they had been taken out of the water.

Such numerous and authentic testimonies of success, instigated some other countries to imitate their example. In the year 1768, the magistrates of health at Milan and Venice issued orders for the treatment of *drowned* persons. The city of Hamburgh appointed a similar ordinance to be read in all their churches, extending their succour not only to the *drowned*, but to the strangled, to those suffocated by noxious vapours, and to the frozen. The first part of the Dutch Memoirs was presented to the Imperial academy at Petersburgh, and was translated into the Russian language, by command of the Empress. In the year 1769, the Empress of Germany published an edict, extending its directions and encouragement to every case of accident like death that afforded a possibility of relief. In the year 1771, the magistrates of the city of Paris founded an institution also in favour of the *drowned*. And the repeated instances of success in every country have abundantly confirmed the truth of the facts related in the Amsterdam Memoirs.

In the year 1773, Dr. Cogan of London, translated these Memoirs into English, in order to inform this part of the world of the practicability of recovering persons apparently *drowned** ; and Mr. Wm. Hawes, Apothecary in the Strand, whom we have already mentioned in the title of this article, and shall have frequent occasion to mention in the sequel, exerted himself like-

* This piece, which may be had at all the booksellers, is earnestly recommended to the perusal of every one, who wishes well to mankind. It contains such a variety of cases, minutely related and well authenticated, as would render it unpardonable, in the inhabitants of this country, not to attempt a similar institution. See likewise our vol. for 1765, p. 133, for 1770, p. 80, for 1773, p. 132, for 1774, p. 219.

wise

wiſe to excite the attention of the public to the ſame ſubject. Theſe gentlemen then united, and propoſed a plan for the introduction of a ſimilar inſtitution into theſe kingdoms. This plan was ſo well received, and met with ſo much encouragement from ſeveral gentlemen of influence, that they were ſoon enabled to form a ſociety to promote its laudable deſigns. It is as follows:

THE PLAN.

I. THE ſociety undertook to publiſh, in as extenſive a manner as poſſible, the proper methods of treating perſons in thoſe unfortunate circumſtances.

II. To diſtribute a premium of two Guineas among the firſt perſons, not exceeding four in number, who ſhould attempt to recover man, woman, or child, taken out of the water for dead, within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, or the parts adjacent; provided they had not been longer than two hours under the water; and provided the aſſiſtants perſevered in the uſe of the means recommended, and no others, unleſs under the direction of a regular practitioner, for the ſpace of two hours: this reward to be given though they might not prove ſucceſsful.

III. To diſtribute in like manner four Guineas wherever the patient ſhould be reſtored to life.

IV. To give to any publican, or other perſon, who ſhould admit the body into his houſe without delay, and furniſh the neceſſary accommodations, the ſum of one Guinea; and alſo to ſecure them from the charge of burial, in unſucceſsful caſes.

V. A certain number of medical gentlemen, ſtationed near to the places where diſaſters by water are moſt frequent, engaged to give their aſſiſtance gratis; theſe gentlemen were to have a fumigator, and other neceſſaries, always in readineſs; and Mr. Hawes informs the writer, that the compleat apparatus, neceſſary in ſuch unfortunate caſes, may be had of Mr. Wrigleſworth, ſurgeon's inſtrument-maker in the Minories. The names of the gentlemen, who then and ſince had the humanity to offer themſelves for this benevolent purpoſe, will be found at the end of this article, diſpoſed in ſuch order, that, wherever any accident happens, the reader may readily find out the addreſs of the neareſt medical aſſiſtant; though perhaps it might be prudent to ſend for two at leaſt of thoſe moſt within reach, leſt the neareſt might be out of the way.

The ſociety likewiſe propoſed, in caſe they ſhould meet with due encouragement, to preſent an honorary medal to any medical gentleman or other, who might not chuſe to accept of a pecuniary reward, in all thoſe caſes in which they might prove inſtrumental of ſucceſs.

The ſociety flattered themſelves, that by theſe regulations many individuals, in and about this metropolis, would be ſecure of the beſt and ſpeedieſt aſſiſtance in ſuch critical caſes: and where it ſhould not prove ſucceſsful, their relations might always have the ſatisfaction of reflecting, that the laſt efforts had not been neglected.

The Methods *of* Treatment, *recommended by the Society, in conſequence of the firſt of the foregoing Reſolutions, are as follows:*

I. In removing the body to a convenient place, great care muſt

be taken that it be not bruiſed, nor ſhaken violently, nor roughly handled, nor carried over any one's ſhoulders with the head hanging downwards, nor rolled upon the ground, or over a barrel, nor lifted up by the heels; for, experience proves, that all theſe methods may be injurious, and often deſtroy the ſmall remains of life. The unfortunate object ſhould be cautiouſly conveyed by two or more perſons, or in a carriage upon ſtraw, lying as on a bed with the head a little raiſed, and kept in as natural and eaſy a poſition as poſſible.

II. The body being well dried with a cloth, ſhould be placed in a moderate degree of heat, but not too near a large fire. The windows or door of the room ſhould be left open, and no more perſons be admitted into it than thoſe who are abſolutely neceſſary; as the life of the patient greatly depends upon their having the benefit of a pure air. The warmth moſt promiſing of ſucceſs is that of a bed or blanket, properly warmed. Bottles of hot water ſhould be laid at the bottoms of the feet, in the joints of the knees, and under the armpits; and a warming-pan, moderately heated, or hot bricks wrapped in cloths, ſhould be rubbed over the body, and particularly along the back. The natural and kindly warmth of a healthy perſon lying by the ſide of the body, has been found in many caſes very efficacious. The ſhirt or clothes of an attendant, or the ſkin of a ſheep freſh killed, may alſo be uſed with advantage. Should theſe accidents happen in the neighbourhood of a warm bath, brew-houſe, baker, glaſs-houſe, ſaltern, ſoap-boiler, or any fabrick where warm lees, aſhes, embers, grains, ſand, water, &c. are eaſily procured, it would be of the utmoſt ſervice to place the body in any of theſe moderated to a degree of heat but very little exceeding that of a healthy perſon.

III. The ſubject being placed in one or other of theſe advantageous circumſtances as ſpeedily as poſſible, various ſtimulating methods ſhould next be employed. The moſt efficacious are,—to blow with force into the lungs, by applying the mouth to that of the patient, cloſing his noſtrils with one hand, and gently expelling the air again by preſſing the cheſt with the other, imitating the ſtrong breathing of a healthy perſon.——The medium of a handkerchief or cloth may be uſed to render the operation leſs indelicate.——Whilſt one aſſiſtant is conſtantly employed in this operation, another ſhould throw the ſmoke of tobacco up by the fundament into the bowels, by means of a pipe or fumigator, ſuch as are uſed in adminiſtring tobacco clyſters: a pair of bellows may be uſed until the others can be procured. A third attendant ſhould, in the mean time, rub the belly, cheſt, back and arms, with a coarſe cloth or flannel dipped in brandy, rum, gin, or with dry ſalt. ſo as not to rub off the ſkin: ſpirits of hartſhorn, volatile ſalts, or any other ſtimulating ſubſtance, muſt alſo be applied to the noſtrils, and rubbed upon the temples very frequently. The body ſhould at intervals be ſhaken alſo, and varied in its poſition.

IV. If there be any ſigns of returning life, ſuch as ſighing, gaſping, twitching, or any convulſive motions, beating of the heart, the return

return of the natural colour and warmth; opening a vein in the arm or neck may prove beneficial, but the quantity of blood taken away should not be large; nor should an *artery* ever be opened, as profuse bleeding has appeared prejudicial, and even destructive to the small remains of life. The throat should be tickled with a feather, in order to excite a propensity to vomit; and the nostrils also with a feather, snuff, or any other stimulant, so as to provoke sneezings. A tea-spoonful of warm water may be administered now and then, in order to learn whether the power of swallowing be returned: and if it be, a table-spoonful of warmed wine, or brandy and water, may be given with advantage; but not before, as the liquor might get into the lungs before the power of swallowing returns. The other methods should be continued with vigour, until the patient be gradually restored.

Where the patient has lain but a short time senseless, blowing into the lungs or bowels has been, in some cases, found sufficient: yet a *speedy* recovery is not to be expected in general. On the contrary, the above methods are to be continued with spirit for *two hours, or upwards*, although there should not be the least symptoms of returning life. The vulgar notion that a person will recover in a few minutes, or not at all; and the ignorant foolish custom of ridiculing those who are willing to persevere, as if they were attempting impossibilities, has most certainly caused the death of many who might otherwise have been saved.

Most of the above rules are happily of such a nature, that they may be begun *immediately*, and that by persons who are not acquainted with the medical art; yet it is always adviseable to seek the assistance of some regular practitioner as soon as possible; not only as bleeding is proper, and sometimes necessary; but as it is to be presumed that such a one will be more skilful and expert, and better able to vary the methods of procedure as circumstances may require.

The society think it proper to observe, that these means of restoration are applicable to various other cases of apparent deaths), see the cases mentioned in the title of this article). And they hope that some persons of influence in the parts where such accidents mostly happen, will form a similar institution for the recovery of the unhappy victims.

The society have been as circumstantial as possible in the above directions, that if one conveniency should be wanting, the attendants may not be at a loss for others.

Wherever any good has been produced by the means recommended, the person who has superintended the cure, is earnestly requested to write a circumstantial account of it to James Horsfall, Esq; Treasurer, Middle Temple, London.

Authentic List of the Persons either saved when in the most imminent Danger, or actually recovered when apparently dead, from the Society's first Establishment in May, 1774, to the End of 1775, in all those Cases in which the Society paid any Rewards.

From the Society's firſt Eſtabliſhment to the End of 1774.

1. *John Joſeph*, Iron-foundery, Falcon-Stairs.
2. *Dederic Woolbert*, attended by Mr. *Hodſon*, at Wapping.
3. *John Harrington*, attended by Mr. *Patten*, of Radcliffe Croſs.
4. Capt. *Scott*, attended by Mr. *Nelham*, of Limehouſe.
5. *James Beckett*, attended by Mr. *Corney*, of St. John's.
6. *Nicholas Groome*, attended by Mr. *Smith*, of Limehouſe.
7. *Robert Hoane*, attended by Mr. *Hales*, Limehouſe.
8. *A young Woman*, attended by Mr. *Midford*.

During the Year 1775.

1. *Bernard Riley*, attended by Mr. *Waring*, Thames-ſtreet.
2. ——— *Bailey*, attended by Mr. *Ayres*.
3. *Francis Pickup*, attended by Mr. *Cowley*.
4. *Francis Cambell*, attended by Mr. *Church*, Iſlington.
5. *Jacob Hill*, attended by Mr. *Cambell*.
6. *Thomas Pattenſon*, attended by Mr. *Church*, Iſlington.
7. *James Pike*, attended by Mr *Powſey*, of Poplar.
8. *William Plunkett*, attended by Mr. *Pindegraſs*.
9. *Anthony Sulivan*, attended by Mr. *Powell*, Chelſea.
10. *John Venables*, attended by Mr. *Evans*.
11. *James Johnſon*, attended by Mr. *Johnſon*, Wapping.
12. *James Norris*, attended by Mr. *Bennet*, Wapping.
13. *A Child*, aged four years, attended by Mr. *Thomas*, Wapping.
14. *William Gardiner*, attended by Mr. *Goodwin*, Shad-Thames.
15. *Thomas Williams*, attended by Mr. *Lee*, Black-Fryars.
16. *William Scotman*, attended by Mr. *Anſell*, Brentford.
17. *A Boy*, attended by Mr. *Stevens*, Radcliff Croſs.
18. *A Boy*, aged ſeven years, attended by Mr. *Jones*, Iſlington.
19. *Deborah Green*, attended by Mr. *Clifton*, Iſlington.
20. *David Adamſon*, attended by Mr. *Cotton*, Blackwall.
21. *A Child*, aged three years, attended by Mr. *Morriſon*, Iſlington.
22. *Sarah Lambeth*, attended by Mr. *Ramſey*.
23. *James Bates*, attended by Mr. *Carter*, Iſlington.
24. *Mary Riley*, attended by Mr. *Haynes*, Iſlington.
25. *A Man*, taken out of an Ice-well, attended by Mr. *Billengburſt*.
26. *Thomas Garland*, attended by Mr. *Edwards*, Lambeth.
27. *George Poſnett*, attended by Mr. *Waring*, Rotherhithe.
28. *Catharine Leveridge*, attended by Mr. *Roberts*, Iſlington.
29. *A Child*, aged five years, attended by Mr. *Palſer*, Hammerſmith.
30. *John Adam Falkenhagen*, attended by Mr. *Curtis*, Iſlington.

Within the above periods, the Society have likewiſe paid rewards for the treatment, preſcribed by them, of ſixty-four other ſubjects, who unhappily were too far gone to benefit by it. On the other hand, Mr. Hawes has aſſured the writer, that, in conſequence of the Society's having taken every method in their power to make their mode

mode of treatment generally known, fifteen perſons more, beſides thoſe mentioned in the foregoing liſt, have been reſtored to life by medical gentlemen, who have been ſo kind as to communicate the particulars to the Society; and that among ſuch perſons were ſome apparently dead by ſuffocation. The reaſon for theſe fifteen caſes not being in the foregoing liſt, is the Society's not having paid any reward for the treatment of them; either, becauſe no reward was required; or becauſe the caſe lay, in point of place, or with regard to its nature, beyond the bounds, to which the narrowneſs of their funds had unhappily obliged them to confine themſelves. The particulars, however, of many of theſe caſes have been already publiſhed by the Society, and the reſt will probably appear before this volume. The title of the pamphlet containing them is, "Plan and Reports of the Society, &c." This pamphlet may be had at all the bookſellers; the profits ariſing from the ſale of it, are all applied to promote the benevolent deſigns of the Society; and moreover the price of it is exceedingly moderate, though it abounds with the moſt rational entertainment. Of this the reader will find a moſt convincing proof in the three following caſes: the firſt of which is the ſixth in the foregoing liſt, and the ſeventh in the Society's publication for the year 1774; the ſecond is not in the liſt, as the Society paid no reward on the occaſion; but it is in the ſaid publication, No. IX. The third caſe is in none of the pieces yet publiſhed by the Society, but perfectly authentic, as being communicated by Mr. Hawes. The remarkable ſucceſs of electricity in treating the ſecond will, we apprehend, render it particularly agreeable to our philoſophical readers. We ſhall give all theſe caſes (with the ſociety's reflections upon the two firſt) in the writer's own words.

CASE communicated to Mr. Rich, *Secretary to the Society, by Mr.* Smith *of* Limehouſe, *one of the Medical Aſſiſtants.*

'SIR, *Oct.* 31, 1774.

'I have the pleaſure to inform you, that I was yeſterday inſtrumental in ſaving the life of a perſon who was in a moſt critical ſituation, by falling into the river Thames. The caſe was as follows:

'Nicholas Groome, aged 25 years, whoſe mother keeps a public houſe (the ſign of the Red Lion and Still) in Drury-lane, went yeſterday with two of his acquaintances to ſee a friend on board the Aſhley, Capt. Criſp, an homeward bound Weſt-India-man, lying off Lime-houſe hole, a three-maſt veſſel. He inſiſted upon climbing up the fore-maſt, notwithſtanding the earneſt remonſtrances of his friends. When he was up to the fore-top maſt head, ſuppoſed to be at the height of ſixty feet from the water, he fell, firſt upon the round-top, from thence on the gunwale of the ſhip, and then into the river. It wanted about an hour and half to low water. The ſhip was on the outſide of a tier; ſome lighters were alſo ahead of her. He ſunk under one of theſe, and aroſe between two others on the ſide next to the adjacent ſhip, with his face under the water, and his back upwards. A Dane belonging to the ſhip which lay on the inſide of the Aſhley, and a Black, cook of the ſame

ſame ſhip, perceiving the accident, immediately ſlid down the cables to the aſſiſtance of the unfortunate man. The Dane firſt laid hold of the ſkirt of his coat, and the Black ſoon after ſeized his hand. They held him in this manner until two watermen, William Blackett and Richard Arrowſmith, of St. Catharine's, paſſing that way, came to their aſſiſtance. They got him into a boat, and immediately conveyed him to land; there was neither ſenſe nor motion in him. He was ſix or eight minutes under the water.

'I was immediately ſent for, and happened fortunately to be in the way. When I arrived, they had already got the patient into a public-houſe at Limehouſe, the ſign of the Horns, kept by Mr. John Horſley, who received him with great humanity, and afforded him every aſſiſtance in his power, after admittance had been refuſed into another houſe. I found him placed before the fire, void of ſenſe, or perceptible reſpiration. There was no pulſe at the wriſts or temples, nor any beating of the heart. The attendants were already rubbing him with dry ſalt; I continued the friction; and in a few minutes he ſhewed ſome ſigns of life. I ordered the remainder of his wet clothes to be immediately taken off, and the body to be placed in bed, and rubbed well with hot flannels. In about a quarter of an hour more he attempted to ſpeak, and the pulſe was plainly to be felt at the wriſt. I bled him directly, taking away about eight ounces of blood. Soon after he was made to ſwallow, though with ſome difficulty, a little warm brandy and water.

'I then particularly examined his head, and found a large lacerated wound on the right ſide, near three inches long, which I dreſſed. Covering him warm, and giving proper directions to the aſſiſtants, I left him. In two hours I returned, and found him much recovered.

'The next morning he was ſo well, as to be able to go home with his mother in a coach, who hearing of his misfortune had come down, and attended him the preceding night.

'I ſhould obſerve that, in the night after the accident, he bled from the wound on the head through all the dreſſings and cloths. I did not ſew up the wound, though large, the ſcalp being ſo much lacerated that in all probability it would have inflamed.

'As ſoon as he became ſenſible, he complained of violent pains in his back, legs and arms: one leg was bruiſed in the fall, and was conſiderably ſwoln the next morning.

'The perſons who took up the body, and aſſiſted in the recovery, as alſo the publican who received him into his houſe, deſerve great commendation for their behaviour; and I doubt not they will meet with the encouragement they merit for their diligence.—With ſincere reſpects, and with hearty wiſhes for the ſucceſs of ſo reſpectable and deſerving a Society, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

RICHARD SMITH.'

Although this account, given us by Mr. Smith, is perfectly ſatisfactory as to the fact itſelf, and to the moſt material circumſtances of which he was witneſs; yet curioſity prompted us to enquire into the par-

particulars antecedent to his arrival; and from Mr. Joſeph Curtis, a companion of Mr. Groome, who was with him on board the veſſel, and of Mr. Horſley, the landlord, we learn the following circumſtances: that four or five minutes had elapſed after the fall, before the body became viſible to them; that it was about eight minutes after the body appeared before it could be taken up, as the perſons who firſt endeavoured could not ſucceed 'till the watermen came to their aſſiſtance; that it was twenty minutes at laſt from the time of the body's being taken out of the water to the arrival of Mr. Smith; that he ſighed in about three minutes after the means were uſed by that gentleman, and became univerſally convulſed: that it was above an hour before the patient opened his eyes, and two hours before he could ſpeak intelligibly; and that he threw no water up from his lungs or ſtomach.

Notwithſtanding this providential eſcape from immediate death, the patient was afterwards in great danger from the wounds and bruiſes he had received in his fall; particularly that in his head, which at firſt gave ſome cauſe to apprehend a fracture or fiſſure of the ſkull, but fortunately theſe fears were groundleſs; and by the great care and ſkill of his ſurgeon, Mr. Sanderſon, of Great Queen-ſtreet, who in conjunction with Dr. Cogan, Mr. John Hunter, and Mr. Wm. Hawes, gave him conſtant attendance, he is perfectly recovered, and has returned thanks to the Society, and the above gentlemen, in the public papers.

Richard Arrowſmith, George Smith, the Black, the Dane, and William Blackett, received one Guinea each in reward of their diligent attention.

CASE communicated to the Rev. Mr. Sowden, *and Mr.* Hawes, *Apothecary, in the* Strand, *by Mr.* Squires, *of* Wardour-ſtreet, Soho.

'Catharine Sophia Greenhill, aged three years, daughter of William Greenhill, on the 16th of July, 1774, fell out of a one pair of ſtairs window upon the paved ſtones. She was taken up to all appearance dead. An apothecary being ſent for, he declared that nothing could be done for the child: Mr. Squires, who lives oppoſite to the place where the accident happened, finding the caſe hopeleſs, with the conſent of the parents very humanely tried the effects of electricity. Twenty minutes, at leaſt, had elapſed before he could apply the ſhock, which he gave to various parts of the body without any apparent ſucceſs; but at length, upon tranſmitting a few ſhocks through the thorax, he perceived a ſmall pulſation: ſoon after the child began to ſigh, and to breathe, though with great difficulty. In about ten minutes ſhe vomited. A kind of ſtupor, occaſioned by the depreſſion of the cranium, remained for ſome days, but proper means being uſed, the child was reſtored to perfect health and ſpirits in about a week.'

Mr. Squires gave this aſtoniſhing caſe of recovery to the above gentlemen, from no other motive than a deſire of promoting the good of mankind; and hopes for the future, that no perſon will be given up for dead, till various means have been uſed for their recovery.

Caſe

Caſe communicated by Mr. Stebbing, *Surgeon at* Ipſwich, *to Mr.* Hawes.

'DEAR SIR,

'About three months ago, John Sage, about 7 years of age, being with his father, upon a chamber that contained near 500 combs of barley, the man had occaſion to go into the office below, to unſtop a trunk leading from this barley into a ciſtern, to let the barley run into the ciſtern, for the conveniency of wetting it, to make malt of.—The child being alone in the chamber, ſeeing the hollow or well, made in the heap of corn by the current, had the curioſity to get upon the edge, when, the barley caving in with him, he deſcended to the top of the trunk at the floor, which he fell acroſs; his arms went down the trunk, his chin and body reſting upon the two oppoſite ſides of the hole. The barley ſtill kept the current, as it had got ſome force; and he was, in an inſtant, buried five feet deep, not a perſon knowing he was there. The man below heard a noiſe, which he ſuppoſes was the boy, when he firſt came down to the hole; but he then thought it was the child at play with a dog on the chamber, and ſo took no notice of it, but went about ſome other buſineſs, till preſently, turning about, and ſeeing the current of barley ſtopt, it ſtruck him, that the boy by ſome means, was fallen into the trunk. He directly ran up ſtairs, in ſearch of the boy, where he could find nothing of him. He was then confirmed in his ſuſpicions, and immediately called for help, when three or four ſtrong porters came to his aſſiſtance, when one of the men put his hand up the trunk, and could juſt reach his fingers, without being able to give him the leaſt aſſiſtance that way: they all ſet to work directly to dig him out. The corn lying in a cloſe place, made it very difficult, as it returned as faſt as they threw it from them, till after ſome time, one man found his legs, which he endeavoured to pull at; but found the corn would not admit of his ſtanding firm enough to exert ſtrength ſufficient to extract the boy from the ſtrong hold the preſſure of the corn made upon him. They then thought of a very happy expedient, which was, one man got hold of a beam in the cieling, and took the ſecond man's hand, and ſo on, making a chain with each other, and in that way drew him out, after being buried ten or twelve minutes, under the preſſure of at leaſt a hundred combs of barley. He was apparently dead, not ſhewing the leaſt ſigns of life; his face looked very livid, his mouth and noſe ſtopt with barley. They ſent to my houſe, I not being at home, my journeyman attended, who immediately opened a vein; but no blood followed this, or a ſecond attempt. I had given the treatiſe publiſhed by the Society to him to read juſt at the time this affair happened, which furniſhed him with ideas of trying what friction would do in this caſe; when he ordered the boy's arms and breaſt to be well rubb'd with warm flannels, and in five minutes the blood flowed freely. I by this time came home, when I directly ordered him to a warm bed, and purſued that excellent plan, preſcribed by the Society, with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The

The first signs of life were breathing with catching, universal convulsions, intermittent pulse: I ordered him blisters for his legs and arms; bled him the two following days; all which seemed to relieve him. Still he did not recover his speech for four days; nor his senses till the sixth day; after that, his senses and strength increased; and in three weeks time, he was perfectly recovered; and has continued well ever since.

I am, &c.

GEORGE STEBBING

Ipswich, Aug. 16, 1775.

The foregoing instances are so many fresh proofs of a fact as interesting as it is curious and surprising, *viz.* that persons may, either by immersion in water, or by other species of strangulation, have every faculty totally suspended, so that they shall, to all appearance, be dead for a considerable length of time, and yet it may be in the power of art to recover them, where the frame has suffered no essential injury.

The said instances were either communicated by gentlemen whose veracity is unquestionable, and who could readily produce a sufficient number of vouchers, were any one to discredit their evidence; or under the immediate inspection of the Society, whose words, on occasion of their first eight successful cases, when their institution was not as yet twelve months old, are too remarkably feeling, though equally modest, not to take place of our own. We shall therefore let the Society now speak entirely for themselves, just taking the liberty to adapt their words to the astonishing success they have since had, and to omit a few things, which would be only a repetition of what we ourselves have already been under a necessity of saying. The society's words are as follows:

"As to ourselves, we can have no motive to induce us to be absurdly credulous on the one hand, or on the other attempt to impose falshoods on the public. The surprising facts recorded by our neighbours, the Dutch and French, induced us to make the like experiments. Had we not succeeded, we should have made our report to the world; and, resting satisfied with the goodness of our intention, we should have left others to draw what consequences they pleased. But *we have succeeded*; and we congratulate our countrymen upon having demonstrated a fact, which we hope will, in process of time, wipe tears from the eyes of thousands: we congratulate ourselves in being the instruments of so much happiness. These were our motives; these are our rewards; and we desire no other.

Since these are the real springs of our conduct, we lie under no temptation to act disingenuously. We are solicitous, equally with others, to weigh the validity of our undertaking, and ascertain the proportion of usefulness to our fellow-creatures likely to accrue from it; and therefore we hesitate not to declare, that we have paid our proffered rewards, in no less than sixty-four unsuccessful attempts, while the instances of recovery, in consequence of our offering rewards, and publishing instructions, are but fifty-three. But so valuable is life, not only to the individual, but to his various connections, that were the cases of success never to bear a

greater proportion, we ſhould have no reaſon to repent of our undertaking.

Yet, were it conſiſtent with the propoſed brevity of this publication, (meaning their pamphlet, ſee p. 105) to give the unſucceſsful caſes alſo at large, ſeveral inſtances would ſufficiently indicate, that the cauſe of their failure was owing to adventitious circumſtances, which, without affecting our leading principle, rendered it morally impoſſible to recover the unfortunate objects.

Several of the number had lain in the water from an hour and a half to two hours, before they were taken up: and although we have engaged, that we might err on the ſide of ſafety, to give our premiums to thoſe who ſhall attempt the recovery of perſons in this ſtate, yet we are not ſo ſanguine as to expect that one in fifty could be reſtored under ſuch diſadvantages. Others, after being taken out, were neglected for a conſiderable length of time, through the ignorance of the attendants.—In another inſtance, the perſon fell into the water as he was fighting. In this caſe, the body muſt have been heated to a great degree, and the lungs ſurcharged with blood; and his reſtoration would moſt probably have been impracticable, had the proper means been inſtantly applied.

In ſome other caſes, although we were not ſo happy as to ſucceed, yet we were for ſome time flattered with ſuch ſigns of returning life, as demonſtrated that the vital ſpark had not been totally extinguiſhed, though it was not in our power to revive it.

The foregoing examples of recovery, beſides inconteſtibly proving the practicability of reſtoring thoſe who are to all appearance dead, ſerve to aſcertain a very affecting and humiliating truth: they demonſtrate that hundreds might have been reſtored, and have remained to this moment a bleſſing to their connections and to the world, had not Britain been ſo ſhamefully inattentive to theſe cries of the diſtreſſed; had not a baneful, may we not ſay *murderous* ſpirit of incredulity, rendered us deaf to the repeated aſſertions and demonſtrative facts communicated to us by our neighbours on the continent; who, we are ſorry to ſay, have, in this inſtance, taken large ſtrides before us, in ſerving the great cauſe of humanity.

The ſecond part of the Dutch Memoirs, publiſhed ſince the firſt was tranſlated, contains no leſs than fifty-eight additional inſtances of reſtoration to life; ſo that they have redeemed, in the ſpace of about ſix years, upwards of two hundred ſouls from death. In France they have been inſtrumental in ſaving forty-five perſons out of ſixty-nine in about ſixteen months; and it is a natural inference, that England has permitted numbers nearly equal to periſh, for want of a ſimilar interpoſition.

It is acknowledged, that accidents by water may not be ſo frequent in and about this city as in ſeveral parts of Holland, yet they are ſufficiently numerous to awaken the concern of every compaſſionate breaſt. The bills of mortality inform us, that upwards of an hundred perſons are drowned within their limits in the courſe of a year. Some of them, indeed, being carried off by the tide, are not found for ſeveral days, and their recovery becomes

becomes totally impoſſible. But the greater number are in more favourable circumſtances; and ſuppoſe but one in ten reſtored, what man would think the deſigns of this ſociety unimportant, were himſelf, his relation, or his friend, that one?

It is to be hoped that the happy experience we now have, as well as that of the chief countries in Europe, will at length fix the attention of our countrymen upon this important object; and then they will ſoon learn how much good may be effected by their patronizing our undertaking. It would be difficult to form an eſtimate of the number of lives annually loſt by drowning in this iſland: but when we recollect that we are ſurrounded by water; that we are the firſt maritime ſtate; that accidents of this nature are perpetually happening upon navigable rivers, in ſea-ports, and on voyages; and that there is not a town or village in the kingdom where the inhabitants are not expoſed to danger by bathing, ſliding, &c. we need not heſitate to pronounce the amount to be ſeveral hundreds. But as the methods ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed, in the caſe of drowned perſons, are alſo applicable in ſudden deaths occaſioned by various other cauſes; whether ſuffocation by the cord, by noxious vapours, (as in coal and lead mines) ſuſpenſion of the vital powers by lightning, ſyncopies, &c. &c. what an ample and untrodden field is open for the exerciſe of our generous compaſſion! What ſolid benefits might we not inſure to the ſtate, what laſting happineſs to thouſands, were the rich individuals, or the magiſtracy of this great and wealthy city, to let ſo laudable a deſign ſhare ſome portion of their bounty.

We cannot, upon this occaſion, forbear expreſſing our warmeſt acknowledgments to Frederick Bull, Eſq; lately the worthy Lord Mayor of London, for the early countenance he has given to our deſign. It is not unuſual for ſocieties which have gained a full eſtabliſhment, or are ſo far advanced as to confer a degree of honour upon their preſidents, to meet with reſpectable patrons. But for the chief magiſtrate of the firſt city in Europe, to ſtoop and take an infant inſtitution by the hand, and lead it through its firſt dangers and difficulties, merely becauſe it was an humane one, reflects the higheſt luſtre upon the benevolence of his diſpoſition, and affords an example worthy the imitation of every gentleman of fortune and influence.

But, to return to our inſtitution, our premiums might be extended to a greater diſtance from the metropolis; they might alſo comprehend other caſes of ſudden deaths; we ſhould be enabled to diffuſe over the whole kingdom, even to its moſt retired parts, the knowledge of theſe ſucceſsful methods, and excite a general ſpirit of trying ſalutary experiments in every caſe of ſudden death; and there is every reaſon to believe that, when the public becomes familiarized to the aſſurance, that perſons are recoverable in circumſtances which were once deemed beyond the reach of help, they will exert themſelves on theſe occaſions with ſuch vigour and perſeverance as may be productive of the moſt happy conſequences. Other parts of the nation, animated by our example, may continue to form ſimilar inſtitutions to avert the evils to which the inhabitants are rendered liable by their ſituation or employ-

employment. Of what benefit might they not prove in ſea-ports, large towns, by the ſide of a river, and particularly in countries abounding with mines! The very idea of ſuch extenſive utility muſt warm the heart of every man that has a heart to be warmed; and we confeſs it hurts us to have ſuch a noble proſpect opened to our view, and feel ourſelves confined and fettered by the narrowneſs of our finances.

It is by no means our deſire to erect this inſtitution upon the ruins of any other. It is with pleaſure, and with a juſtifiable pride, that we behold ſuch a variety of plans formed, and ſupported by that ſpirit of benevolence which diſtinguiſhes this nation, in order to alleviate the various diſtreſſes of mankind. Our only wiſh is, that this may be added to the number; that we may be uniform and conſiſtent in our acts of humanity; that the ſtreams of public beneficence may not be confined in partial channels, but be divided and ſubdivided until they reach every proper object of diſtreſs.

And yet the juſtice we owe to our undertaking requires us to hint, that were we to draw a compariſon between our inſtitution and thoſe many others which do honour to their patrons, it would yield to none of them, either with reſpect to the quantity of good produced at a comparatively ſmall expence; the importance and extent of its views; or the peculiar benevolence of its deſigns.

After the extraordinary expences are defrayed, which were neceſſary to make our plan ſufficiently known, the current expences will be nearly proportionate to the number of accidents which preſent themſelves. As we are not burdened with any ſtanding charges, as the ſpot neareſt to the place where the accident has happened becomes a temporary infirmary; where, if the humanity of the inhabitant ſhould not, a moderate gratuity furniſhes all the neceſſary accommodations; every guinea employed will be towards the actual redemption of a life. Surely if a charitable diſpoſition contributes ſuch large ſums with chearfulneſs towards the building, furniture, and maintenance of hoſpitals, where a princely fortune is frequently ſunk previous to the expected good, and where the hopes of relief are equally uncertain to each individual, it will not refuſe a moiety immediately employed in ſuccouring a fellow creature in the depth of diſtreſs.

We muſt alſo urge that the objects this inſtitution attempts to relieve, are the moſt pitiable of any that can be imagined. The deſign of it is, to reſtore ſuch as have in an inſtant *been numbered amongſt the dead*, by ſome dreadful diſaſter, or by ſome ſudden impulſe of phrenzy.

With reſpect to the latter claſs, although it is miſery in one ſhape or other that drives any one to commit the horrid crime of ſuicide, yet every ſerious and conſiderate mind muſt earneſtly wiſh to ſnatch them from ſuch a deſtruction; that their ſouls may not ruſh into the preſence of their Creator, ſtained with the guilt of murder; and that their relations may alſo be reſcued from the ſhame as well as loſs to which ſuch raſhneſs expoſes them. In ſome caſes, perhaps, they may repeat their attempts, and elude all endeavours to ſave them; yet as their horrid deſigns are moſtly the effect of

of a temporary phrenzy, there is the greater reaſon to expect, that when returned to their ſenſes, they will rejoice in their eſcape, and cordially thank their deliverers. And if indulgent benevolence has erected hoſpitals for the removal of evils mankind bring upon themſelves by vicious gratifications, it muſt feel an additional pleaſure in recalling a miſerable creature from the very brink of eternity, into which he was precipitating himſelf by his own guilt. [Mr Hawes aſſures the writer, that none of the unhappy perſons guilty of ſuicide, who have had the happineſs of being reſtored by the medical aſſiſtants of the ſociety, have ever attempted to commit the fact again; but, on the contrary, have by their actions as well as words, expreſſed a due ſenſe of their deliverance.]

A ſecond claſs are the induſtrious poor. Theſe from working upon water, mines, &c. are neceſſarily expoſed to the diſaſters mentioned above; and have they not a kind of demand upon us, to interpoſe, and avert, if poſſible, the fatal conſequences to which they are rendered liable, by ſerving the community with their labours, and gaining an honeſt livelihood? Nay, is it not our intereſt, as well as duty, to replace them, if poſſible, in their ſphere of uſefulneſs, that they may again work for their wives and families; whereby theſe may be ſnatched from immediate miſery and want, and the community be relieved from an expenſive burden?

Such eſtabliſhments as ours intend alſo a general benefit. Buſineſs or pleaſure, or ſome unforeſeen cauſe, expoſes every man, either in his own perſon or in his connections, to accidents by water. In other caſes our ſtation in life may be ſo different, and ſo remote from the party we aſſiſt, that it may become impoſſible for us ever to partake of any other benefit from our donations, than the pleaſure of doing good; but every man living is expoſed to the accidents we are attempting to avert, either in his own perſon or connexions, without any exemption from age, ſex, or fortune: and he may owe his own preſervation, or the preſervation of ſome one ſtill dearer to him, to that inſtitution he patronized from a motive of public utility. *So that it ought to be conſidered as a kind of inſurance of life rather than an affair of charity; as an aſſociation againſt thoſe calamities which are common to us all.* And when it ſhall become extenſive, numbers will doubtleſs have cauſe to rejoice, that while they have been inſtrumental in ſaving others, their own, or the lives of their deareſt relations, perhaps of their children, whoſe heedleſs and adventurous ſpirits are expoſing them to perpetual dangers, have by theſe means been protracted for years. How many a parent is hourly ſubject to the danger of ſeeing a ſprightly, thoughtleſs ſon, brought home to him a breathleſs corpſe! What would they not give at that inſtant for the moſt diſtant hopes of recovery!

But the inſtitutions formed upon the plan, and for purpoſes like ours, ſpeak with peculiar energy to the fineſt feelings of the human heart. Death is univerſally dreaded as an evil, and thoſe eſtabliſhments which have for their object the healing of diſeaſes, and reſtoration to vigorous active life, have juſtly been ranked amongſt the moſt benevolent and uſeful; but ſudden death, by ſome

fatal diſaſter, aggravates the ſtroke. It is reſented as a dreadful robbery which accident has committed; and we lament the victim as cruelly and unguardedly ſtript, in a moment, of the bleſſings he had the proſpect of enjoying for a ſeries of years. If there be, to every good man, a ſecret pleaſure in performing acts of common beneficence, in being of *cold* utility to his fellow-creatures, how muſt his heart *glow* with ſatisfaction, where he has been inſtrumental in reſtoring to the joyful arms of relatives and friends, a parent, a child, a brother, or an intimate, at the inſtant they are deploring his loſs with inexpreſſible anguiſh! We have too favourable an opinion of the human heart, to ſuſpect that any one who calls himſelf a Chriſtian or a man, would refuſe to part with a much larger ſum, than that for which we ſolicit, in order to extricate a fellow-creature, were he to behold him ſtruggling with the agonies of death; or were he enabled by it to preſent a father to the fatherleſs, a huſband to the widow, and a living child to the boſom of its diſtracted parents! And ſurely, it requires no great exertion of the imagination to paint this affecting ſcene in ſuch colours, as to induce every man, who makes the ſmalleſt pretenſions to benevolence, to concur with us in ſo pleaſing, ſo delightful, ſo god-like a deſign!

We have the additional pleaſure to acquaint the public, that other ſocieties are forming for the ſame humane purpoſe. We are aſſured that the city of Norwich, animated by our example, has likewiſe eſtabliſhed an inſtitution for the recovery of drowned perſons, under the patronage and influence of the mayor and corporation; and have done us the honour to adopt our plan, not only reſpecting the methods of treatment, and in the premiums they beſtow, but in the appointment of medical aſſiſtants in different quarters of the town. Lord Cathcart has alſo generouſly undertaken to diffuſe, at his own expence, a knowledge of the methods of treating perſons in ſuch unhappy circumſtances through various parts of Scotland. Nor can we doubt but ſo benevolent a deſign, ſupported by ſo reſpectable a character will meet with every encouragement on the other ſide of the Tweed*. And we are credibly informed, that other parts of the kingdom are likewiſe upon the eve of promoting ſimilar eſtabliſhments†. We cannot forbear uniting our ardent wiſhes, that a merciful Providence may, in like manner, ſmile upon their attempts, and that they may join with us, not only in an honourable but ſucceſsful league againſt the diſtreſſes of mankind.

The ſociety, encouraged by the events of the year 1774, have exerted themſelves with double vigour if it be poſſible. They have printed a large number of advertiſements, containing the methods of

* The Board of Police in Scotland have ſince taken up this benevolent deſign, at his Lordſhip's recommendation; and written circular letters on the occaſion, to the miniſters and inferior officers of the police, &c. in that part of our iſland.

† Mr. Hawes has been ſo kind as to inform the writer, that, accordingly, ſocieties of a ſimilar nature with that of London, have been lately formed at Briſtol, Liverpool, Colcheſter, and Hull; as likewiſe at Corke in Ireland.

treatment

treatment alone, in order to diſperſe them through various parts of the kingdom, eſpecially in ſea-ports, and towns contiguous to large rivers, in order to diffuſe a knowledge of the means of aſſiſting perſons in ſuch critical ſituations, and excite the inhabitants to form ſimilar inſtitutions, upon plans which ſhall appear to them moſt adviſeable. They have likewiſe extended their rewards to a greater diſtance from the metropolis, and included every other inſtance of ſudden death, whether by ſuffocation from noxious vapours, hanging, ſyncopies, thoſe that are frozen, &c. They are ſtill ſolicitous alſo to reward thoſe gentlemen, who have been the inſtruments of reſtoration to life, with an honorary medal, in acknowledgment of their ſkill and generous aſſiduity: and, in ſhort, propoſe to purſue every other method that may enable them to be more extenſively uſeful, in ſaving the lives of their fellow-creatures. But, as the expences neceſſary to proſecute ſo extenſive a plan muſt be conſiderable, the ſociety hope that they ſhall be encouraged and aſſiſted in their undertaking, by every one who calls himſelf a friend to humanity."

Names and Places of Abode of the Medical Aſſiſtants.

Middleſex ſide of the Thames.

MIDDLESEX.

Limehouſe—Mr. Smith.
Radcliffe-Croſs—Mr. Patten and Mr. Cox.
Shadwell—Mr. Bryen.
Wapping——Mr. Marſhall, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Hodgſon, Mr. Williams, Mr. Midford, and Mr. Teiſe.
Billingſgate—Mr. Vaux.
Lawrence Poutney-lane—Mr. Bee.
Great Eaſt-Cheap—Dr. Letſom.
Cornhill—Mr. Forſter.
Broad-ſtreet—Dr. Kooyſtra.
Garlick-Hill—Mr. Walford.
Old Jewry—Mr. Sharpe.
Queen-ſtreet, Cheapſide—Mr. Armiger.
Pater-noſter-row—Dr. Cogan.
Fleet-ſtreet—Mr. Forbes.
Strand—Mr. Hawes, Mr. Clough, and Mr. Buck.
York-Buildings—Mr. Beaumont.
Whitehall—Mr. Andrews.
Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter—Dr. Bancroft.
Weſtminſter—Mr. Juſtamond, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Wright.
Chelſea—Mr. Halford, Mr. Greenhead, and Mr. Kinnard.
Parſon's Green—Dr. Cadogan and Mr. Meſſiter.
Hammerſmith—Mr. Loveday, Mr. Palſer, and Mr. Terry.
Chiſwick—Mr. Hedges and Mr. Teniſon.
Brentford—Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Corſon, Meſſrs. Oliver and Anſell, Mr. Downing, Mr. Harding, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Webb.
Iſleworth——Meſſrs. Dick and Inwood.
Twickenham—Meſſrs. Beauchamp and Tondero, Mr. Gilchriſt.
Hampton—Mr. Griffenhoofe.
Laleham—Mr. Birks.
Sunbury—Mr. Boone.
Staines—Mr. Pope.

BERKS.

Windſor—Dr. Biddle, Dr. Thackeray, Meſſrs. Aylett and Williamſon.
Reading—Mr. Hooper, Mr. Bully, and Mr. Goldwyer.
Henley—Mr. Clowes.
Great Marlow——Mr. Bell, Mr. Eardley, and Mr. Sneath.

SERPENTINE RIVER.

Knightſbridge—Mr. Jackſon.
Piccadilly—Mr. Billinghurſt.

Kent and Surry ſide of the Thames.

KENT.

Graveſend —— Mr. Bolger, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kite, and Mr. Mann.
Woolwich—Mr. Bickerton, Mr. Irvin, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Wood.
Deptford—Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Sutton.
Greenwich——Mr. Mills, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Pocock.
Tooley-ſtreet—Mr. Breach, Mr. Hooper, Meſſrs. Hawes and Leadham.
Dock-Head—Mr. Penry.
Allard's Point—Mr. Chapman.
Rotherhithe—Meſſrs. W. and G. Chapman, Mr. Gray, Mr. Maddox, Mr. Green.

SURRY.

Blackfriars—Dr. Irving, Mr. Boyſe.
Lambeth—Mr. Burgeſs.
Batterſea—Mr. Lumſden.
Wandſworth—Mr. Squire.
Putney—John Roſe, Eſq; Mr Norris.
Fulham—Mr. Parry, Mr. Coghlan.
Mortlake—Mr. Davis, Mr. King.
Richmond—Dr. Baker, Mr. Jackſon, Mr. Smith.
Kingſton—Dr. Lewis, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hemmings, Mr. Roots, Mr. Smith, Mr. Waterhouſe.
Walton——Mr. Howard.
Weybridge—Mr. Webb.
Chertſey——Mr. Mapletoft, Mr. Smith.

NEW RIVER.

Iſlington——Mr. Hole and Mr. Church.
Hoxton—Mr. Parkinſon, Hoxton-ſquare.
Stoke-Newington—Mr. Garrett, Mr. John.
Hackney——Mr. Downing, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Toulmin.
Tottenham—Mr. Holt.
Edmonton—Mr. Abel.
Enfield——Meſſrs. Prichard and Sherwin, Mr. Harriſon.
Bow—Mr. Wilkinſon, Mr. Coles.

ESSEX.

Waltham-Abbey—Mr. Cannon, Mr. Heron, Mr. Waddington.
Stratford——Meſſrs. How, Doyle, and Talbutt, Mr. Miller.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Hertford——Mr. Chandler, Mr. Froſt, Mr. Cutler.
Ware——Mr. Burr, Mr. Welford, Mr. Worſley.
Cheſhunt——Dr. Napier, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Saunders.
Hoddeſdon—Mr. Baker.

The treaſurer of the ſociety, upon receiving a letter from one or more of the medical aſſiſtants, that a drowned perſon was immediately received, and all neceſſary aſſiſtance given, is authorized to pay the rewards firſt mentioned, p. 101.

The ſociety having extended their rewards to ſo many places, it is earneſtly to be wiſhed, that a proper attention be paid to their humane endeavours, ſo that no unfortunate object may be conſigned to the grave, until the proper methods of treatment have been diligently uſed, it being now ſo obvious that by a ſteady perſeverance many perſons, in all appearance dead, may be reſtored to life, to the community, and to their friends.

The ſociety will be much obliged to medical gentlemen, in town or country, to communicate any caſe of recovery, together with the means made uſe of, to James Horſfall, Eſq; treaſure to the ſociety, Middle Temple, London.

The ſociety alſo aſſure the public, that they will pay the above rewards both in ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful caſes, which ſhall be treated at Blackwall, Teddington, Hampton,

Hampton-Court, &c. where no medical gentlemen reſide, upon the treaſurer's receiving a letter from two of the principal inhabitants, that the method of treatment laid down by the ſociety was uſed for full two hours.

Subſcriptions for carrying on this humane undertaking are received by the following gentlemen: James Horsfall, Eſq; treaſurer, Middle-Temple; Dr. Cogan, No. 11, Pater-noſter-Row; Mr. Hawes, apothecary, No. 221, Strand.

Deſcription of a Machine for ſaving Perſons and Effects from Fire.

THIS machine, in its moſt ſimple ſtate, conſiſts of a pole, a rope, and a baſket.

The pole is of fir, or a common ſcaffold pole, of any convenient length from thirty-ſix to forty-ſix feet; the diameter at bottom, or greateſt end, about five inches; and at the top, or ſmalleſt end, about three inches. At three feet from the top is a mortice through the pole, and a pulley fixed to it of nearly the ſame diameter as the pole in that part.

The rope is about three quarters of an inch diameter, and twice the length of the pole, with a ſpring hook at one end, to paſs through the ring in the handle of the baſket when uſed; it is put through the mortice over the pulley, and then drawn tight on each ſide to near the bottom of the pole, and made faſt there till wanted.

The baſket ſhould be of ſtrong wicker-work, three feet and a half long, two feet and a half wide, rounded off at the corners, and four feet deep, rounding every way at the bottom. To the top of the baſket is fixed a ſtrong iron curve or handle, with an eye or ring in the middle; and to one ſide of the baſket, near the top, is fixed a ſmall cord, or guide-rope, of about the length of the pole.

When the pole is raiſed, and ſet againſt a houſe over the window from which any perſons are to eſcape, the manner of uſing it is ſo plain and obvious, that it needs not to be deſcribed.

The moſt convenient diſtance from the houſe, for the foot of the pole to ſtand, where practicable, is about twelve or fourteen feet.

If two ſtrong iron ſtraps, about three feet long, rivetted to a bar croſs, and ſpreading about fourteen inches at the foot, were fixed at the bottom of the pole, this would prevent its turning round or ſlipping on the pavement.

And if a ſtrong iron hoop, or ferule, rivetted (or welded) to a ſemi-circular piece of iron ſpreading about twelve inches, and pointed at the ends, were fixed on at the top of the pole, it would prevent its ſliding againſt the wall.

When theſe two laſt mentioned irons are fixed on, they give the pole all the ſteadineſs of a ladder.

And becauſe it is not eaſy, except to perſons who have been uſed to it, to raiſe and ſet upright a pole of forty feet or more in length, it will be convenient to have two ſmall poles, or ſpars of about two inches diameter, fixed to the ſides of the great pole at about two or three feet above the middle of it, by iron eyes rivetted to two plates, ſo as to turn every way; the lower end of theſe ſpars to reach within a foot of the bottom of the great pole, and to have ferules and

ſhort ſpikes to prevent ſliding on the pavement, when uſed occaſionally to ſupport the great pole, like a tripod.

There ſhould be two ſtrong aſh trundles let through the pole, one at four feet, and one at five feet from the bottom, to ſtand out about eight inches on each ſide, and to ſerve as handles, or to twiſt the rope round in lowering a very heavy weight.

If a block and pulley were fixed at about the middle of the rope, above the other pulley, and the other part of the rope made to run double, it would diminiſh any weight in the baſket nearly one half, and be very uſeful in drawing any perſon up, to the aſſiſtance of thoſe in the chambers, or for removing any effects out of a chamber, which it might be dangerous to attempt by the ſtairs.

It has been proved, by repeated trials, that ſuch a pole as we have been ſpeaking of can be raiſed from the ground, and two or three perſons taken out of the upper windows of an houſe and ſet down ſafely in the ſtreet, in the ſpace of 35 ſeconds, or a little more than half a minute.

Sick and infirm perſons, women, children, and many others, who cannot make uſe of a ladder, may be ſafely and eaſily brought down from any of the windows of an houſe on fire by this machine, and by putting a ſhort pole through the handles of the baſket, may be removed to any diſtance without being taken out of the baſket. The pole muſt always have the rope ready fixed to it, and may be conveniently laid up upon two or three iron hooks under any ſhed or gate-way, and the baſket ſhould be kept at the watch-houſe. When the pole is laid up, the two ſpars ſhould always be turned towards the head of it.

The baſket ſhould be made of peeled rods, and the pole and ſpars painted of a light ſtone colour, to render it more viſible when uſed in the night.

Watchmen and others ſhould be exerciſed in the uſe of it; and it might perhaps be adviſeable for pariſhes to allow five or ſix ſhillings to the firſt pole brought to any fire.

The machine may alſo be uſeful to workmen in various branches, who have any thing to do aloft on the outſide of houſes, and will not be more expenſive than a common ſtandard ladder.

Remarks on Fire ladders.

Since the above contrivance has been offered to the public, I have obſerved that an intended improvement has been made to ſeveral of the fire-ladders, (which the different pariſhes in this metropolis are, by act of parliament, obliged to keep) by adding ſpars to the ladders as deſcribed to the fire-pole; but through the ignorance or inattention of the people employed to fix them, theſe ſpars are of no manner of uſe; on the contrary, they muſt rather obſtruct thoſe employed in raiſing them on any emergency; for ſuch ladders as I have ſeen with theſe additional ſpars, have them fixed within a few feet of the top of the ladden, with the ends ſo long, as to reach almoſt to the foot of it; but to render theſe ſerviceable, they muſt be fixed about three or four feet only above the middle of the ladder, according to the length of it, with the oppoſite ends lying along the ſmall part or top of the ladder, in the manner deſcribed in the account of the fire-pole; by which

which means only they can be uſeful in raiſing it.

This obſervation is intended for the public good, and as a hint to ſuch pariſh officers and others who have the care and direction of the parliamentary fire-ladders.

Bucklerſbury, Yours, &c.
Sept. 18. G.

N. B. The length of theſe ſpars muſt be in proportion to the length of the ladder, agreeable to the directions given in the deſcription of the fire-pole.

We cannot conclude this article better, than by the following humane and generous advertiſement, ſtuck up in ſeveral places at the weſt end of London; and hope it will prove an example to other gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion with thoſe therein mentioned:

FIRE.

WHEREAS great deſtruction often happens by fire for want of a ſpeedy ſupply of water and engines; and as it has been found that, for the ſake of rewards given by act of parliament, a combination has lately been entered into amongſt the keepers of pariſh engines to prevent immediate notice being given to the owners and keepers of private engines, who have horſes and every means of quick conveyance in that dreadful calamity of fire; in conſequence of which delay, fires very often ariſe to a great head; therefore for the preventing of ſuch delay in future, the following gentlemen, brewers, viz Mr. Cox, Baynbrigg-ſtreet, St. Giles's; Meſſ. Hammond, Gifford, and Co. Caſtle-ſtreet, Long Acre; Mr. Maſon, Broad ſtreet, St. Giles's; and Mr. Hucks, Bloomſbury, do give this public notice, that they will not permit or ſuffer any of their ſervants to claim or take any of the rewards given by the ſaid act for bringing their engines to fires; which they hope will not only be the means of preventing the ſaid combination in future, but alſo ſtir up every perſon to give immediate notice to the gentlemen above-named on the firſt breaking out of any fire within a reaſonable diſtance from their reſpective brewhouſes, who will not only order their engines out, with proper aſſiſtance, but alſo ſend with them a quantity of water on their drays, in caſks, to work them until a ſufficient ſupply of it comes into the different plugs belonging to the ſeveral water companies; which may be a means of preventing that dreadful havock which is often occaſioned by the want thereof.

Recipe for an excellent Coſmetic, as well as Preventative and Remedy for thoſe nauſeous and ſtubborn Diſorders, the Scald Head and Itch; and all other Diſorders, both internal and external, proceeding from Worms, in Man or Beaſt; which Recipe, accordingly, was ſome time ago found very beneficial in a Mortality among the Calves; by Doctor Cook of Leigh, in Eſſex.

Leigh, Eſſex, Feb. 1, 1775.
Experientia Docet.

AS a lucky diſcovery of a proper medicine that could cure the infectious diſtemper of horned cattle, would certainly prove of univerſal utility to the public, I here humbly propoſe the following preſcription, not indeed on certainty of ſucceſs, as having no inſtance of

its efficacy as yet, but hereafter to make trial of, as experience teaches knowledge.

The recipe is cheap, and its application eaſy. If that theory be true, that ſuch infectious diſeaſes originally proceed from animalcula preying upon the blood and juices, it is highly probable this ſafe mineral water, may not only cure the cattle after infection, but if previouſly applied to, may even prevent the catching the diſeaſe alſo.

Was it for no more than its many well known virtues in venereal caſes; in curing ſcald heads; opening obſtructions; waſhing ulcers; killing worms; and all other vermin, whether internally or externally ſubſiſting, by drinking it freely in the firſt caſe, and waſhing the ſkin often therewith, in the laſt; it is well worth recommending as a general, neat, ſafe, cheap, and eaſy preparation of ſimple mercury, an excellent medicine of many virtues, fit for all ages, climates, and ſeaſons, much to be wiſhed for, and greatly wanted, and is no more at laſt than ſimple rain water impregnated with the moſt minute ſmooth particles of pure mercury, or quick-ſilver; as ſafe to uſe, both internally and externally, as mother's milk, and yet as inſipid as water itſelf was before put thereto.

Boil two gallons of ſoft water on one pound of purified quick-ſilver till half the water is waſted, or a leſſer, or greater quantity at a time, and that proportionably, as needed; after which pour both into a bottle, to be ready for uſe; ſhake them well firſt every time when about to uſe it; give to either man, or beaſt, as much and often, as they can well drink, to kill worms in the ſtomach, inteſtines, bowels, and blood, either by itſelf, or daſhed with milk, or white wine, both for change and ſtomach's ſake; and for cutaneous feculencies, to waſh the ſkin of both with the ſame mercurial decoction, warmed every day, as freely as with plain water, which wipe not off, but let dry in.

It was of ſervice once in preſerving the farmers calves, when there was ſome time ago a mortality among them, occaſioned (as was diſcovered by opening them for examination) from worms found in their bowels; from a recipe of this kind, publiſhed by me in the Gentleman's Magazine.

This ſimple and ſafe preparation, makes a very neat cure for the itch, ſcab, ſcurf, and all other foulneſs of the ſkin, and is likewiſe a ſafe, clean, and excellent coſmetic lotion for ladies faces. For ſuch uſes make it thus.

Boil two quarts of water on four ounces of quick-ſilver till half the water is waſted; put both in a bottle for uſe. The ſame quick-ſilver will ſerve to boil again the ſame way as often as freſh mercurial water is needed.

But not to take my ſingle word for it. To be better credited in what I write, I will quote two good authorities therefore, one no leſs than the late excellent philoſopher, the honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; from page 392 of his Sceptical Chemiſt, as it ſhould be ſpelt, (and not chymiſt, as it moſt commonly is) who, near the end of his treatiſe, writes thus thereon:

"Quick-ſilver itſelf alſo, though the corpuſcles it conſiſts of be ſo very ſmall as to get into the pores of that cloſeſt, and compacteſt of bodies, gold, is yet (you know) altogether taſteleſs; and our Her-

mes;

mont ſeveral times tells us, that fair water wherein a little quantity of quickſilver has lain for ſome time, tho' it acquire no certain taſte, or other ſenſible quality from the quickſilver, yet it has a power to deſtroy worms in human bodies, which he does much, but not cauſeleſsly extol. I remember a great lady that had been eminent for beauty in diverſe courts, confeſſed to me, that this inſipid liquor was of all innocent waſhes for the face, the beſt that ſhe ever met with."

Next, Helmont, in Vol. II. of his Ortus Medicinæ, p. 576, writes thus:

"Si nempe argentum vivum maceretur in magna aquæ communis quantitate. Hæc namque, etſi ne minimum quid de argento vivo in ſe ſorbeat, aut ad ſui naturam convertere queat: attamen ab argento vivo proprietatem, non item ſubſtantiam mutuat, ſic ut pota aqua ejuſmodi necet lumbricos univerſos, & aſcarides, exiſtentes etiam, quo potus iſte nunquam pervenit: quippe qui mox totus in lotium rapitur. Fitque aqua iſta contra lumbricos validior, ſi ſemel cum argento vivo bullierit. Sic unica uncia argenti vivi millies poterit menſuram aquæ inficere, attamen permanere in pondere, & proprietate, priſtinis, &c."

In Engliſh thus: If quickſilver be ſteeped in a large quantity of common water; for this water, although it doth not ſip up any of the quick-ſilver into itſelf, or is not able to convert it into its own nature, yet it borrows a property, not likewiſe a ſubſtance from the quick-ſilver, ſo as that ſuch water being drank, doth kill all kinds of worms, and aſcarides, alſo thoſe which exiſt where that drink never comes, becauſe it is that which is ſoon wholly ſnatched into urine. And that water becomes ſtronger againſt worms, if it ſhall once boil with the quick-ſilver: ſo one ſingle ounce of quick-ſilver ſhall be able a thouſand times to infect a meaſure of water, and yet remain in its ancient weight and property.

I quote this paſſage only for the fact, and not the theory, which is both fantaſtical and falſe; for the wheyiſh colour the quickſilver communicates to the water, proves the ſolution of ſome of its particles among thoſe of the water that is boiled thereon; and it is known to decreaſe in weight, and waſte alſo by many repeated boilings; ſo that it is ſtrange ſo eminent a chemiſt ſhould teach ſuch erroneous doctrine, and ſubſtitute an unintelligible and metaphyſical philoſophy, which not only betrays the chemical, but alſo chimerical enthuſiaſt, as he, his ſon, and even Paracelſus, all three certainly were.

Some Account of the Inſtitution, and preſent promiſing State, &c. of an Undertaking for uſefully employing Female Infants, eſpecially thoſe of the Poor, in the Blond and Black Silk Lace, and Thread Lace Manufacturies, &c. From Papers, &c. ſupplied by the Proprietors.

EVERY deſign which tends to promote the commercial intereſt of a country is worthy obſervation; but that, which at the time that it ſtrengthens the hands of induſtry, advances the temporal and eternal welfare of our fellow-creatures, in an eſpecial manner merits attention. How far the PROPRIETORS of this undertaking may be able to effect ſo ſalutary a work, is ſubmitted to the public.

They

They premiſe, that by many years aſſiduity, and the moſt diligent enquiry, they have diſcovered the minutiæ in preparing the materials, which conſtitute the ſuperior excellence of the foreign, and can indubitably prove—if properly encouraged,—that they will be able not only to vie with, but to exceed in beauty and fabrick, the goods manufactured in FRANCE; where many thouſands—women and children,—are conſtantly employed in this branch; and it is the FRENCH plan IMPROVED, which the PROPRIETORS of the LONDON manufactory have adopted. The advantages to be derived from it, are briefly theſe. The employing of female infants, eſpecially thoſe of the poor, from five years old and upwards, will introduce an early familiar habit of induſtry among the moſt indigent of the community, and lay a foundation for preſerving them from thoſe dangers and misfortunes to which,—from their ſex and ſituations,—they are ſo peculiarly expoſed.

Almoſt infinite are the number of perſons in the metropolis and its vicinage, whoſe children are too numerous to receive a maintenance, much leſs an education from them: what then muſt be the portion of the daughters of ſuch unhappy parents? Poor and ignorant as they are, and encompaſſed with every temptation, they are too often driven to deſtruction, long before their paſſions can have any ſhare in their guilt; and that principally, if not entirely, for want of employment ſuitable to their tender age; ſo as to become, in time, both in body and mind, the moſt wretched part of the community; firſt a ſnare to others, then a loathſome burthen to themſelves; and all the while a heartbreak and diſgrace to their wretched families. To remedy theſe evils, and if poſſible prevent them; to encourage induſtry, by employing a number of female infants, eſpecially of the poor; and to ſave ſo conſiderable an annual remittance to FRANCE, amounting perhaps to about four hundred thouſand pounds a year, is the intent of the preſent plan.

The moſt fertile ſoil, when neglected, produces only noxious weeds and venomous reptiles; but when the careful hand of induſtry manures and cultivates the earth, then vegetation rears its verdurous head; a rich increaſe repays the labourer's toil! It is the ſame thing with youth. The ſilk-worm, till the uſe of its labours came to be known, probably was neglected, and held in the ſame light with other reptiles; but, when the utility of its web was diſcovered, it obtained the attention of mankind, who ſoon found it their intereſt to promote that beautiful and profitable preſent of nature, the wealth flowing from which, gives ſupport and happineſs to millions.

But to return to our plan of employment: Did it tend to inſtill into the minds of its objects ſentiments beyond the ſphere in which providence hath placed them, did it propoſe a ſcheme of life repugnant to their ſubordinate ſituations, an unanſwerable objection might be made to it; but, founded as it is on a commercial and even moral ſyſtem, it not only inculcates the neceſſity of induſtry, but introduces the mind, at an early period when it is moſt ſuſceptible of impreſſion, to a familiar acquaintance with the oracles of truth. Religion is the grand

grand baſis of all moral and ſocial virtues, on the practice or neglect of which the diſtinction between the decent and profane, muſt be allowed to depend. Now, to cultivate that etherial principle in its various departments, to prune the luxuriant foliage, to nurture the engrafted ſcion, and lead it to perfection; to harmonize, in ſhort, the labour of the body in its different organs with the improvement of the mind, is, as much as any other, one of the important ends of this inſtitution; as will, it is humbly preſumed, evidently appear by the following ſtate of the manufacturies, eſtabliſhed in the year 1775. Two manufacturies have been opened, one at No. 14. in Mary-la-bone-Lane, and James's-Street, Weſtminſter; in which more than three hundred girls are employed, who give good evidence of their capacity and alacrity to learn; many, who have not been in there above ſix months, carrying home to their parents from five to ſeven ſhillings a month, with an expectation of more as they improve. They are beſides provided with books, and inſtructed in ſpelling, reading, and religious duties, at the expence of the PROPRIETORS.

Theſe manufacturies afford a pleaſing ſcene of induſtry, perhaps not to be equalled in England. The aſſiduity and improvement of the children in them exceed the expectations even of the PROPRIETORS themſelves, and prove that nothing but time and encouragement are wanting, to enable theſe little female artiſans to produce LACE ſuperior to the FRENCH.

Many girls, out of the fruits of their labour, have already been able to cloath themſelves, ſo as to make a more decent appearance than when admitted; they have moreover evidently acquired ſuch an habit of induſtry, and orderly behaviour, as to afford an unqueſtionable teſtimony, that the undertaking muſt, if properly ſupported, anſwer every end propoſed by it.

By a contrivance to keep the pillows from reſting on their laps, with the opportunity of ſtanding to the work, the objection to a conſtant ſitting, and the effects that ſuch a poſition might produce, are obviated.

The rooms in which the children work are ſpacious and lightſome, with ſtoves to keep them warm; and ventilators to let off the foul, or bring in freſh, air; and, moreover, the doors and windows are conſtantly kept open, when the weather will admit it, during the children's abſence. The hours of working are very moderate. But, what perhaps is of more conſequence than any other circumſtance, the greateſt care is taken in chuſing the miſtreſſes put over the children.

It is, further, the intention of the PROPRIETORS, in caſe they meet with ſufficient encouragement, to build or take a houſe for the purpoſe of harbouring ſuch children, as may have no parents, or only ſuch as it would be beſt not to leave them with. They ſhould likewiſe be glad to have it in their power to accommodate them with a chapel within doors, to avoid the danger that may attend their going out to perform their religious duties; in which caſe too, as in other charities, thoſe children, which ſhould be found to have good voices and

and good ears, might be inſtructed in muſic, and thereby enabled, not only to afford a rational entertainment to the public, but contribute to the ſupport of the inſtitution, which had brought to light, and cultivated talents, that might afterwards prove highly beneficial to themſelves.

Terms of ſubſcription are at the rate of two guineas for a ticket, which will procure the child bringing it an admittance to the manufactury neareſt to her habitation; there to be provided, by the PROPRIETORS, with all neceſſary materials, and likewiſe inſtructions for working up theſe materials, &c. all without any further expence to the ſubſcribers.

Thoſe children who are very young or infirm, as they will require more time for tuition, muſt be employed ſix months before they receive any allowance.

Thoſe who are ſeven years of age, and of courſe capable of receiving a more expeditious inſtruction, will receive pay at the end of three months.

Should any child be found unfit for the buſineſs within the firſt month, the ſubſcriber is to have notice of it, and will be at liberty to ſend another in her ſtead. Or if any child does not conform to the printed rules and orders, after the three months appropriated to the learning of the buſineſs, and during which time the children muſt conſtantly attend, unleſs ill, her ticket is forfeited, and ſhe can never again be admitted into the manufactury.

Her Moſt Gracious MAJESTY, their Royal Highneſſes the PRINCESSES, and the Princeſs AMELIA, with numbers of the NOBILITY, have condeſcended to viſit the manufactury, and expreſſed their approbation of the undertaking.

Thoſe LADIES who wiſh to encourage this laudable undertaking, in which the happineſs of ſo many are concerned, may be ſupplied with LACE by the Proprietors BRYANT and Co. at their WAREHOUSE, No. 161, near Stratford-place, in Oxford ſtreet; who have alſo eſtabliſhed manufacturies in the country on an entire new plan; and, to render their endeavours more extenſively uſeful, they are determined to diſpoſe of their laces, &c. upon ſuch reaſonable terms, as will, they hope, ſufficiently apologize for their ſelling only for preſent money, without their obſerving the impoſſibility of any private property being ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an undertaking on the footing of credit.

Such LADIES and GENTLEMEN, as are deſirous of ſeeing theſe MANUFACTURIES, may be accommodated with tickets for that purpoſe, at the above warehouſe. The time of VISITING for that at No. 14, Mary-la-bone-Lane, is every Monday, from ten to three o'clock; and for that in James's-Street, Weſtminſter, every Tueſday, at the ſame hours.

Among the very reſpectable ſubſcribers to this undertaking, the Proprietors have the honour and happineſs of counting, her Moſt Gracious MAJESTY; her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Royal; her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Auguſta; her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Amelia; his Grace, the Duke of Portland; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Beſborough; Lady Mary Cooke; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Argyle; her Grace, the Ducheſs of

of Northumberland; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Buccleugh; Counteſs Spencer; Lady Juliana Penn; Hon. T. Penn, Eſq; Lady Caroline Egerton; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Bridgewater; Lady Caroline Peachy; Lady Charlotta Finch; Lady Harriot Conyers; Lady Caroline Egerton; her Grace, the Ducheſs Dowager Beaufort; Lady Mary Iſabella Somerſett; Lady Elizabeth Compton; Lady Louiſa Connolly; Lady Dartrey; Lady Harriot Spencer; Lady Caroline Egerton; Hon. Mrs. Raby Vane; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Manchester; Lady Dowager Waltham; Sir Philip Gibbs, Bart. Lady Mayne; Lady Yonge; Lady Francis Burgoyne; Lady Dow. Galway; Lady Frances Fitzwilliam; Lady Bingham; Lady Dow. Albemarle; Lady Dow. Galway; Earl of Guilford; Lady Caroline Montague; the Hon. Mrs. Hatton; Lady Mayne; Lady Elliot Murray; the Rev. and Hon. Archdeacon Harley; Counteſs Gower; Lady Goodear; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Ancaſter; Lady Jones; Lady Langham; Lady Dow. Yonge; Lady Mary Cholmondeley; Lady Louiſa Leveſon Gower; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Mancheſter; the Hon. Mrs Hatton, Lady Caroline Egerton; the Hon. Mrs. How; Lady Viſcount Folkſtone; the Honourable Henry Fane; Marchioneſs of Tweedale; his Grace, the Duke of Northumberland; her Grace, the Ducheſs of Buccleugh.

An Addreſs to the Farmers of Great-Britain *on the great Advantages of ſetting Wheat, inſtead of ſowing it in the uſual way.*

SOME of you have often been amuſed with ſchemes of Huſbandry, by men of no practical knowledge, doubtleſs with a laudable intention, but who, for want of that grand requiſite, experience, could only engage men of reading, or ſpeculation, whoſe approbation alone could be the reward of the benevolent theoriſts. But what I have now to propoſe to you, was begun by a man of your own profeſſion, adopted by his neighbours, from a perſuaſion of its utility, and now, from repeated and experimental proofs, diffuſing itſelf thro' a large county. The practice I mean, is ſetting of wheat, which was firſt begun a few miles weſt of Norwich, by a little farmer, on about an acre of land. The ſucceſs was more than proportioned to his ideas, and was preſently adopted by many who had before made it a ſubject of ridicule. For four or five years its practice has progreſſively enlarged, and ſome of the largeſt farmers, as well as many public-ſpirited gentlemen of Norfolk, began, laſt ſeed-time, to practiſe it; and I have juſt received an information from one of the former, that he is perfectly aſſured he has a quarter per acre more in this mode, than by the ordinary practice.

In whatever light this practice is viewed, it is an additional conciliation to its being generally adopted. The firſt ſaving of ſeed is adequate to the extraordinary expence, which expence goes to labourers, women, and children, of courſe centers in the parochial benefit; the ſeed is lodged beyond the reach of vermin and froſt; the weeds from the ſpringing crop, are eaſier eradicated; the ears are larger, with but little inequality of ſize conſequent; no

dwarfiſh

dwarfiſh or unripe ears, a prevention to an early harveſt; the grain of an equal and fuller body, and ſpecifically weightier per buſhel than an equal ſeed ſown on a proportionally matured ſoil. With theſe various and experimented advantages, I cannot but earneſtly recommend it to the farmers of other counties; whence follows a recital of the mode of planting it, which is moſt advantageouſly practiſed on a clover ſtubble, or on thoſe lands where trefoil and graſs-ſeeds were ſown the ſpring preceding the laſt, and on which the cattle have paſtured during the laſt ſummer. Theſe grounds, after the uſual manuring, are once turned over by the plough, in an extended turf, or flag, about ten inches over, along which a man, who is called a dibbler, with two ſetting irons, ſomewhat thicker than ram-rods, enlarged near the end, and then terminating in a point, with caſes of wood at the other ends for handles; with theſe he ſteps backwards along the turf, and makes his holes about three or four inches aſunder, and one inch deep, into each of which holes the droppers (women, boys, or girls,) drop one, two, or three grains, but two are held preferable to one, or more; after which a gate, with branches of thorns run through its ledges or rails, drawn by a horſe, fills up the holes, and cloſes the operation.

Method of drying, combining, and preſerving all Sorts of Plants and Roots, for the purpoſe of affording plenty, cheap, wholeſome and palatable Food, for the Uſe of Man. Imparted by John George Eiſen, *Paſtor of* Torma, *in* Livonia, *and Fellow of the* Free Oeconomical Society *at* St. Peterſburgh.

ALL the methods of drying plants hitherto in uſe, are attended with the inconveniences of either ſcorching them, or allowing them to begin to periſh, or expoſing them to filth. The fundamental idea of my method of drying, is to avoid all theſe faults, and ſimply, to evaporate the watery parts out of the plants, leaving them in all other reſpects nearly as poſſible in their natural ſtate: for thus upon being put into water, they can eaſily recover, to a great degree, their original qualities, the moiſture readily re-entering the undiſturbed fibres. This is effected by applying to them a proper degree of heat, and continuing it till they are quite dry.

Moſt plants, but particularly thoſe which are white, muſt be put to dry immediately as they are gathered, without being ſuffered to wither in the leaſt. Several vegetables ſhould be ſcalded before they are dried, and theſe alſo ſhould be laid on the ſtove the inſtant the hot-water is poured off from them.

The drying ſtove may be built with horizontal layers of bricks about three feet high; upon it is fitted a frame in which coarſe lines are ſtretched acroſs; theſe ſupport the plants to be dried, which are laid upon a linen cloth. Over the ſtove is hung a ladder, upon which any plant taken from the ſtove before it was quite dry, that it might not be ſcorched, is laid in ſieves or frames, to complete the drying. And indeed many vegetables may be dried throughout

but as well upon this ladder as upon the ſtove itſelf.

Several plants can be dried in hot ſunſhine, without loſing any of their virtues, notwithſtanding the vulgar prejudice. Or they may be dried in a hot room, a malt-kiln, or the like. The half ſtoves in Ruſſia are very proper for the purpoſe.

To carry on this drying in a large way, long ſtoves ſhould be built with chambers above, into which the frames might be ſhoved from without to avoid the heat.—Such as they uſe on the Rhine for drying fruit would anſwer very well.

After the plants have been perfectly dried, in order to preſerve them better, and for the convenience of carriage, they are to be packed up as cloſe as poſſible in cartridge paper. Some may be put into the papers in the ſame dry ſtate as when they were taken from the ſtove. Others ſhould be damped a little by a few drops of water, in order to make them tough for packing, and theſe packets, after they are well made up, ſhould be laid upon the ſtove, till they are again perfectly dry —The packets which are intended for long voyages may be farther ſecured in caniſters or pitched caſks.

Theſe dried plants may be divided into three claſſes. Thoſe which are to be eaten as garden-ſtuff with meat. Thoſe which are to be uſed as ſallads—and thoſe which are to be employed for ſeaſoning.

A great many ſorts of garden-ſtuff, eſpecially all the cabbage kind, may, with great advantage, be ſowed before they are dried, and in that ſtate be employed for preparing the favourite Ruſſian porridge, called Tchtſcher, and many other very wholeſome antiſcorbutic diſhes, particularly at ſea or in camps.

Any thing in which they are to be dreſſed ſhould boil before they are put in: theſe ſorts ſhould be moiſtened with vinegar before they are made up in the packets.

The ſoured plants may be baked with different kinds of meal into biſcuits, adding dried onions, cummin ſeed, juniper berries, and ſome pepper. Such biſcuits are a great improvement to broth, and even very convenient for making of it, as they contain all the ingredients of the broth in one maſs together, except the fleſh and ſalt.

Theſe biſcuits diſſolved in water make a very refreſhing and wholeſome drink.

Many fruits, and alſo peaſe, beans, and the like, may be boiled to a pulp, and then that pulp dried like a freſh plant.

All vegetables, intended for ſeaſoning, are excellent, dried in this way. The morels particularly are vaſtly better than thoſe dried in the air only. Onions, and all plants of the onion kind, prepared by this method, make very fine ſeaſoning for moſt diſhes. The roots ſhould be ſliced acroſs, for longitudinal pieces dry very difficultly; when dry they are commonly powdered.

Many ſorts of the dried garden-ſtuff require, when they are to be dreſſed, a previous ſcalding, and they muſt not ſtay to cool after this, otherwiſe they become tough, but the water muſt be poured off while it is yet hot, and the plants immediately put into boiling water to be finally dreſſed. Some kinds, however, ſhould not be treated in this

this manner: Brocoli, in particular, loſes all its taſte by being thus ſcalded before it is boiled. But whether ſcalded or not, the water in which they are to be dreſſed ſhould always boil before they are put in.

Of the ſallads, ſome are to be put in tepid water till they have plumped up, and others in ſcalding water.—After they have grown cold again they are to be dreſſed with oil and vinegar, &c.—Powdered radiſh is to be ſoaked in cold water.

The ſcheme of drying all ſorts of eſculent plants is attended with the following advantages.

It increaſes the articles of food, both by introducing new plants, and by cauſing the old ones to be more uſed, becauſe they may be always at hand.

It furniſhes a very wholeſome diet, exactly calculated to prevent the bad effects of too much animal food, particularly of the ſallad kind, and to obviate the danger of bad air, bad water, and peſtilential diſeaſes.

It enables the ſeaman and the ſoldier to be conſtantly ſupplied with ſo eſſential an article to their health, by bringing it into a ſmall compaſs, and to a very moderate weight, ſo that it may always be carried with them, with very little additional trouble.

That nothing may be waſted, the refuſe of garden-ſtuff ſhould be dried in the oven after the bread hath been taken out. That this makes very good fodder for cattle is well known; but every one does not know this circumſtance, that if it is ſcalded and mixed up with a little meal, it proves good food for the poultry. What is gathered late in the autumn may be preſſed into a proper veſſel, and prevented from fermenting by freſh water kept upon it; by which means much corn may be ſaved.

The advantages that would ariſe to our ſeamen in time of war from having the above methods brought to common practice, are too obvious to need mentioning. It is therefore hoped, that if theſe hints furniſh any gentleman with a mode of experiment, that they will, for the benefit of ſo valuable a body of men as the ſailors, communicate their improvements. The time propoſed by Mr. Eiſen for his vegetables to keep, was from two to three years, and there is no doubt of the poſſibility of their doing ſo; but the ſame number of months would be ſufficient, as the length of voyages, and common cruizes, ſeldom exceed that time, and it is to be ſuppoſed that when frequent practice has rendered the method of preparing the different plants eaſy and familiar, that every country will furniſh the voyager a ſufficient freſh ſupply for his farther proceeding.

The pulp of fruits being likewiſe proper for the ſame mode of preſervation, will be found of great benefit in paſſing through the tropical climates, where ſeveral nutritive fruits are produced; and as in thoſe climates the blood is very apt to be broke down for want of a proper mixture of food, it is to be hoped that this mode of preſerving fruits and vegetables, may ſupply to the ſeaman and ſoldier ſuch an increaſe of wholeſome diet, as may enable them to paſs through the moſt noxious climate, without ſuffering

fering thoſe calamitous diſorders in the ſervice of their country, to which they have been too frequently expoſed.

J. B.

Simple and eaſy Method of making Hay. *From Eſſays relating to Agriculture and Rural Affairs; by a* Farmer.

And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of graſs, to grow upon a ſpot of ground, where only one grew before, would deſerve better of mankind, and do more eſſential ſervice to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together. SWIFT.

'INSTEAD of allowing the hay,' ſays he, 'to lie, as uſual in moſt places, for ſome days in the ſwathe after it is cut, and afterwards alternately putting it up into cocks and ſpreading it out, and tedding it in the ſun, which tends greatly to bleach the hay, exhales its natural juices, and ſubjects it very much to the danger of getting rain, and thus runs a great riſk of being made good for little, I make it a general rule, if poſſible, never to cut hay but when the graſs is quite dry; and then make the gatherers follow cloſe upon the cutters, putting it up immediately into ſmall cocks about three feet high each, when new put up, and of as ſmall a diameter as they can be made to ſtand with; always giving each of them a ſlight kind of thatching, by drawing a few handfuls of the hay from the bottom of the cock all around, and laying it lightly upon the top, with one of the ends hanging downward. This is done with the utmoſt eaſe and expedition; and, when it is once in that ſtate, I conſider my hay, as in a great meaſure out of danger: for, unleſs a violent wind ſhould ariſe immediately after the cocks are put up, ſo as to overturn them, nothing elſe can hurt the hay; as I have often experienced, that no rain, however violent, ever penetrates into theſe cocks but for a very little way. And, if they are dry put up, they never ſit together ſo cloſely as to heat; although they acquire, in a day or two, ſuch a degree of firmneſs, as to be in no danger of being overturned by wind after that time, unleſs it blows a hurricane.

In theſe cocks, I allow the hay to remain, until, upon inſpection, I judge, that it will keep in pretty large tramp-cocks, (which is uſually in one or two weeks, according as the weather is more or leſs favourable) when two men, each with a long-pronged pitch-fork, lift up one of theſe ſmall cocks between them with the greateſt eaſe, and carry them, one after another, to the place where the tramp-cock is to be built.* And, in this manner, they proceed over the field till the whole is finiſhed.

* 'If the hay is to be carried to any conſiderable diſtance, this part of the labour may be greatly abridged, by cauſing the carriers to take two long ſticks of a ſufficient ſtrength, and having laid them down by the ſmall cocks, parallel to one another, at the diſtance of one and a half, or two feet aſunder, let them lift three or four cocks, one after another, and place them carefully above ſticks, and then carry them all together, as if upon a hand-barrow, to the place where the large rick is to be built.'

The advantages that attend this method of making hay, are, that it greatly abridges the labour; as it does not require above the one half of the work that is neceſſary in the old method of turning and tedding it; that it allows the hay to continue almoſt as green as when it is cut, and preſerves its natural juices in the greateſt perfection: for, unleſs it be the little that is expoſed to the ſun and air upon the ſurface of the cocks, which is no more bleached than every ſtraw of hay ſaved in the ordinary way, the whole is dried in the moſt ſlow and equal manner that could be deſired: And, laſtly, that it is thus in a great meaſure ſecured from almoſt the poſſibility of being damaged by rain. This laſt circumſtance deſerves to be much more attended to by the farmer than it uſually is at preſent; as I have ſeen few who are ſufficiently aware of the loſs that the quality of their hay ſuſtains by receiving a ſlight ſhower after it is cut, and before it is gathered; the generality of farmers ſeeming to be very well ſatisfied, if they get in their hay without being abſolutely rotted; never paying the leaſt attention to its having been ſeveral times thoroughly wetted while the hay was making. But, if theſe gentlemen will take the trouble, at any time, to compare any parcel of hay that has been made perfectly dry, with another parcel from the ſame field, that has received a ſhower while in the ſwathe, or even a copious dew, they will ſoon be ſenſible of a very manifeſt difference between them; nor will their horſes or cattle ever commit a miſtake in chuſing between the two.

Eaſy Proceſs for making Ice, *without the Aſſiſtance of Snow, Nitre, or any other Kind of Salt; even cloſe to the Tropics, and in low Grounds; as practiſed in the* East-Indies. *In a Letter from Sir* Robert Barker, *F. R. S. to Dr.* Brockleſby.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

Spring-Gardens, March 2, 1775.

SIR,

THE proceſs of making ice in the East-Indies having become a ſubject of ſpeculation, I beg permiſſion to preſent you with the method by which it was performed at Allahabad, Mootegil, and Calcutta, in the East-Indies, lying between 25½ and 23½ degrees of north latitude. At the latter place I have never heard of any perſons having diſcovered natural ice in the pools or ciſterns, or in any waters collected in the roads; nor has the thermometer been remarked to deſcend to the freezing point; and at the former very few only have diſcovered ice, and that but ſeldom. But in the proceſs of making ice at theſe places it was uſual to collect a quantity every morning, before ſun-riſe (except in ſome particular kinds of weather, which I ſhall ſpecify in the ſequel), for near three months in the year: *viz.* from December till February.

The ice-maker belonging to me at Allahabab (at which place I principally attended to this enquiry) made a ſufficient quantity in the winter for the ſupply of the table during the ſummer ſeaſon. The methods he purſued were as follows: on a large open plain, three or four excavations were made, each about thirty feet ſquare and two deep; the bottoms of which were

ſtrewed

ſtrewed about eight inches or a foot thick with ſugar-cane, or the ſtems of the large Indian corn dried. Upon this bed were placed in rows, near to each other, a number of ſmall, ſhallow, earthen pans, for containing the water intended to be frozen. Theſe are unglazed, ſcarce a quarter of an inch thick, about an inch and a quarter in depth, and made of an earth ſo porous, that it was viſible, from the exterior part of the pans, the water had penetrated the whole ſubſtance. Towards the duſk of the evening, they were filled with ſoft water, which had been boiled *, and then left in the afore-related ſituation. The ice-makers attended the pits uſually before the ſun was above the horizon, and collected in baſkets what was frozen, by pouring the whole contents of the pans into them, and thereby retaining the ice, which was daily conveyed to the grand receptacle or place of preſervation, prepared generally on ſome high dry ſituation, by ſinking a pit of fourteen or fifteen feet deep, lined firſt with ſtraw, and then with a coarſe kind of blanketing, where it is beat down with rammers, till at length its own accumulated cold again freezes and forms one ſolid maſs. The mouth of the pit is well ſecured from the exterior air with ſtraw and blankets, in the manner of the lining, and a thatched roof is thrown over and whole. It is here neceſſary to remark, that the quantity of ice depends materially on the weather; and conſequently, it has ſometimes happened, that no congelation took place. At others, perhaps, half the quantity will be frozen; and I have often ſeen the whole contents formed into a perfect cake of ice: the lighter the atmoſphere, and the more clear and ſerene the weather, the more favourable for congelation, as a frequent change of winds and clouds are certain preventives. For I have frequently remarked, that after a very ſharp cold night, to the feel of the human body, ſcarce any ice has been formed; when at other times the night has been calm and ſerene, and ſenſibly warmer, the contents of the pans will be frozen through. The ſtrongeſt proof of the influence of the weather appears by the water in one pit being more congealed than the ſame preparation for freezing will be in other ſituations, a mile or more diſtant.

To reaſon phyſically upon this proceſs of making ice, it may be ſaid, that had the thermometer been ſuſpended in the air, free from every other body capable of communicating heat, in ſome parts of the night during the cold months of December, January, and February, the quickſilver might have deſcended to the freezing point, and that water, being artfully placed in a ſimilar ſituation, contained in thin porous pans, and ſupported by a ſubſtance little capable of communicating heat from the earth, might alſo freeze, and continue in a ſtate of congelation till the heat of the morning came on. I ſay this may be poſſible; but at the ſame time I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that, during my reſidence in that quarter of the globe, I never ſaw any natural ice. I can-

* See our Article of Natural Hiſtory, for this year, p. 68.

not declare that the thermometer has not deſcended to the freezing point during the night, becauſe I never made the neceſſary obſervations; but the water in every other ſituation, excepting in the pans, has not appeared to be in a freezing ſtate. The climate may probably contribute in ſome meaſure to facilitate the congelation of water, when placed in a ſituation free from the heat of the earth, ſince thoſe nights in which the greateſt quantity of ice has been produced, were, as I before obſerved, perfectly ſerene, the atmoſphere ſharp and thin, with very little dew after midnight. Many gentlemen, now in England, have made the ſame remarks, in their frequent viſits with me to the ice-pits. The ſpungy nature of the ſugar-canes, or ſtems of the Indian corn, appears well calculated to give a paſſage under the pans to the cold air; which, acting on the exterior parts of the veſſels, may carry off by evaporation a proportion of the heat. The porous ſubſtance of the veſſels ſeems equally well qualified for the admiſſion of the cold air internally; and their ſituation being full a foot beneath the plane of the ground, prevents the ſurface of the water from being ruffled by any ſmall current of air, and thereby preſerves the congealed particles from diſunion. Boiling the water is eſteemed a neceſſary preparative to this method of congelation; but how far this may be conſonant with philoſophical reaſoning, I will not preſume to determine.

From theſe circumſtances it appears, that water, by being placed in a ſituation free from receiving heat from other bodies, and expoſed in large ſurfaces to the air, may be brought to freeze when the temperature of the atmoſphere is ſome degrees above the freezing point on the ſcale of *Fahrenheit*'s thermometer; and by being collected and amaſſed into a large body, is thus preſerved, and rendered fit for freezing other fluids, during the ſevere heats of the ſummer ſeaſon. In effecting which there is alſo an eſtabliſhed mode of proceeding; the ſherbets, creams, or whatever other fluids are intended to be frozen, are confined in thin ſilver cups of a conical form, containing about a pint, with their covers well luted on with paſte, and placed in a large veſſel filled with ice, ſaltpetre, and common ſalt, of the two laſt an equal quantity, and a little water to diſſolve the ice and combine the whole. This compoſition preſently freezes the contents of the cups to the ſame conſiſtency of our ice-creams, &c. in Europe; but plain water will become ſo hard as to require a mallet and knife to break it. Upon applying the bulb of a thermometer to one of theſe pieces of ice, thus frozen, the quickſilver has been known to ſink two or three degrees below the freezing point: ſo that from an atmoſphere apparently not mild enough to produce natural ice, ice ſhall be formed, collected, and a cold accumulated, that ſhall cauſe the quickſilver to fall even below the freezing point. The promiſing advantages of ſuch a diſcovery could alone induce the Aſiatic (whoſe principal ſtudy is the luxuries of life, and this may well be called ſuch, when I have often regaled with ices when the thermometer has ſtood at 112°) to make an attempt of profiting by it,

ſo very ſhort a duration of cold during the nights in theſe months, and by a well-timed and critical contrivance of ſecuring this momentary degree of cold, they have procured to themſelves a comfortable refreſhment as a recompence, to alleviate, in ſome degree, the intenſe heats of the ſummer ſeaſon, which, in ſome parts of India, would be ſcarce ſupportable, but by the aſſiſtance of this and many other inventions.

Accompanying I beg leave to offer you ſome obſervations, I made in the year 1767, in the province of Allahabad, on the temperature of the weather, which will ſerve to elucidate the extraordinary and ſudden changes incident to that part of Aſia. Alſo ſome remarks on the weather during my voyage to England, particularly ſpecifying the ſituation we were in when the obſervations were made.

I am, Sir, with regard,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

ROBERT BARKER.

ANTIQUITIES.

Certain Objections to the Veracity of the Moſaic Hiſtory, *with Regard to the Age of the Earth, drawn from the Appearances of ſome Parts of* Mount Ætna, *in Mr.* Brydone's *Tour through* Sicily *and* Malta, *refuted from the Changes allowed to have happened in other Parts of the ſame Mountain.*

IN Mr. Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, vol. i. p. 123, 2d edit. we meet with the following paſſage:

"The laſt lava we croſſed before our arrival there (at Jaci Reale) is of a vaſt extent; I thought we never ſhould have done with it; it certainly is not leſs than ſix or ſeven miles broad, and appears in many places to be of an enormous depth.

"When we came near the ſea, I was deſirous to ſee what form it had aſſumed in meeting with the water. I went to examine it, and found it had driven back the waves for upwards of a mile, and had formed a large black high promontory, where before it was deep water. This lava, I imagined from its barrenneſs, for it is as yet covered with a very ſcanty ſoil, had run from the mountain only a few ages ago; but was ſurprized to be informed by Signor Recupero, the hiſtoriographer of *Ætna*, that this very lava is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, to have burſt from *Ætna* in the time of the ſecond Punic war, when Syracuſe was beſieged by the Romans. A detachment was ſent from Taurominum to the relief of the beſieged. They were ſtopped on their march by this ſtream of lava, which having reached the ſea before their arrival at the foot of the mountain, had cut off their paſſage, and obliged them to return by the back of *Ætna*, upwards of 100 miles about. His authority for this, he tells me, was taken from inſcriptions on Roman monuments found on this lava, and that it was likewiſe well aſcertained by many of the old Sicilian authors. Now, as this is about 2000 years ago, one would have imagined, if lavas have a regular progreſs in becoming fertile fields, that this muſt long ago have become at leaſt arable: this, however, is not the caſe; and it is as yet only covered with a very ſcanty vegetation, and incapable of producing either corn or vines. There are, indeed, pretty large trees growing in the crevices, which are full of a rich earth; but, in all probability, it will be ſome hundred years yet, before there

there is enough of it to render this land of any uſe to the proprietors."

On this foundation Signor Recupero endeavours, p. 140, to eſtabliſh the great antiquity of our earth.

"Near to a vault, which is now 30 feet below ground, and has probably been a burial-place, there is a draw-well, where there are ſeveral ſtrata of lavas, with earth to a conſiderable thickneſs over the ſurface of each ſtratum. Recupero has made uſe of this as an argument to prove the great antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain: for, if it requires two thouſand years or upwards to form but a ſcanty ſoil on the ſurface of a lava, there muſt have been more than that ſpace of time betwixt each of the eruptions which have formed theſe ſtrata. But what ſhall we ſay of a pit they ſunk near to Jaci of a great depth? They pierced through ſeven diſtinct lavas, one under the other, the ſurfaces of which were parallel, and moſt of them covered with a thick bed of rich earth. Now, ſays he, the eruption which formed the loweſt of theſe lavas, if we may be allowed to reaſon from analogy, muſt have flowed from the mountain at leaſt 14,000 years ago.

"Recupero tells me he is exceedingly embarraſſed by theſe diſcoveries in writing the hiſtory of the mountain; that Moſes hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for enquiry; for that really he has not the conſcience to make his mountain ſo young, as that prophet makes the world."

Having given the two paſſages in the words of Mr. Brydone, I ſhall now make a few remarks upon them.

The great eruptions of *Ætna*, without one of which a century ſeldom paſſes, often produce conſiderable alterations on the coaſt*, to the extent of thirty miles from the ſummit of the mountain. What evidence then have we, that a lava, which flowed in the time of the ſecond Punic war, has not been totally changed, or overwhelmed by other lavas in ſucceeding times? Signor Recupero refers us for the identity of the promontory, from which he reaſons, to Roman monuments found upon it, and to the teſtimony of old Sicilian authors. But till the age, the inſcriptions, and even the reality of the monuments, are aſcertained, we cannot admit them as proofs of the point in queſtion. And as the earlieſt of theſe old Sicilian authors, as they are called, probably lived thirteen or fourteen hundred years after Diodorus Siculus, their teſtimony comes too late to ſatisfy us, that on a coaſt ſo ſubject to changes, a lava, which he is ſaid to mention, ſtill ſubſiſts in its original form.

Here, then, is a great failure of evidence with regard to the fact, on which the whole of this reaſoning from analogy depends. But what if we allow the fact as ſtated by Signor Recupero? Will it follow as a juſt conſequence from this inſtance, that we can be aſſured of the time requiſite to clothe another lava with ſoil, if that other lava is very differently ſituated? The lava in queſtion, as Mr. Brydone deſcribes it, "has driven back the waves for upwards of a mile, and formed a large black *high* promontory, where before it

* Brydone, Vol. I. p. 274.

was deep water." It is therefore expoſed to the ſpray of the ſea; it is expoſed to all the violence of ſtormy winds and rains; which will not eaſily ſuffer any ſoil to reſt and faſten, but will diſperſe and carry it down, either into the ſea, or upon the lower grounds. The tops of mountains retain only a thin moſſy coat of earth, or continue bare and barren from old time, while the vallies beneath are enriched at their expence. And ſomething of this ſort may be obſerved on this very promontory: "There are large trees growing in the crevices, which are full of a rich earth."

The different ſtate of the heights and crevices of this lava points out to us what will naturally happen in different ſituations. The place where the ſeven lavas are accumulated, is, near to Jaci Reale, to which Mr. Brydone deſcended from the *Caſtagno de cento cavalli*.* It lies, therefore, I preſume, in low ground, on which the earth waſhed by rain from the eminences would ſettle, and where the aſhes of the volcano would remain: for *Ætna* ſometimes ſends forth great ſhowers of aſhes, which cover the adjacent country to a conſiderable depth. At firſt theſe aſhes render the land barren, but afterwards greatly fertilize it. "I have obſerved,"† ſays Mr. Brydone, "in ſome places the richeſt ſoil to the depth of 5 or 6 feet and upwards, and ſtill below that nothing but rocks of lava." Perhaps, under different circumſtances, it may require a different time to mellow theſe aſhes into ſoil; but in no caſe have we reaſon to ſuppoſe it a proceſs of 2000 years. It is not quite ſeventeen hundred years ſince the city of Pompeii was buried under the matter thrown out by Veſuvius; and upon this ſpot there is a good thickneſs of fruitful mold, in which the vine flouriſhes and has probably flouriſhed for centuries paſt. Strabo relates,‡ that *Ætna* ſometimes covers the country about Catania with a great depth of aſhes. The aſhes, he ſays, are detrimental for a ſeaſon [πρὸς καιρὸν], but afterwards highly beneficial to the land. We can hardly ſuppoſe the expreſſion *for a ſeaſon* to mean more than two or three centuries at moſt. And I conclude, Mr. Brydone did not intend to ſuggeſt an idea of longer duration, when he tells us, that the country near Hybla ‖ "was ſo celebrated for its fertility, and particularly for its honey, that it was called *Mel Paſſi*, till it was overwhelmed by the lava of *Ætna*; and having then become totally barren, by a kind of pun its name was changed to *Mal Paſſi*. In a ſecond eruption by a ſhower of aſhes from the mountain, it *ſoon* reaſſumed its ancient beauty and fertility; and for many years was called *Belle Paſſi*." If, then, the aſhes which fell upon the lava, that had deſtroyed *Mel Paſſi*, *ſoon* ripened into a fertile ſoil, may we not ſuppoſe the very ſame thing to have happened upon ſome at leaſt of the ſeven lavas near Jaci Reale? And if it happened but upon ſome of them, it marrs the argument for the high antiquity of the moun-

* Brydone, Vol. I. p. 122. † Ibid. p. 125.
‡ Strabo's Geography, B. VI. p. 413, edit. Amſterdam, fol.
‖ Brydone, Vol. I. p. 172.

tain.

tain. A lava is caſt out from the crater into the valley or plain; after a while the ſame crater ſends forth upon it a mighty ſhower of aſhes, which are mixed with the earth waſhed from the ſides of the hill, and yield a rich mold. Upon this mold another lava is poured, and a new accumulation of ſoil ſucceeds by the ſame means as before. Which proceſs, according to the account of Strabo, and of Mr. Brydone himſelf, we may well conceive to be completed in three hundred years, and the interſtices of theſe ſeven lavas to have been ſupplied with good earth in two thouſand years, the time aſſumed as neceſſary for each of them. For why are we to eſtimate what is produced on a plain, by what may have happened on an expoſed high promontory? With regard to increaſe of ſoil, what analogy is there between them? It is poſſible, I ſay, that theſe lavas may have been formed in two thouſand years; and the poſſibility is ſufficient for my purpoſe: for I do not contend, that they were actually formed in ſo ſhort a time. We may allow the loweſt of them to be four, or, if you will, near ſix thouſand years old: for *Ætna* may have burned from remote ages, fed by thoſe ſubterraneous fires, which ſome ſuppoſe coæval, or nearly coæval with our earth. But, if *the Philoſopher of Mount Ætna* will venture on ſuch uncertain grounds to carry its antiquity ſo far back,

"and incautious tread
On fires with faithleſs aſhes overſpread."

he may expoſe his own vanity and raſhneſs, but he will not hurt the credit of Moſes, or affect the chronology built on his writings.

Of the little Dependence to be placed on the Deſcription of Eclipſes *left us in Ancient Hiſtory, towards aſcertaining their Dates, and thoſe of the cotemporary and contiguous Events, by aſtronomical Calculations, independent of the Acceleration of the Moon's mean Motion.*

WHEN books are every day multiplying in ſuch numbers, it were to be wiſhed, that, at leaſt, authors of reputation would be cautious in advancing any thing with confidence, which is not well ſupported by ſolid arguments; as, otherwiſe, it neceſſarily introduces an additional book to refute them, or elſe their errors muſt be ſuffered to gain ground and paſs current in the world. I cannot but lament an imperfection of this kind in Coſtard's Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, which is now under my peruſal; for, when he comes to apply the calculations of eclipſes to the improvement of chronology, he ſays, with great confidence, "that nothing can fix the date of antient tranſactions with ſo much accuracy as eclipſes of the ſun and moon." He proceeds to give us ſome examples of their pretended great uſe; but, unfortunately, it may be contended, that the examples he produces are ſo far from being fixed accurately by him or any others in this method, that I can venture to ſay he is not miſtaken in leſs than ten years, and poſſibly fifteen, in his very firſt example, if not in moſt of the remaining ones. Nay, I ſcarcely know of one inſtance in which the calculation of eclipſes has been of any ſervice in chronology, notwithſtanding all its boaſted pretences; and, if we attend, the reaſon will appear evi-

dent.

dent. Not only eclipſes of the moon, but even of the ſun, viſible at the ſame place, ſometimes happen ſo frequently in the courſe of half a dozen years, that one is at a loſs which eclipſe to ſelect as that mentioned by any ancient author to have been coincident with ſome remarkable event. For inſtance, M. de la Lande has calculated three ſolar eclipſes, almoſt central, and viſible in the greateſt part of Europe, between the years of 236 and 240 incluſively *: how can we judge which of theſe was the eclipſe mentioned to have happened at the acceſſion of Gordian to the empire, unleſs ancient authors had been more particular, and recorded the ſeaſon of the year, month, time of day, or other circumſtances neceſſary to identify the eclipſe ſpoken of. We ſee, then, that we muſt ſtill have recourſe to hiſtoric dates, in order to fix on what year Gordian aſcended the throne between 236 and 240, and even the very time of year, before we can know which of the above eclipſes was the firſt in his reign; and even then we are not certain, that it happened within the limits of his firſt year. There ſeems no reaſon, then, for Mr. Coſtard to ſpeak with little reverence of what he calls *technical chronology*, by comparing Olympiads, Conſular Faſti, and Athenian Archons, (p. 236). On the contrary, if he had attended more to this technical chronology, he would have found he was in an error of 10 years at leaſt in his firſt example, wherein he ſays, "the concluſion of the war between the Lydians and Medes is fixed, by the ſolar eclipſe foretold by Thales, to the year before Chriſt 603." Calvitius, by calculation of eclipſes, pretended to have fixed the ſame event to the year 605, Uſher to 601, Petavius to 597, Bunting to 586. What can prove more plainly the futility of pretending to ſettle chronology by eclipſes alone, when within the ſpace of twenty years there were five ſolar eclipſes, each of which has equal pretenſions to be that foretold by Thales? Nay, ſtill farther, there are ſtrong reaſons to think, that every one of theſe authors are miſtaken, and that the event happened ten or fifteen years more early than the earlieſt date of theſe calculators. I wiſh, therefore, that ſome of your aſtronomic correſpondents would aſſiſt me in the taſk of proving this, by diſcovering, whether, between the years 610 and 620, any conſiderable eclipſe of the ſun was viſible in Aſia Minor. This is a point of great importance towards ſettling many dates, not only in prophane chronology, but alſo in that of the Jewiſh ſcriptures, and is a new field of enquiry.

Mr. Coſtard mentions another event fixed by him by means of an eclipſe, an account of which is inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. As I have not ſeen this tract, I can only ſay at preſent, that, by the reſult of his arguments, I ſuſpect that they are not better founded than thoſe employed in the foregoing one. He mentions alſo another diſſertation, written by

* Vid. laſt edition of *L'Art de verifier les Dates, par les Benedictins*, wherein is a catalogue of all the eclipſes of the ſun and moon viſible in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, ſince the birth of Chriſt, all calculated by Monſ. de la Lande himſelf.

him,

him, concerning the eclipſe when Xerxes marched againſt Greece: I ſhould be glad to be informed of the title of this, and where it can be procured.

I ſhall reſerve the proofs of what I have advanced for ſome other opportunity; and ſhall only add now, that, beſide the obſtacles to the application of eclipſes to chronology ariſing from the cauſes above mentioned, viz. the frequency even of ſolar eclipſes in a few ſucceſſive years at particular periods, and the want of ſufficient circumſtances recorded by ancient hiſtorians, to identify the eclipſe alluded to, there are other obſtacles ariſing from the difficulty to aſcertain the quantity of the eclipſe in ſuch diſtant times, or even the year in which it happened, on account of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion: but as Mr. Coſtard is himſelf ſenſible of theſe, I ſhall leave them to the aſtronomers; by ſome of whom I ſhould be glad to be informed, whether the degree of this acceleration, and the uniformity of it, be ſufficiently determined, ſo as not to cauſe the error of a year in any diſtant time before Chriſt in calculating any eclipſe. S.

Objections to the Authority of an Apamean *Medal, produced by Mr.* Bryant, *in his Analyſis of Heathen Mythology, to prove that the Accounts related in the Old Teſtament of the antient Patriarchs gave Riſe to a great Part of the Heathen Mythology; with Mr.* Bryant's *Refutation of theſe Objections, extracted from his Pamphlet, entitled, "A Vindication of the* Apamean *Medal, and of the Inſcription* ΝΩΕ. *Together with an Illuſtration of another Coin, ſtruck at the ſame Place, in Honour of the Emperor* Severus. *By the Author of the Analyſis of Ancient Mythology."*

From the Gentleman's Magazine.

OBJECTIONS.

IT generally happens, that framers of whimſical ſyſtems (who attempt to reduce a thouſand anomalies to ſome few general principles) do, in the midſt of their zealous purſuits, commit ſome extravagancies, which caſt a ridicule upon the reſt of their honeſt labours. I ſhall not trouble you with obſolete examples of this truth, but only remark, that, in a modern work, which the ſpecimen preſented in your Magazine induced me to read, viz. Bryant's late work on Ancient Mythology, one of that learned writer's chief principles is, that the accounts related in the Old Teſtament of the ancient patriarchs, &c. gave riſe to a great part of the Heathen mythology. I had thought this notion ſo ſufficiently exploded, as never to have been maintained again. Let us ſee how well Mr. Bryant ſupports it. He pretends that, among the cities in Aſia, there were various remains and traditions concerning Noah's ark; in particular, that ſeveral coins are ſtill extant, whereon Noah's ark and name are inſcribed, of which he preſents us with one, containing, on the reverſe, a ſquare cheſt with two human figures incloſed in it, their heads only appearing above the cheſt. This is plainly Noah's ark, he ſays; nay, even the very name of Νωε, in Greek letters, is inſcribed on it. Alas! I wiſh, with Feſtus to St. Paul, that learning has not made him mad; for, behold, this pretended name of Noah is only

only the remainder of the city's name Αλεξανδρεων, which is inſcribed as the legend round the coin; but there not being room for the three laſt letters to be continued round the edge of the coin, the artiſt engraved them on the cheſt in the middle of the coin, in a reverſed manner, as exhibited in the margin.



One ſhould have thought, that this would have eaſily occurred to Mr. Bryant himſelf; ſince he preſents us with another coin, exhibiting the like cheſt, with the letters N H T Ω N inſcribed on the cheſt, which he acknowledges, in the note, to be the continuation of the city's name where the coin was ſtruck, the former half of which is inſcribed round the edge of the coin as before, with this only difference, that the reading of the letters is not reverſed as in the foregoing caſe; and both together form Μαγ-νητων.—Of this coin alſo ſee the following repreſentation:



Mr. Bryant's *Refutation of the foregoing Objections.*

"The gentleman, Mr. Bryant ſays, to whom I am obliged for theſe animadverſions, writes with great ſpirit, and I make no doubt is a perſon of learning: as ſuch I ſhall accordingly addreſs him. The true purport of the inſcription appears ſo plain, that I cannot ſubſcribe either to the ſtrictures of my anonymous opponent, or to the judgment of others who may be of the ſame opinion.

"We find that the miſtake, of which I am ſuppoſed to be guilty, conſiſts in this: the letters N. Ω. E. which I have imagined to compoſe the name of the patriarch, are ſaid to be a plural termination. They are ſuppoſed to belong to the imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, which, when compleated, is thought to be ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, the name of the people by whom the medal was ſtruck. Before I give an anſwer to this aſſertion, I will refer the reader to a true engraving of this coin, the ſame which I have exhibited before. [See it above.] He will here perceive an ark upon the waters, with an open roof, containing two perſons, a man and a woman, of which the latter has upon her head

head a veil. Two, more, who are probably the ſame perſons repeated, ſeem to be juſt got on ſhore; and, with their hands uplifted, to witneſs ſome extraordinary emotion. Above ſits a dove, and over-againſt it another in the air, which ſeems to be returning towards the machine, and holds a ſmall branch in its bill." A more perfect deſcription is alſo quoted from Falconerius. Mr. Bryant then proceeds: "Every circumſtance above enumerated relates to the patriarch, who is plainly pointed out by the name ΝΩΕ." And to our correſpondent's objection of its being "a mere termination of a preceding word," he gives this anſwer:

. . . . "If the term ΝΩΕ were an appendage to the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ in the circular part of the inſcription, it would have been brought nearer, and ſtood almoſt within the point of contact; but it is placed upon the farther ſquare of the machine, and too near the center of the coin to have any ſuch connection. In the next place, the arrangement of the letters would have been different, if they had the reference ſuppoſed. For, if we were to accede to the notion above, we muſt ſuppoſe that the two parts of the ſame name were written βυστροφηδον, or in contrary directions. Now I do not remember an inſtance of this upon any Grecian coin; and ſhould an example be found, it would hardly be ſo late as the time of the Roman empire, and the reign of Philip. But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is the poſition of the letters N and E, which prove, to a demonſtration, that the elements are not to be read backwards; for had they been the termination of the word ſpoken of, they would have ſtood the contrary way, ΝΩΞ. Falconerius was too curious and experienced to be impoſed upon; and he had for ſome time ſuſpicions about this part of the inſcription. He thought that poſſibly the letters ΝΩΕ might be the remains of the word ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, written ΝΩΕΜΑΠΑ. But he ſoon gave up his ſurmiſes; as the poſition of the letters N and E could not be made to correſpond with this retrogade way of reading: nor was there room for ſuch a word to have been engraved in the ſpace allotted for it. Indeed, it would have been unneceſſary and redundant, as it is found immediately expreſſed below.

"Laſtly, if any thing more be wanting to detect the falſe reading, it is to aſcertain the true; which, one would imagine, could not be long a ſecret to a perſon acquainted with medals. The imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, did not relate to a people, but to a perſon ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: and this will paſt controverſy appear, if with the ſmalleſt degree of attention we examine the courſe of the engraving. The inſcription is manifeſtly this, as Falconerius rightly obſerves, ΕΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. *This medal was ſtruck, when Marcus Aurelius Alexander was a ſecond time chief Pontiff of the Apameans.* This may be ſatisfactorily proved from another coin deſcribed by Falconerius, and ſtruck by the Apameans. It has a different figure, but the circular inſcription is nearly the ſame, only the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ is here expreſſed with a zeta, and quite at length, without any break; ſo that it authenticates the true reading in the coin above, though it varies a

ſmall

ſmall degree in the orthography." . . .

For the illuſtration of the coin of Severus, (which follows) we muſt refer to the pamphlet. Towards the concluſion, Mr. Bryant reſumes the ſubject more immediately under conſideration, with obſerving, "Had it been out of my power to have aſcertained what I have undertaken to prove, yet it would have been, I think, of little conſequence, even if the name had been totally eraſed: for the hiſtory would ſtill ſpeak for itſelf, and in characters too plain to be controverted. How many coins are there, and baſſo-relievos, where a gigantic perſon is repreſented with a club and a lion's ſkin, and engaged with a many-headed ſerpent? Had a writer mentioned that he had ſeen the name Ηρακλης inſcribed upon it; and another of better eyes, and more ſagacity, had afterwards found out that it was not Ηρακλης, the hero, but Ηρακλειδης, Heraclides the ſculptor, who was there mentioned, what would it all amount to? The hiſtory ſtill would remain in legible characters, independent of the inſcription. Thus, take away the letters ΝΩΕ, or aſſign them to a different purpoſe; yet the hiſtorical part of the coin can neither be obliterated nor changed. The ark upon the waters, and the perſons in the ark, will ſtill remain; the dove, too, and the olive will be ſeen; and the great event to which they allude, will be too manifeſt to be miſtaken." Though our author's other arguments have their weight, this laſt, we think, is concluſive; as certainly thoſe who would eraſe the name of Noah, muſt alſo deny the alluſion to the deluge; and if ſo, it behoves them to ſhew what other event is intended by the emblems. Our author farther proves, that the whole region to which theſe coins are aſcribed, was replete with Arkite memorials. But on theſe we cannot enlarge, ſatisfied that he has obviated "an unmerited reflection," and vindicated, as well as explained, "ſome of the moſt curious coins that were ever produced to the world."

By an annexed advertiſement, it appears, that the third volume of Ancient Mythology will be completed in December.

Some Account of a Latin Diſſertation, entitled, "D. Paulus Apoſtolus in mari quod nunc Venetus ſinus dicitur naufragus, et Melitæ Dalmatenſis inſulæ poſt naufragium hoſpes, &c." i. e. "An Eſſay in which it is proved that the Shipwreck of St. Paul, *mentioned in the 27th and 28th Chapters of the Acts, happened on the Coaſt of the Iſland of* Méléda, *in* Dalmatia, *and not on the Coaſts of the Iſle of* Malta. *By* Ignatio Giorgi, a Benedictine *of the Congregation of* Méléda; *with a ſhort Treatiſe on the Doge of* Malta." *Publiſhed at* Venice *in* 1730.

IN this work, Father Giorgi ſhews, 1. That the iſland of Méléda, above mentioned, which is in the Adriatic, not far from Raguſa, was alſo called Melita, in the time of St. Luke; and that the iſland of Malta is at a great diſtance from what is now called the Adriatic, nor was ever, by any ancient writer, ſuppoſed to extend near ſo far. 2. That the tempeſtuous wind *Euroclydon*,

don, (which our author demonſtrates to have been not the N. E. (*Euro aquilo*) but the S. E.) muſt have driven the ſhip not to Malta, but into the Adriatic; and that in the ſame manner Acrotatus, a Lacedæmonian, going from Peloponneſus to Sicily, and the Jewiſh hiſtorian, Joſephus, ſailing, like St. Paul from Judea to Rome, were both driven into the Adriatic. 3. That the name of Barbarians, twice given to the natives by St. Luke, is extremely applicable to the inhabitants of Illyria, but by no means ſo to the Greeks, who inhabited Malta; a circumſtance which has embarraſſed Lightfoot, Bochart, Cellarius, and all other commentators. 4. That there is no ſuch quick-ſand as that on which St. Paul's ſhip was loſt, at Malta, but there are many towards the ſouth point of Méléda. At the former, near *la caſa di S. Paolo*, there is, indeed, a rock, on which it is pretended the veſſel ſtruck, but this, the hiſtory ſhews, was not the caſe. A ſtill more convincing proof that the apoſtle was not at Malta is ſuggeſted by his having been bit there by a venomous ſerpent, as there are none ſuch in all that iſland, and even the earth of it is a ſpecific againſt the bites of ſerpents. And as to St. Paul's having wrought a miracle to deliver that iſland for ever from venomous animals, a miracle of ſuch importance would, ſurely, have been recorded by St. Luke, as well as the cure of Publius, and others, or as the ſign which the ſhip carried. But, on the contrary, the bite of vipers is remarkably malignant in Illyria, and particularly in the iſland of Méléda. To ſum up all, Méléda is leſs known than Malta; it bears the ſame name; to eſtabliſh the commonly received opinion, the Adriatic gulph muſt be made to extend to Malta; St. Paul's ſhip muſt be driven to the South by a South-Eaſt wind; he muſt find barbarians in an iſland peopled by Greeks and Romans; the prow of his ſhip muſt have ſtruck in a rock; and laſtly, he muſt be bitten by a viper in a country where there are none.

This diſſertation, curious as it is, I ſhould not now have recapitulated, were it not for the following remarkable circumſtance, viz. that the very learned Mr. Bryant, in his Obſervations and Enquiries relating to various Parts of Antient Hiſtory (publiſhed in 1767), has two Diſſertations, 1. On the wind Euroclydon; 2. On St. Paul's ſhipwreck; in both of which, particularly the laſt, he has ſupported the ſame opinions by the ſame arguments as M. Giorgi, as your readers may ſee, by referring to Mr. Bryant's works. But this only proves, that two men of genius and learning may adopt the ſame mode of reaſoning without either borrowing from the other, and thus be both original, as it is well known that Mr. Bryant never ſaw or heard of M. Giorgi's performance before the publication of his own, and, if he had, would probably have ſuppreſſed it.

Yours, &c.

CRITO.

Account of the Origin of Wakes *and* Fairs. *From the Reverend Mr.* Whitaker's *Hiſtory of* Manchester.

BEFORE

BEFORE a building could be uſed for divine offices, it was required to be conſecrated by the biſhop, formerly ſequeſtered from all ſecular applications, and dedicated to the purpoſes of public devotion. And every church at its conſecration received the name of ſome particular perſonage, who was celebrated in the written annals or the traditionary hiſtory of Chriſtianity, and whoſe name had been admitted into that great roll of eccleſiaſtical fame, the calendar of the church. This cuſtom was practiſed among the Roman Britons; and they had the church of St. Martin at Canterbury, and that of St. Michael in Mancheſter. It was alſo continued among the Saxons, and the Saxon churches in York, London, and Mancheſter, were diſtinguiſhed by the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Mary. And, in the council which was held at Cealchythe in 816, the name of the denominating ſaint was expreſsly required to be inſcribed on the altars, aud alſo on the walls of the church or a tablet within it.

The feaſt of this ſaint became of courſe the feſtival of the church. And the connection betwixt the church and ſaint being enhanced by the fancifulneſs of ſuperſtition, and the former ſuppoſed to be under the patronage of the latter, the pariſhioners would naturally conſider the day of their ſpiritual guardian with particular reſpect, and celebrate it with peculiar feſtivity. This conduct would as naturally be encouraged by the civil and eccleſiaſtical governors, becauſe it ſubſtituted innocent and Chriſtian feſtivals in the room of the impious and idolatrous anniverſaries of heatheniſm. The common people, generally in all countries as much attached to the feſtivals, as they are devoted to the principles, of any religion, finding their annual feaſts return as before, and being now able to join in them without guilt, would be the ſooner weaned from their idolatrous attachments. And this would be the natural operation of the affections, equally on the continent and in the iſland, and equally among the Britons and Saxons. Thus at the firſt commencement of Chriſtianity among the Jutes of Kent, and with a view to promote the converſion of them and the reſt, Gregory prudently adviſed what had been previouſly done among the Britons, Chriſtian feſtivals to be inſtituted in the place of the idolatrous, and the ſuffering-day of the martyr whoſe relicks were repoſited in the church, or the day on which the building was actually dedicated, to be the eſtabliſhed feaſt of the pariſh. Both were appointed and obſerved. And they were obſerved and appointed as diſtinct feſtivals. Biſhop Kennet indeed, in his ſenſible account of our wakes, has invariably confounded them, and attributed to the day of dedication what is true only concerning the ſaint's day. But they were fully diſtinguiſhed at firſt among the Saxons, as appears from the laws of the Confeſſor, where the *Dies Dedicationis* or *Dedicatio* is repeatedly diſcriminated from the *Propria Feſtivitas Sancti*, or *Celebratio Sancti*. And they remained equally diſtinct to the reformation, the dedication-day in 1536 being ordered for the future to be kept on the firſt Sunday in October, and the feſtival of the patron ſaint to be celebrated no longer.

But

But the former could never have been obſerved by the people with the ſame regard as the latter. That was merely a feaſt commemorative of the church's commencement. And this was one previouſly kept by the nation in general, and the day of their own ſaint in particular. This therefore, in a high ſtrain of pre-eminence over the other, was actually denominated the church's holiday or its peculiar feſtival. And, while this remains in many pariſhes at preſent, the other is ſo utterly annihilated in all, that the learned and ſenſible antiquary, whom I have mentioned before, actually knew nothing of its diſtinct exiſtence, and abſolutely confounded it with this.

Thus inſtituted at firſt, the day of the tutelar ſaint was obſerved, moſt probably by the Britons, and certainly by the Saxons with great devotion. And the evening before every ſaint's day, in the Saxon-Jewiſh method of reckoning the hours, being an actual part of the day, and therefore like that reſigned to the duties of publick religion, as they reckoned Sunday from the firſt to commence at the ſunſet of Saturday; the evening preceding the church's holiday would be obſerved with all the devotion of the feſtival. The people actually repaired to the church, and joined in the ſervices of it. And they thus ſpent the evening of their greater feſtivities in the monaſteries of the north, as early as the concluſion of the ſeventh century. In that of Rippon, and on the anniverſary of Wilfrid particularly, we ſee the biſhops, abbots, and numerous trains of attendants, all convened at the monaſtery in order to celebrate the day, and all aſſembled the evening before it at the prayers of the church. And theſe ſervices were naturally denominated from their late hours pæccan or wakes and vigils or eves. That of the anniverſary at Rippon, as early as the commencement of the eighth century, is expreſsly denominated the Vigil. But that of the church's holiday was named the Lÿric pæccan or church-wake, the church-vigil or church-eve. And it was this commencement of both with a wake, which has now cauſed the days to be generally preceded with vigils, and the church-holiday particularly to be denominated the church-wake. So religiouſly was the eve and feſtival of the patron ſaint obſerved for many ages by the Saxons; even as late as the reign of Edgar, the former being ſpent in the church and employed in prayer. And the wake, and all the other holidays in the year, were put upon the ſame footing with the octaves of Chriſtmas, of Eaſter, and of Pentecoſt; and any perſons repairing to the celebration of the day were, as all ordinarily reſorting to the church were, under the immediate protection of the king, and conſequently free from arreſts, in their way to and return from it.

When Gregory recommended the feſtival of the patron ſaint, he alſo recommended ſomething more adapted to gain a general reception than religious acts and exerciſes. He adviſed, that the people ſhould be encouraged on the day of the feſtival to erect booths of branches about the church, and to feaſt and be merry in them with innocence. And, as the authority of Gregory would certainly cauſe the encouragement to be given, ſo the ſmalleſt would be effectual. Nor would

ſuch churches only as had previouſly been heathen temples, but all immediately have the day of their guardian ſaint obſerved with this open feſtivity. As the people had been all idolaters, the reaſon would be equally forcible for one pariſh as another. And the ſtrong tendency of the common people to every ſenſitive enjoyment would make the practice univerſal. In every pariſh, on the returning anniverſary of the ſaint, little pavilions were conſtructed of boughs; and the immediate neighbourhood of St. Michael's, and the churchyard of St. Mary's, reſounded with the voice of hoſpitality and the notes of merriment.

But few perſons are ever to be intruſted to feaſt. And fewer are to be allowed to meet in numbers together. There is a contagious viciouſneſs in crouds. Though each individual of them, alone by himſelf, would act with a religious propriety; yet all together they act with irreligion and folly. The fire imperceptibly runs from breaſt to breaſt, each contributes to ſwell the tide of ſpirits beyond its proper bounds, and wickedneſs and abſurdity enter at the breach that is made in reaſon. And this viciouſneſs is always augmented in its force, when the groſſer ſpirits, that are merely the reſult of feaſting, mingle and ferment the tide. The feaſting of the ſaint's day was ſoon abuſed. And it ſeems to have been greatly ſo before the reign of Edgar, as the intemperance of the feſtival was then creeping even into the vigil, and even mixing with the offices of religion. In the very body of the church, when the people were aſſembled for devotion, they were beginning to mind diverſions and introduce drinking. And ſo groſs an abuſe of the eve could have ſtolen in only from the licentiouſneſs of the feſtival. The growing intemperance would gradually ſtain the ſervice of the vigil, till the feſtivity of it was converted, as it now is, into the rigour of a faſt. Theſe diſorders would be leſs obnoxious on the day itſelf, becauſe they did not intrude within the church and profane the prayers. But they were certainly greater, and went on increaſing in viciouſneſs and folly, till they too juſtly ſcandalized the puritans of the laſt century, and numbers of the wakes were diſuſed entirely. Our own has been long diſcontinued. It was not aboliſhed in 1536 by the laws of Henry the eighth, which appears to have had little or no influence on the general practice. It was put down by a particular and local order in 1579, and forgotten in the long and rigid reign of puritaniſm that was then commencing at Mancheſter. And Henry, earl of Derby, Henry, earl of Huntingdon, William, lord biſhop of Cheſter, and others of the high commiſſion under Queen Elizabeth, aſſembled at Mancheſter in 1579; iſſued orders againſt pipers and minſtrels playing, making and frequenting ales, bear-baitings and bull-baitings, on the Sunday, or any other day of the week in time of divine ſervice or ſermons; and prohibited for the future all ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious ringing, common feaſts, and wakes. But the wake of the neighbouring pariſh of Eccles is celebrated among us to the preſent day. And a conſiderable number of people reſort to it annually from our own and the adjoining pariſhes.

This

This cuſtom of celebrity in the neighbourhood of the church, on the days of particular ſaints, was introduced into England from the continent, and muſt have been familiar equally to the Britons and Saxons; being obſerved among the churches of Aſia in the 6th century, and by thoſe of Weſt Europe in the ſeventh. And equally in Aſia and Europe, equally on the continent and in the iſland, theſe celebrities were the cauſes of thoſe commercial marts which we denominate fairs. The people reſorted in crouds to the feſtival, and a conſiderable proviſion would be wanted for their entertainment. The proſpect of intereſt invited the little traders of the country to come and offer their wares, and the convenience of the accommodation promoted a vigorous ſale among the people. And other traders were induced by the experience of theſe to bring in different articles, and hope for an equal ſale. Thus, among the many pavilions for hoſpitality in the neighbourhood of the church, various booths were erected for the ſale of commodities. In large towns ſurrounded with populous diſtricts, the reſort of the people to the wake would be great, and the attendance of traders at the celebrity numerous. And this reſort and this attendance conſtitute a fair. Baſil expreſsly mentions the numerous appearance of traders at theſe feſtivals in Aſia, and Gregory notes the ſame cuſtom to be common in Europe. And, as the feſtival was obſerved on a feria or holiday, it naturally aſſumed to itſelf, and as naturally communicated to the mart, the appellation of feria or fair. The ſame among the Saxons, the French, the Germans, and the Britons, fæger, foire, feyer, and faire, the word was derived from the ſame ſource in all theſe nations, the one eccleſiaſtical language of Weſt Europe at this period. And ſeveral on our moſt antient fairs appear to have been actually held, and have been actually continued to our time, on the original church-holidays of the places; as that on the feſtival of St. Peter, at St. Peter's church in Weſtminſter, anothet on the feaſt of St. Cuthbert, at St. Cuthbert's in Durham, and a third on the holiday of St. Bartholomew, at St. Bartholomew's in London.

Deſcription of an antient Picture in Windſor *Caſtle, repreſenting the Interview between King* Henry VIII. *and the* French *King* Francis I. *between* Guines *and* Ardres, *in the Year* 1520; *lately engraved at the Expence of the Society of Antiquaries of* London. *Abridged from Sir* Joſeph Ayloffe's *Deſcription of it, in the* Archæologia.

THIS picture is very remarkable, as well on account of the importance and ſingularity of its ſubject, as of the immenſe number of figures which it contains, the variety of matter which it exhibits, and the manner in which the whole is executed.

It is preſerved in the royal caſtle at Windſor; but being there placed in the king's private apartments below ſtairs, which are ſeldom permitted to be ſhewn, hath long remained, in great meaſure, unknown to the public.

The interview between the two monarchs was on Sunday, June 7, 1520, on the open plain, within

the Engliſh pale, between the caſtle of Guines and Ardres. It continued twenty-eight days. The right-hand ſide of the picture exhibits a bird's-eye view of the market-place, church, and caſtle of Guînes, with part of the town-walls and the ſurrounding ditch. In the fore-ground of this is the Engliſh cavalcade (hereafter mentioned); over theſe, in the back ground, and towards the top of the picture, is a view of the moraſs which lies on the north ſide of the town, and of the river that runs from thence towards Calais. Several perſons are ſitting on the roof of the ſhambles, and others ſtanding at the doors of the houſes of the town, looking at the cavalcade. The town-guard alſo is drawn up and under arms in the market-place.

In the middle of the left-hand ſide of the picture, and near the caſtle-gate, is the elevation of the principal front of a moſt ſtately ſquare caſtellated palace, intended to repreſent that magnificent temporary palace, made of timber, which was brought ready framed from England, and, after the interview, was taken down and carried back. Beſides a chapel and the royal apartments, it contained lodgings for moſt of the great officers of ſtate, hung with the richeſt tapeſtry, and cloth of gold and ſilver, paned with green and white ſilk, the favourite colours of the houſe of Tudor.

On the plain before the palace are two ſuperb conduits, caſed over with different kinds of marble, framed in pannel; from both of theſe, through maſks of lions heads, red wine is diſcharged into ciſterns, and from thence, through like maſks, to the populace, who, by their looks and actions, expreſs its various effects from hilarity to inebriety. Near theſe conduits, in the lower part of the fore-ground, ſtand two men, facing each other, and dreſſed alike, in blue caps, like tiaras, with golden taſſels, and cocks tail feathers, and yellow gowns with black lace and black tufted frogs. They have long ſcymetars by their ſides, and are ſounding long trumpets, to announce the near approach of the Engliſh cavalcade. On their left hand are many ſpectators, and among them two gentlemen converſing together. Theſe figures, being placed thus conſpicuouſly in the fore-ground, and being much more laboured and finiſhed than any that are near them, are ſuppoſed to be the portraits of the painter of this piece, and of Edward Hall, who was enjoined by K. Henry to draw up the deſcription of the interview.

In the fore-ground, on the right-hand ſide, is the very numerous Engliſh cavalcade, marching out of the town of Guînes, and entering the caſtle-gate by a bridge thrown over the ditch. Its farther progreſs is not here repreſented; but it may be ſuppoſed to have paſſed from the caſtle, through the ſally-port, to the place of interview, along the valley, and by the ſide of the rivulet there deſcribed. The guns of the caſtle are repreſented as firing while the king paſſed. The advanced guard conſiſted of his guard of bill-men, with their officers. Then follow three ranks of men on foot, five in a rank, and all unarmed. After them are five of Wolſey's domeſtics on horſeback, two of which are his chaplains, the one

one in a black gown bearing his croſs, and the other in a ſcarlet gown carrying his hat on a cuſhion. Of the reſt, two are dreſt in black, with maſſy gold chains, (perhaps his chamberlain and ſteward of the houſhold,) and the other in a white linen habit, not unlike a modern ſurplice. Whether theſe three carried any enſigns of office is uncertain, as their backs are turned to the ſpectator. Theſe are ſucceeded by two perſons on horſe-back, in orange-coloured gowns, with a mace-bearer dreſſed in crimſon on each ſide of them. After them march two others on horſe-back, with black bonnets on their heads, and gold chains round their necks, ſupported alſo on their right and left by a mace-bearer, dreſſed in a ſanguine coloured habit.

Then Sir Thomas Wriotheſley, garter king at arms, bare-headed, and in the tabard of his order, mounted on a pyebald horſe, richly trapped and capariſoned, ſupported on his left-hand by a ſerjeant at arms, mounted on a black horſe and followed by

Sir Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, bare-headed, carrying in its ſheath the ſword of ſtate, upright, dreſſed in a gown of cloth of gold, over which hangs the collar of the garter, and mounted on a beautiful dun horſe, richly trapped and capariſoned; by his ſide run two milk-white greyhounds, with collars round their necks.——[Why theſe animals ſhould be introduced thus conſpicuouſly in ſuch a ſolemn piece, connoiſſeurs ſeem at a loſs to aſcertain. We, therefore, beg leave to hazard a conjecture, that, agreeably to the fantaſtic humour of the times, it was in alluſion to the family name of the Marquis whom they accompanied.]

The Marquis of Dorſet is followed by ſix yeomen of the guard on foot, their partizans on their ſhoulders, in ſcarlet habits, guarded and laced with blue velvet, and on their breaſts and backs the union roſe, enſigned with the crown royal, embroidered in gold.

Then come two of the king's pages on foot, the one bare-headed, the other bonnetted, both dreſſed in crimſon, embroidered on the back with the union roſe, between a greyhound and a dragon. Their breeches and ſleeves are large, ſlaſhed, and puffed with fine cambrick, and their ſtockings and ſhoes are white.

The King's Majeſty, mounted on a ſtately white courſer, moſt richly capariſoned, all the trappings, reins, ſtirrups, &c. being covered with wrought gold, highly emboſſed. The king has on his head a black velvet hat, with a white feather on the upper ſide of the brim, and under it a broad lacing of rubies, emeralds, &c. intermixed with pearl. His garment is cloth of gold, plaited, over a jacket of roſe-coloured velvet. His collar * is compoſed of rubies and pearls, ſet alternately; and on his breaſt is a rich jewel of St. George, ſuſpended by a ribbon of the order. His boots are of yellow leather, and in his right hand is a ſmall whip.

* This ineſtimable great collar of ballaſt rubies, as it was called, was ſold beyond the ſeas by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Holland, by order of king Charles I. See Rhymer's Fœdera, Vol. xviii. p. 236. It had long been an heir-loom of the crown of England.

Parallel with the king, on the left, rides Cardinal Wolſey, dreſſed in a gown of violet-coloured velvet, and mounted on a ſtately mule, with trappings, headſtall, reins, and a broad breaſt-plate of black velvet, embroidered with gold. His page, having a cardinal's red hat embroidered on the breaſt of his doublet, walks before him bare-headed. On each ſide of the king are two other pages, all in the ſame livery, with nine yeomen of the guard, on the right and left, three in a rank, bearing their partizans ſhouldered.

The king is immediately followed by four of his principal nobles, riding a-breaſt; that on his right is Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in the collar of the Garter, mounted on a white horſe. Next to him, on his left, is Henry Bourchier, Earl of Eſſex, Earl-Marſhal *pro tempore*, dreſſed in his collar, and bearing a ſilver rod tipped with enamel, the badge of his office. Next to him is an elderly perſon, with a longiſh face, and a forked beard, wearing alſo the collar of the order. The outermoſt perſon, towards the left, has only a gold chain hanging down from his ſhoulders. Theſe, perhaps, may be George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, Knight of the Garter (and then advanced in years), and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, Lord Steward, who, as Hall ſays, both "rode with the king." They are followed by two other rows of noblemen, four in a row. In the firſt row is one with a long lank viſage, and a forked beard of great length. On his bonnet are a ſtring of pearls, and a white feather. His doublet is ſcarlet, and the ſleeves of his jacket are white linnen cloth. One of thoſe in the ſecond row is certainly Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter. On their right hand march ſix more ranks of yeomen of the guard.

All the principal figures abovementioned, and, probably, many others now unknown, are portraits painted from the life: that of K. Hen. in particular, is a ſtriking likeneſs, highly finiſhed, and in no way inferior to the celebrated head painted by Holbein, now at Kenſington. And thoſe of Dorſet, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Wolſey, ſtrongly reſemble their portraits now remaining.

The numerous ranks that follow are compoſed of the nobility and royal attendants on horſeback, ſucceeded by a large party of billmen, demi-lances, and others, who form a continued line of march from the back of the pariſh church of Guines, through the market-place, &c.

Near the foot of the caſtle-bridge is a large group of ſpectators, and among them a reſpectable grey-headed man, with a very long white beard, dreſſed in a ſcarlet uniform, laced with gold, and having the letters H. R. embroidered on his breaſt. Both his hands (his bonnet is in his right) are held up with pleaſure and aſtoniſhment. This figure, being highly finiſhed, and ſingularly dreſſed, was probably ſome old ſervant of the crown, well known and reſpected at the time.

In the back-ground of the middle part of the picture, is ſeen the place of interview, repreſented as a ſpacious circular plain, on the ſummit of an elevation, between the town of Guines and the road from thence to the vale of Ardern or Ardres. It is marked out by white

white* camp colours, and ſurrounded by ſeveral demi-lance men, and other guards and attendants of both nations on horſeback. Within its area is a circular line of round tents and ſquare pavilions, placed alternately, and communicating with each other. Their coverings and curtains are painted green and white, the favourite colours of the houſe of Tudor. In their center is pitched a large ſingle tent, covered with cloth of gold, flowered with red, and lined with blue velvet, powdered with *fleurs de lys*. On its top ſtands a gold or gilt figure of St. George and the dragon. The curtains are thrown back, and diſcover the two monarchs embracing one another: being drawn ſomewhat larger than the ſurrounding figures, and highly finiſhed, the reſemblance of each is perfectly well expreſſed. Before the front of this tent ſtand ſeveral attendants, and alſo the maſters of the horſe to the two kings, each holding his ſovereign's courſer; that of King Henry is white, and that of Francis is dun.

According to the ſcale of the picture, this plain is exactly half a mile from Guines (the diſtance aſſigned by Wolſey in his regulations) juſt before the entrance into the vale of Ardres; in which part of that village is ſhewn, and the whole chorography of the country is minutely obſerved.

At the top of the picture, towards the left, is a ſlight view of the town of Ardres, from whence Francis and his train iſſued; and the whole valley between that and the place of interview is filled with French ſoldiery, completely armed. Lower down, and nearer to Guines than the place of interview, is a group of tents, covered with linnen cloth, ſome paned green and white, and others red and white, to accommodate ſuch of the Engliſh as could not be lodged within that town. Between theſe tents and the temporary palace, ſtands a large pavilion, conſiſting of one long and two round tents, all covered with cloth of gold, flowered with black. On the finyall of each of the round tents is a vane, charged with the arms of France and England quarterly. In this pavilion Henry and Catharine frequently entertained at dinner the French King and Queen, and their principal nobility. At a ſmall diſtance from it is a view of the culinary offices ſet up on the plain, conſiſting of a large group of ovens, at which ſeveral bakers are buſied; and two ſpacious tents, whoſe fronts, being thrown open, diſcover the one to be intended for boiling, and the other for roaſting, in which offices ſeveral cooks are employed. From theſe kitchens fourteen yeomen of the guard, each carrying a covered diſh, are going towards the royal pavilion, preceded by the Lord Steward (Earl of Shrewſbury), bearing his white ſtaff, and attended by a gentleman wearing a ſaſh.

Near to the ovens, is a cabaret, at the door of which ſeveral perſons are drinking; and not far from thence is a lady carried in a horſe-litter, covered with crimſon velvet embroidered with gold, preceded by a groom, and followed by two other ladies and a man-ſervant,

* For the reaſon of theſe colours being white, or French, ſee Hall, vol. lxxix.

vant. She turns her face out of the window, and ſeems talking to a page, behind whom is another lady maſked and on horſeback, with a female attendant. Theſe ladies ſeem perſons of great dignity; ſhe in the litter may be one of the queens going *incognito* to view the offices.

Beneath theſe, and in a line with the palace, is an open circular tent of white cloth, embroidered with blue tracery, over which are an union roſe and a fleur de lys. Its curtains thrown open diſcover a magnificent ſideboard of plate, and a table ſpread, at the upper end of which ſits an elderly gentleman, on one ſide is a lady, and at the lower end another gentleman, partaking of a repaſt, which is ſerved up by ſeveral attendants. This, probably, was the tent of the Lord Steward. Behind this, and in the adjacent fields, are pitched ſeveral others, for the uſe of ſuttlers, covered with green and white and red and white linnen cloth.

In the back-ground, and at the extremity on the left-hand ſide, appear the liſts or camp ſet apart for the juſts and tournaments. On the left is a ſcaffold, or long gallery for the royal perſonages and their attendants; and the whole, except the entrance, is fenced with a rail and barrier, guarded by demi-lance men and others on horſeback, completely armed. French ſoldiers, in a blue and yellow uniform, with a ſalamander, the badge of Francis I. embroidered on it, keep the entrance on one hand; and the Engliſh yeomen, with their partizans, on the other. Cloſe to the gallery-end, on a riſe at the left, ſtands a large artificial *tree of honour*; its trunk is wrapped round with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and on its branches hang the ſhields of arms of the two challengers, and of their reſpective aids, the tables of the challenges, the ſeveral anſwers, &c. This tree, thirty-four feet in height, ſpreading 129 feet, and from bough to bough forty-three feet, hiſtorians ſay, was compoſed of the *raſberry*, the badge of Francis, and of the *hawthorn*, Henry's badge, artificially twined and twiſted together.

In the gallery ſtand the two kings, Francis on the right, and Henry on the left; with their two queens, and their attendant ladies. A carpet of cloth of gold covers the front before the kings, and rich tapeſtry the rail before the queens. Within the area are two combatants, armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horſes richly baſed and barbed, and tilting againſt each other; near them is a herald picking up the pieces of a broken ſpear, his perquiſite.

Near to the liſts are a few tents for the uſe of the combatants.

The remaining upper part of the back-ground gives a moſt correct and faithful view of the adjacent country, with a variety of figures, farm-houſes, mills, cottages, woods, cattle, ſheep, fowls, &c. all of them highly finiſhed. To introduce ſuch a variety of ſubjects, the horizon is remarkably high.

Towards the top of the picture is *a dragon*, flying in the air, and hovering over the Engliſh cavalcade; which ſome conceive to be a memorial of fire-work in that form exhibited during the interview—[but we rather think, that, as it ſeems attendant on K. Henry, the painter had in view one of his ſupporters, which, at the beginning of his reign, was *a red dragon*; and if our former conjecture of the

greyhounds ſhould not be admitted, thoſe animals, perhaps, might be intended for the other, his left ſupporter (in right of his mother) being, at the ſame time, *a greyhound argent*; and in this very piece, as before obſerved, the king's pages have on their backs *a greyhound and a dragon.*]

The picture here deſcribed, which is five feet ſix inches high, by eleven feet three inches in breadth, has been geen generally aſcribed to Hans Holbein, but without foundation, as he did not arrive in England till near ſix years after the interview; and, beſides, his ſtyle, colouring, &c. are widely different. The name of the paimter, however, is immaterial.

We muſt add, that the head of Hing Henry appears to have been cut out of the picture, and afterwards reſtored. This was a contrivance of Philip Earl of Pembroke, after the death of King Charles I, to prevent a French agent, who was in treaty for it, from purchaſing the piece: and it ſucceeded, for, finding it thus mutilated, the Frenchman declined the purchaſe. By this means it was preſerved in the palace till the reſtoration, when the Earl of Pembroke delivered the mutilated piece to King Charles II, who immediately ordered it to be reſtored to its place.

Of this remarkable picture, at the requeſt of the Society of Antiquaries, his majeſty having given permiſſion for a drawing to be taken, it was accordingly executed, with great correctneſs, by Mr. Edwards of the royal academy, and is now ſaid to be in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Huntingdon; and from it Mr. Baſire, at the Society's expence, engraved his plate (juſt publiſhed); the largeſt ever engraved in England, being, in height, two feet three inches; in breadth, four feet and one inch; and equally an honour to thoſe artiſts and their employers.

The frame for the paper (which is two feet ſeven inches, by four feet four inches) was made on purpoſe by Mr. Wadman, near Maidſtone, at the expence of about 50 l. for which (we hear) there has ſince been a great demand from abroad, as plates can thus be worked off of a larger ſize than before was practicable.

The above exact deſcription, which we have abridged from that which was read at the Society of Antiquaries, by Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, Bart. in 1770, will enable any purchaſer of this moſt curious print to have it coloured with the tints of the original picture; of which, if executed with judgment, it will then have all the effect. And every other reader of taſte, we doubt not, will be gratified by the hiſtorical anecdotes here conveyed. *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Orders for Houſehold Servantes; firſt deuiſed by John Haryngton, *in the Yeare* 1566, *and renewed by* John Haryngton, *Sonne of the ſaide* John, *in the Yeare* 1592: *the ſaide* John, *the Sonne, being then High Shrieve of the County of* Somerſet; *with a Letter from Sir* Robert Cecil *to Sir* John Harrington. *From* Nugæ Antiquæ, *publiſhed by* Henry Harrington, *jun. A. B. of Queen's College,* Oxon.

IMPRIMIS,

IMPRIMIS, that no ſeruant bee abſent from praier, at morning or euening, without a lawful excuſe, to be alledged within one day after, vppon paine to forfeit for euery tyme 2d.

II. Item, That none ſwear any othe, vpon pain for euery othe 1d.

III. Item, That no man leaue any doore open that he findeth ſhut, without theare bee cauſe, vpon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after ſix of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after ten of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after ſeven in the morning, nor out after nine at night, without reaſonable cauſe, on paine of 2d.

V. Item, That no mans bed bee vnmade, nor fire or candle-box vncleane, after eight of the clock in the morning on paine of 1d.

VI. Item, That no man make water within either of the courts, vppon paine of, euery time it ſhall be proued, 1d.

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any vnhoneſt ſpeeche, or baudie word, or othe, on paine of 4d.

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand, except it be vppon ſome good cauſe, on paine of 1d.

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table be abſent that meale, without reaſonable cauſe, on paine of 1d.

X. Item, If any man breake a glaſſe, he ſhall aunſwer the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it be not known who break it, the butler ſhall pay for it, on paine of 12d.

XI. Item, The table muſt bee couered at half an hour before eleven at dinner, and ſix at ſupper, or before, on paine of 2d.

XII. Item, That meate bee readie at eleven or before at dinner, and ſix or before at ſupper, on paine of 6d.

XIII. Item, That none be abſent, without leaue or good cauſe, the whole day, or more part of it, on paine of 4d.

XIV. Item, That no man ſtrike his fellow, on paine of loſſe of ſeruice; nor reuile or threaten or prouoke an other to ſtrike, on paine of 12d.

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reaſonable cauſe, on paine of 1d. and the cook likewiſe to forfeit 1d.

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4d.

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule ſhirt on Sunday, nor broken hoſe or ſhoos, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1d.

XVIII. Item, That, when any ſtrainger goeth hence, the chamber be dreſt vp againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1d.

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane euery day, by eight in the winter, and ſeauen in the ſommer, on paine of him that ſhould do it to forfeit 1d.

XX. That the cowrt-gate be ſhutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and ſupper, without juſt cauſe, on paine the porter to forfeit for euery time 1d.

XXI. Item, That all ſtayrs in the houſe, and other rooms that neede ſhall require, be made cleane on Friday after dinner, on paine of forfeyture of euery on whome it ſhall belong vnto, 3d.

All which ſommes ſhalbe duly paid

paid each quarter-day out of their wages, and beſtowed on the poore, or other godly vſe.

Sir Robert Cecil's *Letter.*

" My noble Knyght,

" My thankes come wythe your papers and wholeſome ſtatutes for your fathers houſholde. I ſhall, as, far as in me lieth, patterne the ſame, and geue good heed for due obſervaunce thereof in my own ſtate. Your father did muche affect ſuche prudence; nor dothe his ſonne leſſe followe his faire ſample, of worthe, learninge and honor. I ſhall not faile to keep your grace and favor quick and lively in the kinges breaſte, as far as good diſcretion guideth me, ſo as not to hazard my own reputation for humble ſuing, rather than bold and forward entreaties. You know all my former ſteppes; good Knyght, reſte content, and give heed to one that hath ſorrowde in the bright luſtre of a courte, and gone heavily even on the beſt ſeeminge faire grounde. 'Tis a great taſke to prove ones honeſtye, and yet not ſpoil ones fortune. You have taſted a little hereof in our bleſſed queenes tyme, who was more than a man, and in troth ſometyme leſs than a woman. I wiſhed I waited now in your preſence chamber, with eaſe at my foode, and reſte in my bedde; I am puſhed from the ſhore of comforte, and know not where the wyndes and waves of a court will bear me: I know it bringeth little comforte on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no wiſe man that looketh this waye to heaven; we have much ſtirre aboute counceils, and more aboute honors. Many Knyghts were made at Theobalds, duringe the kynges ſtaye at myne houſe, and more to be made in the citie. My father had moche wiſdom in directing the ſtate; and I wiſhe I could bear my parte ſo diſcretely us he did. Farewel, good Knyght; but never come neare London till I call you. Too much crowdinge doth not well for a cripple, and the Kynge dothe find ſcante room to fit himſelf, he hath ſo many friends as they chuſe to be called, and heaven prove they lye not in the end. In trouble, hurrying, feigning, ſuing, and ſuche like matters, I nowe reſte

29 May, 1603 — Your true friende, R. Cecil."

State *of the* English Peerage, *from* 1603 *to* 1775.

On the Acceſſion of *James* I. the Peerage was:

1	Marquis
16	Earls
2	Viſcounts
40	Barons
59	

The Number in 1774.

3	Princes
23	Dukes
1	Marquis
78	Earls
13	Viſcounts
64	Barons
182	

Created

	Created	Extinct	Added	Diminished
James I.	62	17	45	—
Charles I.	59	21	38	—
Charles II.	64	53	11	—
James II.	8	8	—	—
William and Mary	30	21	9	—
Anne	30	24	6	—
George I.	29	16	13	—
George II.	38	41	—	3
George III.	25	21	4	—
	345	222	126	3
Add the	59			
	404			
Deduct Extinct	222			
	182		Increase in 171 years	123

PEERS created by GEORGE III.

1	Spencer	Created in 1761.
2	Melcombe	
3	Grantham	
4	Grosvenor	
5	Scarsdale	
6	Boston	
7	Pelham	Created in 1762.
8	Courtney	
9	Lovell and Holland	
10	Montague	
11	Milton	
12	Beaulieu	
13	Vernon	
14	Bingley	
15	Prince of Wales	
16	Holland	Created in 1763.
17	Ducie	
18	Ligonier	
19	Gloucester	Created in 1764.
20	Camden	1765.
21	Digby	
22	Chatham	Created in 1766.
23	Cumberland	
24	Sundridge	
25	Apsley	Created in 1771.

Extinct in the Reign of GEO. III.

1	Hatton	Extinct in 1760.
2	Anson	1762.
3	Melcombe Regis	
4	Feversham	Extinct in 1763.
5	Bath	1764.
6	Foley	1765.
7	Hunsden	
8	Cumberland	
9	York	Extinct in 1766.
10	Newcastle	1768.
11	Arundel	
12	Delamer	Extinct in 1770.
13	Montague	
14	Ligonier	
15	Bottetourt	
16	Ducie	
17	Hallifax	Extinct in 1771.
18	Bingley	1773.
19	Berkley	
20	Kingston	
21	Cleveland	Extinct in 1774.

On

On the Expiratton of the Corniſh *Language. In a Letter from the Hon.* Daines Barrington, *Vice Preſident, S. A. to* John Lloyd, *Eſq; F. S. A. From the* Archæologia.

DEAR SIR, March 31, 1773.

THE preciſe time when any antient language ceaſes to be ſpoken by the inhabitants of a country ſeems to be intereſting not only to the philologiſt, but to the antiquary; I ſhall therefore deſire you would lay before the ſociety the following particulars with regard to what I conceive to be the laſt ſpark of the Corniſh tongue.

Leland made a moſt complete tour through Cornwall in the reign of Henry VIII. and yet does not take notice of their ſpeaking a language which he did not underſtand*. My inference from this his ſilence is, that it then prevailed almoſt univerſally, juſt as an Engliſh traveller into Wales would not now, in an account of his journey, inform his correſpondent, that Welſh was chiefly uſed in the principality.

Carew publiſhed his ſurvey of Cornwall in 1602, and obſerves, that the Corniſh was then going very faſt into diſuſe, becauſe he takes notice, that moſt of the inhabitants "can no word of Corniſh, "which was driven into the utter-"moſt ſkirts of the ſhire †.

Norden's Hiſtory of Cornwall is ſuppoſed by the editor to have been compiled about the year 1610; and informs us, "that the Corniſh lan-"guage was chiefly uſed in the "weſtern hundreds of the county, "particularly Penrith and Kerrier; "and yet (which is to be mar-"veyled) though the huſband and "wife, parents and children, maſ-"ter and ſervants, doe mutually "communicate in their native lan-"guage, yet therc is none of them, "in a manner, but is able to con-"verſe with a ſtranger in the Eng-"liſh tongue, unleſs it be ſome "obſcure people, who ſeldom con-"fer with the better ſort; but it "ſeemeth, however, that in a "few years the Corniſh language "will be by little and little aban-"doned §."

In 1662 Cornwall was viſited by that great naturaliſt, Mr. Ray, who paid very particular attention to the language ſpoken in different parts of England, as appears by his having collected their peculiar words and proverbs.

We find accordingly in his Itineraries (publiſhed by Mr. Scott, F. A. S.) "that Mr. Dickan Gwyn "was conſidered as the only per-"ſon who could *then write* in the "Corniſh language, and who lived "in one of the moſt weſtern pa-"riſhes called St. Juſt, where there "were few but what could ſpeak "Engliſh; whilſt few of the child-"ren alſo could ſpeak Corniſh, ſo "that the language would be ſoon "entirely loſt ‖."

Mr. Ray obſerves in another part, that Mr. Dickan Gwyn (whom he mentions as the only perſon who could *write* Corniſh) was no grammarian; and that another man, named Pendarvis, was upon the whole perhaps better ſkilled in it; by which I conclude he means that Pendarvis was ſuppoſed to ſpeak it with greater purity, though he did

* See Leland's Itin. Vol. II. and III. † Page 56. § Page 26, 27. ‖ Page 281.

not

not write in that language as Dickan Gwyn did.

The laſt printed account which I have happened to meet with, in relation to the decay of the Corniſh tongue, is in a letter dated March 10, 1701, from Lhwyd to Rowland (author of the Mona Antiqua) who obſerves, that it was then only retained in five or ſix villages towards the Land's End *.

Thus far with regard to written teſtimonies: I ſhall now proceed to oral.

My brother Captain Barrington brought a French Eaſt-India ſhip into Mount's Bay, in the year 1746, (to the beſt of my recollection) who told me, that when he ſailed from thence on a cruiſe toward the French coaſt, he took with him from that part of Cornwall a ſeaman who ſpoke the Corniſh language, and who was underſtood by ſome French ſeamen of the coaſt of Bretagne, with whom he afterwards happened to have occaſion to converſe.

I myſelf made a very complete tour of Cornwall in 1768; and recollecting what I had thus heard from my brother, I mentioned to ſeveral perſons of that county, that I did not think it impoſſible I might meet with ſome remains of the language, who however conſidered it as entirely loſt.

I ſet out from Penſance however with the landlord of the principal inn for my guide, towards the Sennan, or moſt weſtern point, and when I approached the village I ſaid, that there muſt probably be ſome remains of the language in thoſe parts, if any where, as the village was in the road to no place whatſoever; and the only alehouſe announced itſelf to be *the laſt in England*. My guide however told me, that I ſhould be diſappointed; but that if I would ride ten miles about in my return to Penſance, he would carry me to a village called Mouſehole, on the weſtern ſide of Mount's Bay, where there was an old woman called Dolly *Pentraeth* †, who could ſpeak Corniſh very fluently. Whilſt we were travelling together towards Mouſehole I enquired how he knew that this woman ſpoke Corniſh, when he informed me, that he frequently went from Penſance to Mouſehole to buy fiſh, which were ſold by her; and that when he did not offer a price which was ſatisfactory, ſhe grumbled to ſome other old women in an unknown tongue, which he concluded therefore to be the Corniſh.

When we reached Mouſehole, I deſired to be introduced as a perſon who had laid a wager that there was no one who could converſe in Corniſh; upon which Dolly Pentraeth ſpoke in an angry tone of voice for two or three minutes, and in a language which ſounded very like Welſh.

The hut in which ſhe lived was in a very narrow lane, oppoſite to two rather better cottages, at the doors of which two other women ſtood, who were advanced in years, and who I obſerved were laughing at what Dolly Pentraeth ſaid to me.

Upon this I aſked them whether ſhe had not been abuſing me; to which they anſwered, "Very heartily, and becauſe I had ſuppoſed "ſhe could not ſpeak Corniſh." I then ſaid, that they muſt be able to talk the language; to which they anſwered, that they could not ſpeak it readily, but that they underſtood it, being only ten or twelve years

younger

* See Mona Ant. p. 317.

† This name in Welch ſignifies, *at the end of the ſand.*

younger than Dolly Pentraeth. I continued nine or ten days in Cornwall after this; but found that my friends, whom I had left to the eaſtward, continued as incredulous almoſt as they were before, about theſe laſt remains of the Corniſh language, becauſe (amongſt other reaſons) Dr. Borlaſe had ſuppoſed, in his Natural Hiſtory of the county, that it had entirely ceaſed to be ſpoken *; it was alſo urged, that as he lived within four or five miles of the old woman at Mouſehole, he conſequently muſt have heard of ſo ſingular a thing as her continuing to uſe the vernacular tongue.

I had ſcarcely ſaid or thought any thing more about this matter, till laſt ſummer having mentioned it to ſome Corniſh people, I found that they could not credit that any perſon had exiſted within theſe five years who could ſpeak their native language; and therefore, though I imagined there was but a ſmall chance of Dolly Pentraeth's continuing to live, yet I wrote to the preſident, then in Devonſhire, to deſire that he would make ſome inquiry with regard to her; and he was ſo obliging as to procure me information from a gentleman whoſe houſe is within three miles of Mouſehole, a conſiderable part of whoſe letter I ſhall ſubjoin.

" Dolly Pentraeth is ſhort of ſta-
" ture, and bends very much with
" old age, being in her eighty-
" ſeventh year, ſo luſty however as
" to walk hither, (viz. to Caſtle-
" Horneck) above three miles, in
" bad weather, in the morning,
" and back again. She is ſome-
" what deaf, but her intellects
" ſeemingly not impaired; has
" a memory ſo good, that ſhe re-
" members perfectly well, that
" about four or five years ago at
" Mouſehole, (where ſhe lives) ſhe
" was ſent for to a gentleman,
" who, being a ſtranger, had a
" curioſity to hear the Corniſh lan-
" guage, which ſhe was famed for
" retaining and ſpeaking fluently;
" and that the inn-keeper, where
" the gentleman came from, at-
" tended him."

[This gentleman was myſelf; however, I did not preſume to *ſend* for her, but *waited* upon her.]

" She does indeed at this time
" talk Corniſh as readily as others
" do Engliſh, being bred up from
" a child to know no other lan-
" guage; nor could ſhe (if we may
" believe her) talk a word of Eng-
" liſh before ſhe was paſt twenty
" years of age; that, her father
" being a fiſherman, ſhe was ſent
" with fiſh to Penſance at twelve
" years old, and ſold them in the

* Dr. Borlaſe's words are the following: " That we may attend it to the grave; this language is now altogether ceaſed, ſo as not to be ſpoken any where in converſation." Nat. Hiſt. of Cornwall, p. 316. If Dr. Borlaſe had ever heard of this old woman, who lived within four miles of him, he would certainly have here made mention of her, as well as compleated from her his Corniſh Vocabulary. Nor was it probably the fact in 1758, (when Dr. Borlaſe publiſhed his Natural Hiſtory) that the language had *altogether ceaſed, ſo as not to be ſpoken any where in converſation*, becauſe it is not impoſſible that the ſeaman who was on board Capt. Barrington's ſhip in 1746 might be then ſtill alive, as well as ſeveral others. It muſt alſo be recollected, that ten years after Dr. Borlaſe's publication, two old women (neighbours to Dolly Pentraeth) underſtood what ſhe ſaid; as alſo that ſhe frequently grumbled to them in Corniſh, when a proper price was not offered for her fiſh.

" Corniſh

"Corniſh language, which the inhabitants in general (even the gentry) did then well underſtand. She is poſitive, however, that there is neither in Mouſehole, or in any other part of the county, any perſon who knows any thing of it, or at leaſt can converſe in it. She is poor, and maintained partly by the pariſh, and partly by fortune-telling, and gabbling of Corniſh."

I have thus thought it right to lay before the ſociety* this account of the laſt ſparks of the Corniſh tongue, and cannot but think that a linguiſt (who underſtands Welſh) might ſtill pick up a more compleat vocabulary of the Corniſh than any we are at preſent poſſeſſed of, eſpecally as the two neighbours of this old woman, whom I have had occaſion to mention, are not now above 77 or 78 years of age, and were very healthy when I ſaw them; ſo that the whole does not depend upon the life of this Corniſh Sibyl, as ſhe is willing to inſinuate.

If it is ſaid that I have ſtated that theſe neighbours could not ſpeak the language, this ſhould be underſtood, that they cannot converſe ſo readily in it as ſhe does, becauſe I have mentioned that they comprehended her abuſe upon me, which implies a certain knowledge of the Corniſh tongue. Thus the moſt learned men of this country cannot ſpeak Latin fluently, for want of practice; yet it would be very eaſy to form a Latin vocabulary from them.

It is alſo much to be wiſhed, that ſuch a linguiſt would go into the iſle of Man, and report to the ſociety in what ſtate that expiring language may be at preſent.

As for the Welſh, I do not ſee the leaſt probability of its being loſt in the more mountainous parts; for as there are no valuable mines in ſeveral of the pariſhes thus ſituated, I do not conceive that it is poſſible to introduce the uſe of Engliſh. The preſent inhabitants therefore and their deſcendants will continue to ſpeak their native language in thoſe diſtricts; for the Welſh cannot ſettle in England, becauſe they cannot ſpeak the tongue; nor will Engliſh ſervants for huſbandry live with the Welſh, becauſe they would not underſtand their maſter. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful,

Humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

* Viz. the ſociety of Antiquaries of London, to whom we are indebted for the Archæologia.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Thoughts on Free-thinking, and on Free-thinkers, particularly the late Earl of Shafteſbury *and the late Lord* Bolingbroke, *by the late Mr.* Gray; *in a Letter from Mr.* Gray *to Mr.* Stonhewer; *with Obſervations on theſe Thoughts, by Mr.* Maſon, &c. *From Mr.* Maſon's *Edition of Mr.* Gray's *Works.*

Cambridge, Aug. 18, 1758.

I AM as ſorry as you ſeem to be, that our acquaintance harped ſo much on the ſubject of materialiſm, when I ſaw him with you in town, becauſe it was plain to which ſide of the long-debated queſtion he inclined. That we are indeed mechanical and dependent beings, I need no other proof than my own feelings; and from the ſame feelings I learn, with equal conviction, that we are not merely ſuch: that there is a power within that ſtruggles againſt the force and biaſs of that mechaniſm, commands its motion, and, by frequent practice, reduces it to that ready obedience which we call *habit*; and all this in conformity to a preconceived opinion (no matter whether right or wrong) to that leaſt material of all agents, a thought. I have known many in his caſe, who, while they thought they were conquering an old prejudice, did not perceive they were under the influence of one far more dangerous; one that furniſhes us with a ready apology for all our worſt actions, and opens to us a full licence for doing whatever we pleaſe; and yet theſe very people were not at all the more indulgent to other men, (as they naturally ſhould have been) their indignation to ſuch as offended them, their deſire of revenge on any body that hurt them, was nothing mitigated: in ſhort, the truth is, they wiſhed to be perſuaded of that opinion for the ſake of its convenience, but were not ſo in their heart; and they would have been glad (as they ought in common prudence) that nobody elſe ſhould think the ſame, for fear of the miſchief that might enſue to themſelves. His French author I never ſaw, but have read fifty in the ſame ſtrain, and ſhall read no more. I can be wretched enough without them. They put me in mind of the Greek ſophiſt that got immortal honour by diſcourſing ſo feelingly on the miſeries of our condition, that fifty of his audience went home and hanged themſelves; yet he lived himſelf (I ſuppoſe) many years after in very good plight.

You ſay you cannot conceive how Lord Shafteſbury came to be a philoſopher in vogue; I will tell you: firſt, he was a Lord; 2dly, he was as vain as any of his readers; 3dly, men are very prone to believe wha

they do not understand; 4thly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it; 5thly, they love to take a new road, even when that road leads no where; 6thly, he was reckoned a fine writer, and seemed always to mean more than he said. Would you have any more reasons? An interval of above forty years has pretty well destroyed the charm. A dead lord ranks but with commoners: vanity is no longer interested in the matter, for the new road is become an old one. The mode of free-thinking is like that of ruffs and farthingales, and has given place to the mode of not thinking at all; once it was reckoned graceful, half to discover and half conceal the mind, but now we have been long accustomed to see it quite naked: primness and affectation of style, like the good breeding of Queen Anne's court, has turned to hoydening and rude familiarity.

It will, I think, be no improper supplement to the foregoing letter to insert a paper of Mr. Gray's, which contains some very pertinent strictures on the writings of a later Lord, who was pleased to attack the moral attributes of the Deity, or, what amounted to the same thing, endeavoured to prove, "that we have no adequate ideas of his goodness and justice, as we have of his natural ones, his wisdom and power." This position the excellent author of the View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, calls the MAIN PILLAR of his system; and adds, in another place, that the FATE OF ALL RELIGION is included in this question. On this important point, therefore, that able writer has dwelt largely, and confuted his Lordship effectually. Some sort of readers, however, who probably would slight that confutation, may regard the arguments of a layman, and even a poet, more than those which are drawn up by the pen of a divine and a bishop: it is for the use of these that the paper is published; who, if they learn nothing else from it, will find that Mr. Gray was not of their party, nor so great a wit as to disbelieve the existence of a Deity.*

"I will allow Lord Bolingbroke that the moral, as well as physical attributes of God must be known to us only à posteriori, and that this is the only real knowledge we can have either of the one or the other; I will allow too that perhaps it may be an idle distinction which we make between them, his moral attributes being as much in his nature and essence as those we call his physical; but the occasion of our making some distinction

* In one of his pocket-books I find a slight sketch in verse of his own character, which may, on account of one line in it, come into a note here with sufficient propriety. It was written in 1761.

Too poor for a bribe, and too proud to importune;
He had not the method of making a fortune:
Could love, and could hate, so was thought somewhat odd;
NO VERY GREAT WIT, HE BELIEV'D IN A GOD.
A post or a pension he did not desire,
But left church and state to Charles Townshend and Squire.

This last line needs no comment for readers of the present time, and surely is not worth while to write one on this occasion for posterity.

is plainly this: his eternity, infinity, omniſcience, and almighty power, are not what connect him, if I may ſo ſpeak, with us his creatures. We adore him, not becauſe he always did in every place, and always will, exiſt; but becauſe he gave and ſtill preſerves to us our own exiſtence by an exertion of his goodneſs. We adore him, not becauſe he knows and can do all things, but becauſe he made us capable of knowing and of doing what may conduct us to happineſs: it is therefore his benevolence which we adore, not his greatneſs or power; and if we are made only to bear our part in a ſyſtem, without any regard to our own particular happineſs, we can no longer worſhip him as our all-bounteous parent: there is no meaning in the term. The idea of his malevolence (an impiety I tremble to write) muſt ſucceed. We have nothing left but our fears, and thoſe too vain; for whither can they lead to but to deſpair and the ſad deſire of annihilation? "If then, juſtice "and goodneſs be not the ſame in "God as in our ideas, we mean "nothing when we ſay that God "is neceſſarily juſt and good; and "for the ſame reaſon it may as "well be ſaid that we know not "what we mean when, according "to Dr. Clarke, (Evid. 26th) we "affirm that he is neceſſarily a "wiſe and intelligent Being." What then can Lord Bolingbroke mean, when he ſays every thing ſhews the wiſdom of God, and yet adds, every thing does not ſhew in like manner the goodneſs of God conformably to our ideas of this attribute in either? By wiſdom he muſt only mean, that God knows and employs the fitteſt means to a certain end, no matter what that end may be: this indeed is a proof of knowledge and intelligence; but theſe alone do not conſtitute wiſdom: the word implies the application of theſe fitteſt means to the beſt and kindeſt end: or, who will call it true wiſdom? even amongſt ourſelves, it is not held as ſuch. All the attributes then that he ſeems to think apparent in the conſtitution of things, are his unity, infinity, eternity and intelligence; from no one of which, I boldly affirm, can reſult any duty of gratitude or adoration incumbent on mankind, more than if he and all things round him were produced, as ſome have dared to think, by the neceſſary working of eternal matter in an infinite vacuum: for, what does it avail to add intelligence to thoſe other phyſical attributes, unleſs that intelligence be directed, not only to the good of the whole, but alſo to the good of every individual of which that whole is compoſed.

It is therefore no impiety, but the direct contrary, to ſay that human juſtice and the other virtues, which are indeed only various applications of human benevolence, bear ſome reſemblance to the moral attributes of the Supreme Being: it is only by means of that reſemblance, we conceive them in him, or their effects in his works: it is by the ſame means only, that we comprehend thoſe phyſical attributes which his Lordſhip allows to be demonſtrable: how can we form any notion of his unity, but from that unity of which we ourſelves are conſcious? How of his exiſtence, but from our own conſciouſneſs of exiſting? How of his power, but of that power which we experience

in ourſelves? Yet neither Lord Bolingbroke nor any other man, that thought on theſe ſubjects, ever believed that theſe our ideas were real and full repreſentations of theſe attributes in the Divinity. They ſay he knows; they do not mean that he compares ideas which he acquired from ſenſation, and draws concluſions from them. They ſay he acts; they do not mean by impulſe, nor as the ſoul acts on an organized body. They ſay he is omnipotent and eternal; yet on what are their ideas founded, but on our own narrow conceptions of ſpace and duration, prolonged beyond the bounds of ſpace and time? Either therefore there is a reſemblance and analogy (however imperfect and diſtant) between the attributes of the Divinity and our conceptions of them, or we cannot have any conceptions of them at all: he allows we ought to reaſon from earth, that we do know, to heaven which we do not know; how can we do ſo but by that affinity which appears between the one and the other?

In vain then does my Lord attempt to ridicule the warm but melancholy imagination of Mr. Wollaſton in that fine ſoliloquy: "Muſt I then bid my laſt farewel "to theſe walks when I cloſe theſe "lids, and yonder blue regions "and all this ſcene darken upon "me and go out? Muſt I then "only ſerve to furniſh duſt to be "mingled with the aſhes of theſe "herds and plants, or with this "dirt under my feet? Have I "been ſet ſo far above them in "life, only to be levelled with "them in death *?" No thinking head, no heart, that has the leaſt ſenſibility, but muſt have made the ſame reflection; or at leaſt muſt feel, not the beauty alone, but the truth of it, when he hears it from the mouth of another. Now what reply will Lord Bolingbroke make to theſe queſtions which are put to him, not only by Wollaſton, but by all mankind? He will tell you, that we, that is, the animals, vegetables, ſtones, and other clods of earth, are all connected in one immenſe deſign; that we are all dramatis perſonæ, in different characters, and that we were not made for ourſelves, but for the action: that it is fooliſh, preſumptuous, impious, and profane to murmur againſt the Almighty Author of this drama, when we feel ourſelves unavoidably unhappy. On the contrary, we ought to reſt our head on the ſoft pillow of reſignation, on the immoveable rock of tranquillity; ſecure, that, if our pains and afflictions grow violent indeed, an immediate end will be put to our miſerable being, and we ſhall be mingled with the dirt under our feet, a thing common to all the animal kind; and of which, he who complains, does not ſeem to have been ſet by his reaſon ſo far above them in life, as to deſerve not to be mingled with them in death. Such is the conſolation his philoſophy gives us, and ſuch the hope on which his tranquillity was founded †.

* Religion of Nature delineated, ſect. 9. p. 209, quarto.

† The reader, who would chuſe to ſee the argument, as Lord Bolingbroke puts it, will find it in the 4th volume of his Philoſophical Works, ſect. 40, 41. His ridicule on Wollaſton is in the 50th ſection of the ſame volume.

An

An Eſſay on Indifference in Religion; by Mrs. Chapone. *From her* Miſcellanies *in* Proſe *and* Verſe, *lately publiſhed.*

WHATEVER abſurdities may ariſe from the fancied ardors of enthuſiaſm, they are much leſs pernicious to the mind than the contrary extreme of coldneſs and indifference in religion. The ſpirit of chivalry, though it led to many romantic enterpriſes, was nevertheleſs favourable to true courage, as it excited and nouriſhed magnanimity and contempt of danger; which, though ſometimes waſted in abſurd undertakings, were of the greateſt uſe on real and proper occaſions. The nobleſt energies of which we are capable, can ſcarcely be called out without ſome degree of enthuſiaſm, in whatever cauſe we are engaged; and thoſe ſentiments, which tend to the exaltation of human nature, though they may often excite attempts beyond the human powers, will, however, prevent our ſtopping ſhort of them, and loſing, by careleſs indolence and ſelf-deſertion, the greateſt part of that ſtrength with which we really are endued.

How common is it for thoſe who profeſs (and perhaps ſincerely) to believe with entire perſuaſion the truth of the goſpel, to declare that they do not pretend to frame their lives according to the purity of its moral precepts! "I hope," ſay they, "I am guilty of no great crimes; but the cuſtoms of the world in theſe times will not admit of a conduct agreeable either to reaſon or revelation. I know the courſe of life I am in is wrong; I know that I am engroſſed by the world—that I have no time for reflection, nor for the practice of many duties which I acknowledge to be ſuch. But I know not how it is—I do not find that I can alter my manner of living."——Thus they coolly and contentedly give themſelves up to a conſtant courſe of diſſipation, and a general worthleſſneſs of character, which, I fear, is as little favourable to their happineſs here or hereafter, as the occaſional commiſſion of crimes at which they would ſtart and tremble. The habitual neglect of all that is moſt valuable and important, of children, friends, ſervants—of neighbours and dependents—of the poor—of God—and of their own minds, they conſider as an excuſable levity, and ſatisfy themſelves with laying the blame on the manners of the times.

If a modern lady of faſhion was to be called to account for the diſpoſition of her time, I imagine her defence would run in this ſtile:—— "I can't, you know, be out of the world, nor act differently from every body in it. The hours are every where late—conſequently I riſe late. I have ſcarce breakfaſted before morning viſits begin—or it is time to go to an auction, or a concert—or to take a little exerciſe for my health. Dreſſing my hair is a long operation—but one can't appear with a head unlike every body elſe. One muſt ſometimes go to a play, or an opera; though I own it hurries one to death. Then, what with neceſſary viſits—the perpetual engagements to card-parties at private houſes—and attendance on the public aſſemblies, to which all people of faſhion ſubſcribe, the evenings, you ſee, are fully diſpoſed of. What time then can I poſſibly have for what you call domeſtic duties?—You talk of the

offices and enjoyments of friendſhip—alas! I have no hours left for friends! I muſt ſee them in a croud, or not at all. As to cultivating the friendſhip of my huſband, we are very civil when we meet; but we are both too much engaged to ſpend much time with each other. With regard to my daughters, I have given them a French governeſs, and proper maſters—I can do no more for them. You tell me I ſhould inſtruct my ſervants—but I have not time to inform myſelf, much leſs can I undertake any thing of that ſort for them, or even be able to gueſs what they do with themſelves the greateſt part of the twenty-four hours. I go to church, if poſſible, once on a Sunday, and then ſome of my ſervants attend me; and, if they will not mind what the preacher ſays, how can I help it? The management of our fortune, as far as I am concerned, I muſt leave to the ſteward and houſekeeper; for I find I can barely ſnatch a quarter of an hour juſt to look over the bill of fare when I am to have company, that they may not ſend up any thing frightful or old-faſhioned. As to the Chriſtian duty of charity, I aſſure you I am not ill-natured; and (conſidering that the great expence of being always dreſſed for company, with loſſes at cards, ſubſcriptions, and public ſpectacles, leave me very little to diſpoſe of) I am ready enough to give my money when I meet with a miſerable object. You ſay, I ſhould inquire out ſuch, inform myſelf thoroughly of their caſes, make an acquaintance with the poor of my neighbourhood in the country, and plan out the beſt method of relieving the unfortunate, and aſſiſting the induſtrious. But this ſuppoſes much more time, and much more money, than I have to beſtow. I have had hopes indeed that my ſummers would have afforded me more leiſure; but we ſtay pretty late in town; then we generally paſs ſeveral weeks at one or other of the water-drinking places, where every moment is ſpent in public; and, for the few months in which we reſide at our own ſeat, our houſe is always full, with a ſucceſſion of company, to whoſe amuſement one is obliged to dedicate every hour of the day."

So here ends the account of that time which was given you to prepare and educate yourſelf for eternity?—yet you believe the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. Aſk your own heart what rewards you deſerve—or what kind of felicity you are fitted to enjoy? Which of thoſe faculties or affections, which heaven can be ſuppoſed to gratify, have you cultivated and improved? If, in that eternal world, the ſtores of knowledge ſhould be laid open before you, have you preſerved that thirſt of knowledge, or that taſte for truth, which is now to be indulged with endleſs information? If, in the ſociety of ſaints and angels, the pureſt benevolence and moſt cordial love is to conſtitute your happineſs, where is the heart that ſhould enjoy this delightful intercourſe of affection? Has yours been exerciſed and refined to a proper capacity of it during your ſtate of diſcipline, by the energies of generous friendſhip, by the meltings of parental fondneſs, or by that union of heart and ſoul, that mixed exertion of perfect friend-

ſhip

ſhip and ineffable tenderneſs, which approaches neareſt to the full ſatisfaction of our nature, in the bands of conjugal love? Alas! you ſcarce knew you had a heart, except when you felt it ſwell with pride, or flutter with vanity. Has your piety and gratitude to the ſource of all good been exerciſed and ſtrengthened by conſtant acts of praiſe and thankſgiving? Was it nouriſhed by frequent meditation, and ſilent recollection of all the wonders he hath done for us, till it burſt forth in fervent prayer? I fear it was rather decency than devotion that carried you once a week to the place of public worſhip—and, for the reſt of the week, your thoughts and time were ſo differently filled up, that the idea of a ruler of the univerſe could occur but ſeldom, and then, rather as an object of terror than of hope and joy. How then ſhall a ſoul, ſo dead to divine love, ſo loſt to all but the moſt childiſh purſuits, be able to exalt and enlarge itſelf to a capacity of bliſs which we are allowed to hope for, in a more intimate perception of the divine preſence, in contemplating more nearly the perfections of our Creator, and in pouring out before his throne our ardent gratitude, love, and adoration? What kind of training is the life you have paſſed through for ſuch an immortality?

And, dare you look down with contempt on thoſe whom ſtrong temptation from natural paſſions, or a train of unfortunate circumſtances, have ſunk into the commiſſion of what you call great crimes? Dare you ſpeak peace to your own heart, becauſe by different circumſtances you have been preſerved from them? Far be it from me to wiſh to leſſen the horror of crimes; but yet, as the temptations to theſe occur but ſeldom, whereas the temptations to neglect, and indifference towards our duty, for ever ſurround us, it may be neceſſary to awaken ourſelves to ſome calculation of the proportions between ſuch habitual omiſſion of all that is good, and the commiſſion of more heinous acts of ſin; between waſting our whole life in what is falſely called innocent amuſement, and diſgracing it by faults which would alarm ſociety more, though poſſibly they might injure it leſs.

How amazing is the diſtance between the extreme of negligence and ſelf-indulgence in ſuch nominal Chriſtians, and the oppoſite exceſs of rigour, which ſome have unhappily thought meritorious! between a Paſcal (who dreaded the influence of pleaſure ſo much, as to wear an iron, which he preſſed into his ſide whenever he found himſelf taking delight in any object of ſenſe) and thoſe who think life lent them only to be ſquandered in ſenſual diverſions, and the frivolous indulgence of vanity? What a ſtrange compoſition is man! ever diverging from the right line—forgetting the true end of his being—or widely miſtaking the means that lead to it?

If it were indeed true, that the Supreme Being had made it the condition of our future happineſs, that we ſhould ſpend the days of our pilgrimage here on earth in voluntary ſuffering and mortification, and a continual oppoſition to every inclination of nature, it would ſurely be worth while to conform even to theſe conditions, however rigorous: and we ſee, by numerous

examples, that it is not more than human creatures are capable of, when fully perſuaded that their eternal intereſts demand it. But if, in fact, the laws of God are no other than directions for the better enjoyment of our exiſtence—if he has forbid us nothing that is not pernicious, and commanded nothing that is not highly advantageous to us—if, like a beneficent parent, he inflicts neither puniſhment nor conſtraint unneceſſarily, but makes our good the end of all his injunctions—it will then appear much more extraordinary that we ſhould perverſely go on in conſtant and acknowledged neglect of thoſe injunctions.

Is there a ſingle pleaſure worthy of a rational being, which is not, within certain limitations, conſiſtent with religion and virtue? And, are not the limits, within which we are permitted to enjoy them, the ſame which are preſcribed by reaſon and nature, and which we cannot exceed without manifeſt hurt to ourſelves, or others? It is not the life of a hermit, or a *Pere de la Trappe*, that is enjoined us: it is only the life of a rational being, formed for ſociety, capable of continual improvement, and conſequently of continual advancement in happineſs.

It is vain, however, to think of recalling thoſe whom long habits, and the eſtabliſhed tyranny of pride and vanity, have almoſt precluded from a poſſibility of improving by advice, and in whom the very deſire of amendment is extinguiſhed; but for thoſe who are now entering on the ſtage of life, and who have their parts to chuſe, how earneſtly could I wiſh for the ſpirit of perſuaſion—for ſuch a 'warning voice as ſhould make itſelf heard amidſt all the gay buſtle that ſurrounds them! it ſhould cry to them without ceaſing, not to be led away by the crowd of fools, without knowing whither they are going—not to exchange real happineſs for the empty name of pleaſure—not to prefer faſhion to immortality—and not to fancy it poſſible for them to be innocent, and at the ſame time uſeleſs.

The great Difference in the State *of* Morals, *&c. and* Taſte *for the* Fine Arts, *&c. in different Countries, at the ſame Period; and at different Periods, in the ſame Country; ſufficiently accountable for, from the Difference in the State of Education and Religion, in theſe Conntries and at theſe Periods, without any Recourſe to the concomitant Circumſtances of Soil or Climate. From an Inquiry into the real and imaginary Obſtructions to the Acquiſition of the Arts in* England, *by* James Barry, *Royal Academician, and Member of the* Clementine *Academy of* Bologna.

THE preſident Monteſquieu has in ſome inſtances unfortunately followed his ingenious countryman Du Bos, in the ſame miſtaken precipitate track of calculating genius. "As climates are diſtinguiſhed (ſays he) by degrees of latitude, we might diſtinguiſh them alſo in ſome meaſure by degrees of ſenſibility." And he proves it by the following inſtance. "I have ſeen the operas of England and of Italy; they are the ſame pieces, and the ſame performers; and yet the ſame muſic produces

produces ſuch different effects on the two nations: one is ſo cold and indifferent, the other ſo tranſported, that it ſeems almoſt inconceivable*." I ſhall notwithſtanding venture to ſay, that theſe different effects are eaſily conceivable when we chuſe to reflect upon the mutability, growth, decline, and different materials of temporary national education. Is not the national taſte for muſic, like the taſte for all the other arts, conſtantly, though imperceptibly, changing? Is it not evident that in Italy, France and England, the different ages have had very different feelings about them? And are there not many very conſiderable Italians who, ſo far from approving of their preſent taſte of muſic, have lamented its want of meaning and true expreſſion, its degeneracy and change. But I ſhall leave this matter for Doctor Burney and the gentlemen who underſtand muſic, as it is fully ſufficient for my purpoſe that changes have been admitted, and that the taſte for this art, like that for all the others, depends upon the maſs of education, and fluctuates accordingly.

In book xix. ch. 27. of the Spirit of Laws, it is obſerved, as a neceſſary conſequence of their ſituation and mode of government, "that the ſatirical writings of the Engliſh are ſharp and ſevere; and we find amongſt them many Juvenals, without diſcovering one Horace." —"Their poets have more frequently an original rudeneſs of invention, than that particular kind of delicacy which ſprings from taſte; we there find ſomething which approaches nearer to the bold ſtrength of M. Angelo, than to the ſofter graces of a Rafaelle." Theſe inſtances from the Roman writers are a little unlucky, and foreign to the purpoſe for which they were brought: as the delicate Horace was bred up in the conteſts of a republic, as well as the harſh and ſharp Lucillius; and the ſevere, furious Juvenal lived in the times of ſlavery. As to our ſatiriſts, it is hard to ſay how many of them Monteſquieu had read, or whether he read any of them, or how far he was maſter of their language, ſo as to be able to form a proper judgment of their ſtyle and manner. But Abbé Wincleman, who has alſo paſſed a magiſterial cenſure upon all the Engliſh poets, was, to my own knowledge of him, ſo little acquainted with the language they wrote in, that he was ſcarcely able to underſtand even an ordinary article of intelligence in one of our Gazettes. But as Monteſquieu was indeed a very different kind of writer, ſuppoſe we admit for the preſent, that he was alſo above prejudice, and had not, like the other, any ſyſtem to maintain that was incompatible with the truth; that he did underſtand our language; and that, before he formed this judgment, he had given at leaſt our beſt ſatiriſts a fair and diſpaſſionate peruſal. Yet, what are we to think, if, after all, he could not find in Pope's Satires, and in his Rape of the Lock, any thing of the Horatian neatneſs and delicacy, which all the reſt of the world have found there; that in Addiſon he could ſee nothing at all of a gentlemanly turn of humour; and that Swift appeared to him to be a blunt, direct, angry writer, who never furniſhed any exerciſe to

* Spirit of Laws, book xiv. ch. 2.

the

the riſible muſcles, and who was unſkilled in the uſe of wit and irony.

As to what he ſays in his 14th book, "that the climate of England is ſo diſtempered as to give the natives a diſreliſh to every thing, nay even of life; and that the Engliſh deſtroy themſelves moſt unaccountably often in the very boſom of happineſs," &c. it is an obſervation every way unworthy ſuch a writer as Monteſquieu. At leaſt in this particular he might have informed himſelf better, as the knowledge of it did not depend upon any nice diſcernment of our language, as in the former inſtance. But ſometimes theſe eagles of philoſophy will ſoar ſo high, that they ſee nothing but clouds. A more ordinary man would have found out, nay had it been in the iſlands of Borneo, or Madagaſcar, Monteſquieu would have found, that this hateful practice of ſuicide was brought about by a combination of moral cauſes; that it was of very recent introduction, and that the natives formerly were not particularly remarkable for this moroſeneſs of diſpoſition, and this tedium vitæ.

When we conſider the compound nature of man, neither a merely ſenſitive being, nor yet a merely intellectual, or moral one, it will afford no ſmall entertainment to let our thoughts wander over the various ways that the different religions of the Greeks, Romans, and the Italians, were calculated to act upon, and to occupy all the ſenſes and the imagination, as well as the underſtanding of the people: even the ancient Jewiſh religion was not ill conſtructed for this, by its pompous and magnificent feaſts, its muſic, its ſacrifices, its numerous ceremonies, and their conſtant frequency. The ancients ſeem to have grounded themſelves upon a perſuaſion that all this external of things, this allegria, feaſting, and occupation of the ſenſes, was indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the bulk of mankind, whoſe ſituations in life utterly diſqualified them for philoſophy, ſubtle calculations, and deductions from the fitneſs of things; and who could be but little affected, and that but for a very ſhort time, by any ſet of abſtract, naked, ſpeculative opinions, rigidly diveſted of all outſide pomps and vanities of this world; and which, by deſpiſing the toys and puppet-ſhew work of ſuperſtition and weakneſs, would leave nothing to amuſe the weak and ignorant, who are very numerous, and are not always confined to the lower claſs. Their religions were accordingly conſtructed in ſuch a manner, as to afford a ſort of general purſuit and ſource of occupation and entertainment, which grew up with every man at the ſame time that he was purſuing his particular avocation in life; and thoſe who were baffled and diſappointed in theſe particular purſuits, found an aſylum and reſource in recurring to the matter with which religion was amply ſtored, and with which he could fill up the gulph and vacuity of his mind thus ſickened and forſaken by its other proſpects.

Some countries, from commerce and the form of government, are remarkably diſtinguiſhed for great private wealth, and its concomitants eaſe and luxury. In ſuch countries Socrates, Lycurgus, and

St.

St. Paul, may agree to decry ſuch a ſummum bonum, and to ſtigmatize it as the ſource of the deepeſt evil, but they will have little weight (even where their opinions might reach) with the inveterate habits of men, every part of whoſe education has tended to amplify and to overrate thoſe objects; and who, like fooliſh ſportſmen, build their happineſs upon the capture, which is uncertain and liable to diſappointment, and not in the chace, of which they could not be deprived. I have neither inclination nor ability to declaim upon the threadbare topics of the world, or the fleſh, of Mammon, or Belial; and if I had, it were better ſpared, as theſe points have been long ſince excellently laboured, both by philoſophy and religion: but I will ſay, that in a great kingdom, where the human paſſions are all afloat, and where property is from the conſtitution of that kingdom remarkably fluctuating, and almoſt like a game of chance; and where the conflict of many different modes of religion had mutually ruined the credit of each other, and, generally ſpeaking, left nothing remaining but a great chaſm of doubt and diſbelief; it will be hard to find in ſuch a kingdom a remedy and a balſam for the diſguſts of an impotent ſated voluptuary, for the diſappointment of baffled ambition, pride, avarice, and of all the other purſuits, where the hopes of multitudes of men finiſh in diſappointment, ruin, and chagrin. There is then no general ſtay left, no haven where this wreck can ſhelter itſelf; the very nature and activity of his purſuits, and the paſſions employed in them, has kept him a ſtranger to real ſociability, to affectionate hearty friendſhips, and to every thing that could now be of uſe; he can diſburthen himſelf no where; he ſeeks ſolitude, and he has no fears before him to hinder his taking a leap in the dark. Theſe things, as Dr. Young obſerves, might have happened in any climate, even in Eden:

> A ſenſual, unreflecting life, is big
> With monſtruous births, and *Suicide*, to crown
> The black infernal brood.
> Complaint, Night V.

As to low ſpirits, and what the French call *ennui*, as people educate themſelves into it, ſo, if they do not ſuffer it to go too far, they may educate themſelves out of it again, of which I have known inſtances. Some men, as was obſerved before, are brought to this temperature of mind, by indulging themſelves in melancholy, upon their loſſes and diſappointments in matters of uncertain tenure, and which they have unwiſely overrated. Others, ſtrange as it may ſeem, only affect it in the beginning; and, as is often the caſe in love and in other things, habit is ſure to convert it afterwards into a reality. Now there are two infallible remedies that might be preſcribed in this diſorder, one of them indeed is to be taken rather by way of preventive, and conſiſts in ſetting about the acquiring of good humour and high ſpirits; and the method to be purſued is laid down in Lord Bacon, page 74. "Practiſe them (good humour and high ſpirits) chiefly at two ſeveral times: the one when the mind is beſt diſpoſed; the other when it is worſt diſpoſed: that by the one you may gain a great ſtep, by the other you

you may work out the knots and ſtondes of the mind, and make the middle times the more eaſy and pleaſant." As for the other method of removing the ſpleen, when it has actually taken place, it has been practiſed with ſalutary good effect upon the Yahoes, and is laid down in Gulliver, who, from certain parities, which he has well diſcovered, recommends it ſtrenuouſly to an Engliſh conſtitution, and pledges himſelf for the ſucceſs of its application.

I hope it is not neceſſary to inſiſt, that an over-attention to ſenſual and worldly qualifications, and an unfeeling indifference to the objects of religion and morality, cannot be the natural conſequence of living in any one climate more than in another; certainly not. The human paſſions, which are the ſeeds of diverſity, and the inſtruments of good and evil, receive no character from nature but that of ſtrength or weakneſs. A man with weak paſſions will never be either very excellent, or very vicious: but when the paſſions are ſtrong and impetuous, then it is that they touch the extremes of heaven, or hell, with their virtues or their vices, according to whichever goal their habits and their education drive them. Thus it is that a man is accountable for his actions; a father for his children; and the ſtate for its members. Timely habits and proper education might convert ſenſibility into humanity, pride into greatneſs of ſoul, and curioſity into a knowledge of ſublime truths.

The hiſtories of England, Greece, Italy, and France, furniſh many inſtances of great changes and revolutions in politics, religion and morality. There can be no doubt but that Epicuriſm, Stoiciſm, Pyrrhoniſm, or true or falſe Chriſtianity, might be planted ſucceſsfully in any of theſe ſoils; they are equally capable of the extremes of ſuperſtition and impiety, and conſequently of filling up all the mediate ſpaces between them; they are alike ſuſceptible of every mode of government, of ariſtocracy, democracy, or monarchy. There are periods in which each country has ſhewn virtue to be admired and imitated; and there are others which ſhock us with their vices and corruptions: they have had their ages of equal laws, of anarchy, tyranny, luxury, piety and impiety. The Greeks and Aſiatics were eager to make images in one age, and they were as zealous to break them in another; they had their ages of Iconoclaſtes and Iconopoi, they had their times when, like the Engliſh, they thought it unlawful to paint any thing but birds, landſcapes, and other ſtill-life ſubjects *; and there were other, happier times, when the ſame people looked with a becoming contempt on ſuch unworthy purſuits, and when all the dignity of genius was employed upon thoſe nobler objects of the human character and the paſſions; the very veſtiges of which are at this day the admiration of all enlightened people. The people of England have been at one period ambitious of filling up a long calendar of ſaints, at another they were as buſily employed in blotting them out. At one time they are ſlaviſh enough

* Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the Iconoclaſtes.

to

to hold their kingdom in vaſſalage to the pope; at another they laugh at his authority, and ſpit back interdicts and excommunications in his face.

Letter from Ignatius Sancho, *a free* Black *in* London, *to the late Reverend Mr.* Sterne, *beſeeching him to beſtow a little of his Attention on Slavery, as it is at this Day practiſed in our* Weſt-Indies; *with Mr.* Sterne's *Anſwer. From Mr.* Sterne's Letters, *lately publiſhed by his Daughter.*

From *Ignatius Sancho*, to Mr. *Sterne.*

Reverend Sir,

IT would be an inſult on your humanity (or perhaps look like it), to apologize for the liberty I am taking—I am one of thoſe people whom the vulgar and illiberal call negroes.—The firſt part of my life was rather unlucky, as I was placed in a family who judged ignorance the beſt and only ſecurity for obedience.--A little reading and writing I got by unwearied application.—The latter part of my life has been, thro' God's bleſſing, truly fortunate—having ſpent it in the ſervice of one of the beſt and greateſt families in the kingdom—my chief pleaſure has been books—Philanthropy I adore—How very much, good Sir, am I (amongſt millions) indebted to you for the character of your amiable Uncle Toby!—I declare I would walk ten miles in the dog-days, to ſhake hands with the honeſt corporal.—Your ſermons have touched me to the heart, and I hope have amended it, which brings me to the point—In your tenth diſcourſe, page ſeventy-eight, in the ſecond volume—is this very affecting paſſage—"Conſider how great a part of our ſpecies in all ages down to this—have been trod under the feet of cruel and capricious tyrants, who would neither hear their cries, nor pity their diſtreſſes.—Conſider ſlavery—what it is—how bitter a draught—and how many millions are made to drink of it."—Of all my favourite authors not one has drawn a tear in favour of my miſerable black brethren—excepting yourſelf, and the humane author of Sir Geo. Elliſon.—I think you will forgive me; I am ſure you will applaud me for beſeeching you to give one half hour's attention to ſlavery, as it is at this day practiſed in our Weſt-Indies.—That ſubject handled in your ſtriking manner would eaſe the yoke (perhaps) of many—but if only of one—Gracious God! what a feaſt to a benevolent heart! and ſure I am, you are an epicurean in acts of charity.—You who are univerſally read, and as univerſally admired—you could not fail.—Dear Sir, think in me you behold the uplifted hands of thouſands of my brother Moors. Grief (you pathetically obſerve) is eloquent: figure to yourſelf their attitudes; hear their ſupplicating addreſſes!—alas! you cannot refuſe.—Humanity muſt comply—in which hope I beg permiſſion to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Reverend Sir, &c.

I. S.

From Mr. *Sterne*, to *Ignatius Sancho.*

Coxwould, July 27, 1767.

THERE is a ſtrange coincidence, Sancho, in the little events (as

(as well as in the great ones) of this world: for I had been writing a tender tale of the ſorrows of a friendleſs poor negroe-girl, and my eyes had ſcarce done ſmarting with it, when your letter of recommendation, in behalf of ſo many of her brethren and ſiſters, came to me—but why *her brethren?* or yours, Sancho! any more than mine? It is by the fineſt tints, and moſt inſenſible gradations, that nature deſcends from the faireſt face about St. James's, to the ſootieſt complexion in Africa:—at which tint of theſe is it, that the ties of blood are to ceaſe? and how many ſhades muſt we deſcend lower ſtill in the ſcale, ere mercy is to vaniſh with them? But 'tis no uncommon thing, my good Sancho, for one half of the world to uſe the other half of it like brutes, and then endeavour to make 'em ſo.—For my own part, I never look weſtward, (when I am in a penſive mood at leaſt) but I think of the burthens which our brothers and ſiſters are there carrying, and could I eaſe their ſhoulders from one ounce of them, I declare I would ſet out this hour upon a pilgrimage to Mecca for their ſakes—which by the bye, Sancho, exceeds your walk of ten miles in about the ſame proportion, that a viſit of humanity ſhould one of mere form.—However, if you meant my Uncle Toby more, he is your debtor.—If I can weave the tale I have wrote into the work I am about—'tis at the ſervice of the afflicted—and a much greater matter; for in ſerious truth, it caſts a ſad ſhade upon the world, that ſo great a part of it are, and have been ſo long bound in chains of darkneſs, and in chains of miſery; and I cannot but both reſpect and felicitate you, that by ſo much laudable diligence you have broke the one—and that by falling into the hands of ſo good and merciful a family, Providence has reſcued you from the other.

And ſo good-hearted Sancho adieu! and believe me I will not forget your letter.

Yours,

L. STERNE.

Arguments drawn from Intereſt, as well as Humanity, againſt the Practice of Slavery *in the* French *Colonies; and ſtill more applicable to the* Engliſh *Colonies. From a late Voyage to the* Iſle *of* France, *the* Iſle *of* Bourbon, *&c. by a* French *Officer.*

"I KNOW not, ſays he, whether coffee and ſugar are neceſſary to the happineſs of Europe; but certain I am, that thoſe two vegetables have occaſioned the miſery of two parts of the world. America has been depopulated to procure ground to plant them; Africa has been depopulated to procure hands to cultivate them.

It is our intereſt, it is ſaid, to cultivate proviſions which are become neceſſary to us, rather than purchaſe them of our neighbours: but as carpenters, bricklayers, maſons, and other European workmen, labour here [*viz.* in the Iſle of France] in the noon-day heat, why have we not white labourers? But what would become of the preſent proprietors of lands? They would become more wealthy; an inhabitant would be at his eaſe with twenty farmers, he is poor with twenty ſlaves. There are ſuppoſed

to

to be 20,000 in the Iſle of France, of whom an 18th part is obliged to be renewed every year. Thus the colony left to itſelf would be deſtroyed in 18 years: ſo true it is, that there is no population without liberty and property, and that injuſtice is a bad œconomiſt.

It is ſaid, that the *Black Code* is made in their favour. Be it ſo; but the cruelty of their maſters exceeds the puniſhments allowed, and their avarice ſubſtracts the food, the reſt, and the rewards which are due to them. If theſe wretches would make complaints, to whom ſhould they complain? Their judges are frequently their greateſt tyrants.

But we cannot govern theſe ſlaves, it is pretended, but by great ſeverity: there muſt be puniſhments, iron collars with three hooks, whips, blocks, to which they are faſtened by the foot; chains which go round their necks: they muſt be treated like beaſts, that the whites may live like men. . . . Ah! I well know, that, when a moſt unjuſt principle is eſtabliſhed, the moſt unjuſt concluſions are always drawn from it.

Was it not enough for theſe wretches to be delivered up to the avarice and cruelty of the moſt depraved of men, but they muſt likewiſe be the ſport of their ſophiſms?

Some divines affirm, that, for a temporal ſlavery, they procure them a ſpiritual freedom: but moſt of them are bought at an age at which they can never learn French, and the miſſionaries do not learn their language. Beſides, thoſe who are baptized are treated like the reſt.

They add, that they have deſerved the chaſtiſements of Heaven, by ſelling one another. Muſt we therefore be their executioners? Let us leave the vultures to deſtroy the kites.

Some politicians have excuſed ſlavery, by ſaying, that it is juſtified by war; but the Negroes do not make war with us. Allowing that human laws permit it, it ſhould at leaſt be reſtrained within the bounds which they preſcribe.

Sorry I am that ſome philoſophers, who combat abuſes with ſo much courage, have ſcarce mentioned the ſlavery of the Negroes, except to ridicule it. They turn to a diſtance. They talk of St. Bartholomew, of the maſſacre of the Mexicans by the Spaniards, as if this wickedneſs was not practiſed in our times, and in which all Europe has a ſhare. Is it then more wicked to kill at once ſome people whoſe opinions are different from ours, than to torture a nation to whom we owe our enjoyments? Thoſe beautiful colours with which our ladies are adorned, the cotton with which they line their ſtays, the ſugar, the coffee, the chocolate on which they breakfaſt, the red with which they heighten their complexions, all theſe the hand of the miſerable Negroes prepares for them. Tender women, you weep at tragedies, and yet what affords you pleaſure is bathed with the tears, and ſtained with the blood of your fellow-creatures!"

This work concludes with ſome pathetic reflections, of which the following, relative to the above effuſions, do the author great honour.

"Life is only a ſhort voyage, and the age of man a rapid day. I would willingly forget its ſtorms to recollect only the ſervices, the virtues, and the conſtancy of my friends.

friends. These letters, perhaps, will preserve their names, and make them survive my gratitude. Perhaps they may reach even you, good Hollanders of the Cape! As for thee, O unfortunate Negro, who weepest on the rocks of Mauritius, if my hand, though it cannot dry up thy tears, should make them flow with regret and repentance from thy tyrants, I have nothing more to ask of the Indies, I have there made my fortune.

D. S. P."

On the savage Diversion *of* Cock-fighting.

I HAVE frequently observed, and with a degree of pleasure, the beautiful, the sprightly appearance of a well feathered cock. The luxuriant plumage of his neck, and fine tail exuberantly flowing over his back in a semicircular form, give him an air of grandeur superior, in my opinion, to any of our domestic birds. I love to see him, surrounded with his seraglio of females, strut along with great pomp, the august monarch of the dunghill. It is pleasant to observe how this creature apes reason when led by powerful instinct; he disdains to pick what the females seem to have a desire for. This refusing to make use of the power he has over them, seems as a lesson to mankind, not to tyrannize over the weaker, whom, as having power, he ought to protect and nourish. It should, I would think, afford more satisfaction to a rational being to survey these creatures enjoying themselves in innocent tranquility, than to see them expiring in agonies occasioned by the cruelty of a set of men who stile themselves Christians. I am convinced that would our doughty gentlemen heroes of the sod, give themselves a little time to reflect on the inhumanity of such diversions, and look upon these creatures in the light I do, there would never be another cocking-match or Welch main fought in their time; and I doubt not but our children, influenced by so good an example, would hardly think of renewing such barbarity. I suppose many of these kind of sportsmen will say—"I glory in a cock." But then, the misfortune is, they glory in them no farther than as they are subservient to their wanton cruelty; for should his favourite stag (as he calls him) after having fought three successive battles, and foiled his antagonists in each, decline engaging in a fourth, or, if engaged and almost spent with toil, he should endeavour to avoid his destiny by flight, or even make the least effort to recede, his neck must be immediately twisted, as the only reward for his prowess. Thus he meets his fate from a quarter, one might imagine the least expected; and I will refer it to any man of reason, if the cruel perpetrator does not, in this case, prove himself as much a monster and a tyrant as the detested Emperor Nero. Nero wantonly tortured men, because (being a monster in nature) he exerted the height of that despotic power, which the people foolishly placed in their princes at that age, until fatal experience convinced them of that dangerous error. And I know not what many of my countrymen would

would do, if not reſtrained by ſalutary laws.

I never, but once, was a ſpectator of this barbarous and ignorant amuſement. I was, at that time, about thirteen years of age, and have ever ſince held that practice in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. The ſenſations I felt, even at that age, were painful. Firſt, I was ſhocked to behold how ſtrangely that once beautiful creature was diſfigured. That beautiful tail which did ſo adorn him, was now miſerably lopped, and bore great analogy to that of an oſtrich. In a word, he was now ſo cut and mutilated, that he made a more deſpicable appearance than the meaneſt hen.

In this condition he was led to the field of battle, and becauſe nature had not furniſhed him with weapons fatally keen, he was now ſupplied with artificial ones. I took notice of two men in ſtriped jackets, whom I after underſtood ſtiled themſelves pitters. Their buſineſs was to encourage theſe little combatants to deſtroy each other. I obſerved that many paid great reſpect to theſe men, and by others they were kicked and abuſed. The engagement began, and theſe little creatures exerted much agility, and mighty valourous they were in their way. Oft were the bloody weapons extracted by theſe doughty ſeconds, and as oft did they urge them to the fight. During all which time the vociferous company almoſt ſtunned my ears with their diſcordant din. I would gladly have retired, but it was no eaſy taſk to extricate myſelf from amongſt them; I therefore was obliged to wait the concluſion. After many ſevere onſets one of theſe poor creatures had an eye ſtruck out by his antagoniſt's ſpur, which went with ſuch violence as to pierce quite through the head. The barbarous company, inſtead of commiſerating, announced their joy with a loud cheer, which was echoed through the whole circle. The weapon was again extracted; yet this did not ſuffice. The combat muſt be again renewed. After a few more faint ſtruggles, being now almoſt ſpent, and their ſpirits quite exhauſted, they fell to the ground, gaſping in agonies, with heads reclined on the graſs. After a few ſeconds one of them raiſed his head, and made a motion with his bill, upon which a ſecond, and moſt tremendous roar, proclaimed him the victor.

I have been thus particular in deſcribing this kind of diverſion (which is practiſed and countenanced by men, who ſometimes appear in a certain auguſt aſſembly, deliberating on important matters, enforcing wiſe laws, dog-acts, &c.) becauſe, ſhould any perſon who never heard of ſuch things read this, he would hardly imagine that ſuch practices could exiſt amongſt men of ſenſe, who live in a civilized nation, and call themſelves—"followers of Chriſt."

But, ſetting aſide the cruelty of this diverſion, what ruin has it brought upon families! How many poor mechanics leave their wives and children ſtarving at home for want of bread, while they are rioting and revelling at a cocking-match! How many of the higher rank have forfeited their eſtates, and entailed poverty on their poſterity, in order that they might pay what they call "debts of honour!" Now when ſuch men as theſe commence fathers and heads of families, what kind of

morals can they be ſuppoſed to inſtil into their children? Can they be ſuppoſed to teach them benevolence, gratitude, charity, compaſſion, and the reſt of the ſocial virtues? Are they proper perſons

——"to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to ſhoot,
And pour the freſh inſtructions o'er the mind?"

THOMSON.

Alas! the contrary is evident. For many of theſe kind of ſportſmen have been known to abuſe and beat their children for no other reaſon than becauſe they gave inſtances of a humane, pacific diſpoſition, in refuſing to ſaw off the heads of poultry, or daſh out the brains of a cat—"Why," they will exclaim, "are not all creatures made for man's uſe?" But granting this, (which many of our philoſophers refuſe to grant) does it follow from hence, that they were made to be the objects of our wanton cruelty? Man is always ready to ſtile himſelf "lord of the creation," but his pride makes him forget that he is a poor dependant creature himſelf. The following ſenſible and pathetic ſentences, extracted from the "Œconomy of Human Life," may not be improperly introduced on this occaſion, and with which I ſhall conclude this letter.

"Exalt not thyſelf to the heavens, for lo! the angels are above thee; nor diſdain thy fellow-inhabitants of the earth, for that they are beneath thee.—Are not they the work of the ſame hand? Thou who art happy by the mercy of thy Creator, how dareſt thou in wantonneſs put others of his creatures to torture? Beware that it return not upon thee."

Penrith. C. GRAHAM.

On Homer's *Geography, and* Mr. Pope's *Tranſlation. From* Mr. Wood's *Eſſay on the Original Genius and Writings of* Homer.

WE can produce no evidence of Homer's travels ſo ſatisfactory, as his geographical accuracy, a thorough examination of which we muſt reſerve for a more enlarged plan of this work, if I ſhould be ever able to compleat it. For it would be impoſſible to give this article the conſideration it deſerves, without exceeding the bounds which we propoſed to this eſſay. His map of Greece alone would take a volume to do it juſtice, eſpecially as we followed Homer through that country, under the direction of Strabo, whoſe judicious commentary upon the geographical part of the Iliad and Odyſſey leaves us leſs reaſon to regret the loſs of twelve books of Apollodorus the Athenian, with twenty-three of Menogenes, and the works of ſeveral other writers on this ſubject; among whom Demetrius of Scepſis compoſed ſixty books on thirty lines of the Catalogue. So diffuſive and extenſive an illuſtration does not, I confeſs, give a favourable idea of the work: but as an apology for Demetrius (perhaps a compliment to Homer) I muſt obſerve, that he lived within ſight of Troy, upon an elevated ſpot, which commanded a view of the great ſcene of action; and of courſe he might be more particularly intereſted in that minute accuracy of his author, which fell ſo much under his daily obſervation.

The reader will be leſs ſurpriſed at thoſe voluminous commentaries on the Catalogue, if he conſiders how highly the authority of this venerable

venerable record was reſpected, even by the juriſprudence of thoſe times. In ſome cities it was by law enacted, that the youth ſhould learn the Catalogue by heart. Solon the law-giver appealed to this code, in juſtification of the Athenian claim againſt the pretenſions of the Megareans, when the right to Salamis was ſo warmly conteſted by Athens and Megara. And the deciſion of that matter was at laſt left to five Spartan judges, who, on their part, admitted the nature of the evidence. And the affair was accordingly determined in favour of the Athenians, though by a different reading more favourable to their claim. We find three other litigated caſes with regard to territorial property and dominion, which are ſaid to have been determined by reference to this original chart.

That Homer ſhould eſcape ſo entire, out of the hands of lawyers and grammarians, is a piece of good fortune to letters, upon which his friends have great reaſon to congratulate themſelves. For, conſidering how cruelly both his compoſitions and the countries they deſcribe have been tortured by barbarous treatment of various kinds, and the changes they have undergone in ſo great a length of time, his deſcriptions correſpond more with preſent appearances than could be reaſonably expected.

Not only the permanent and durable objects of his deſcription, ſuch as his rock, hill, dale, promontory, &c. continue in many inſtances to bear unqueſtionable teſtimony of his correctneſs, and ſhew, by a ſtrict propriety of his epithets, how faithfully they were copied; but even his more fading and changeable landſcape, his ſhady grove, verdant lawn, and flowery mead, his paſture and tillage, with all his varieties of corn, wine, and oil, agree ſurpriſingly with the preſent face of thoſe countries.

So remarkable a reſemblance between periods ſo diſtant from each other would induce us to believe, what is not otherwiſe improbable, that agriculture is pretty much in the ſame neglected ſtate, in that part of the world, at preſent, as it was in the time of the poet. I doubt much, whether his deſcriptions of this kind could have ſo well ſtood the teſt of our examination, two thouſand years ago, in thoſe days of elegance and refinement, when nature was probably decked out in a ſtudied dreſs, unlike the elegant diſhabille in which Homer and we found her.

But, I muſt own that great part of the amuſement, which we enjoyed in Homer and Strabo's company, on the ſpot, aroſe as much from the inveſtigation, as the diſcovery of the correſpondence and reſemblance. Nor can I, for that reaſon, promiſe the ſame entertainment to the reader, ſhould I live to lay before him our further obſervations on this head; yet I hope my labour will not be entirely loſt, if I can raiſe the attention of future commentators and tranſlators to a matter, which has, I think, been too negligently treated. I cannot, perhaps, more effectually point out the uſe of a more extenſive conſideration of this ſubject, than by ſhewing how much a neglect of it has been injurious to the poet's truth, to which I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf.

I chuſe to take the inſtances, which I ſhall produce for this purpoſe, from Mr. Pope's elegant tranſlation, rather than from others of

leſs merit; becauſe I think they muſt have more weight, when collected from that quarter, to which the Iliad and Odyſſey have the greateſt obligations: for though Madam Dacier comes neareſt to the poet's meaning, I believe it will be acknowledged, that of all the languages we know, in which Homer has hitherto appeared, it is in Engliſh alone that he continues to be a poet.

While, upon this occaſion, I ſhall take that liberty with Mr. Pope, which a free enquiry demands, I ſhall not forget how much is due to ſo great an ornament of our country: nor am I inſenſible of the great merit of his very poetical tranſlation. I could with pleaſure enlarge upon his improvements of the original, were the beauties of that work as much connected with my ſubject, as the ungrateful taſk of finding fault, in which I happen to be engaged; but, as the ſcope of this eſſay is to vindicate the truth and conſiſtence of Homer's deſcription, the tranſlation comes properly before us only ſo far, as it contradicts that character.

Now, though it muſt be acknowledged, that Mr. Pope is the only tranſlator, who has, in a certain degree, kept alive that divine ſpirit of the poet, which has almoſt expired in other hands; yet I cannot help thinking that thoſe, who wiſh to be thoroughly acquainted, either with the manners and characters of Homer's age, or the landſcape and geography of his country, will be diſappointed, if they expect to find them in this tranſlation. Had Mr. Pope preſerved the firſt, viz. the manners and characters, Homer would have continued to ſpeak Greek to moſt of his Engliſh readers. For, though the diſguiſe of ſeveral paſſages, in a modern dreſs, may ſometimes proceed from his not being very converſant with antient life and manners; yet he often purpoſely accommodates his author to the ideas of thoſe for whom he tranſlates; ſubſtituting beauties of his own (as ſimilar as he can bring them to the original) in the room of thoſe which he deſpaired of making intelligible.

But as a truly poetical tranſlation could not be effected, even by Mr. Pope, without his "venturing to "open the proſpect a little, by the "addition of a few epithets, or "ſhort hints of deſcription;" ſo "the moſt valuable piece of geo-"graphy left us, concerning the "ſtate of Greece in that early pe-"riod," has of courſe ſuffered by ſuch liberties*; and, when every deſcriptive epithet in Homer ſhould have been religiouſly preſerved, Mr. Pope's alterations have produced a new map of his own, and deprived us of that merit of the original which he called upon us to admire. Thus the Græa and ſpacious Mycaleſſus of Homer become by tranſlation,

"Græa near the main,
"And Mycaleſſia's ample piny plain.

Had it been proper to deſcribe the narrow ſtreight of the Euripus, by the name of the main, yet it is not at all diſtinguiſhed, by ſuch a ſituation, from ſeveral other places mentioned on this ſhore; and as to the ample piny plain, we ſearched for it to no purpoſe. It is, therefore, matter of doubt, whether it

* See Pope's Obſervations on the Catalogue.

exiſted

exiſted in the time of Homer, though mentioned by Statius about a thouſand years after. Indeed it would be difficult to aſſign any reaſon for the addition in the Engliſh, except that the rhyme requires that that Græa ſhould be near the main in the firſt line, and that Mycaleſſia (for ſo the tranſlator was obliged to write it in order to make out the line) owes both to rhyme and meaſure her piny plain in the ſecond.

When the additional epithets of the tranſlator are deſcriptive of ſome permanent circumſtance, as in thoſe lines;

"From high Trœzene and Maſeta's plain,
"And fair Ægina, circled by the main,"

the deſcription (though not Homer's, and merely introduced to help out the rhyme and meaſure) has probably been always true; but when unauthoriſed, and without conſulting his author, he enriches the picture with the fluctuating and tranſitory circumſtances of huſbandry, it is leſs excuſable. Thus when he informs us, that the following two places were famous

"For flocks Erythræ, Gliſſa for the vine;

and mentions thoſe

"Who plow the ſpacious Orchomenian
"plain;

he ſubſtitutes the ſtate of thoſe countries in the time of Plutarch and Statius, from whom he takes his account of them, for what it might have been in that of Homer, who connects no ſuch ideas of paſture, vintage, and corn, with thoſe names.

In ſhort, thoſe conciſe, but deſcriptive, and therefore intereſting, ſketches of antient arts, cuſtoms, and manners, with which Homer has enlivened his map of Greece, cannot be tranſlated faithfully, and at the ſame time poetically. Mr. Pope has ſucceeded ſurpriſingly in the latter; but then his ſtudy of a flowing and muſical verſification frequently betrays him into a florid profuſion of unmeaning ornament, in which the object is greatly diſguiſed, if not totally loſt; as when, for the graſſy Pteleon of Homer, we have,

"And graſſy Pteleon deck'd with chearful
"greens,
"The bow'rs of Ceres, and thy ſylvan
"ſcenes."

In the ſame manner, the ſingle epithet, noble, which Homer gives the Cephiſſus, is extended to a complete landſcape.

"From thoſe rich regions, where Cephiſſus
"leads
"His ſilver current thro' the flow'ry
"meads."

He is ſtill more laviſh of ornament, when he dreſſes up the Peneus and leafy Pelion of Homer in as much additional finery, as can be well crowded into four lines:

"Who dwell where Pelion, crown'd with
"piny boughs,
"Obſcures the glade, and nods his ſhaggy
"brows;
"Or where thro' flow'ry Tempe Peneus
"ſtray'd,
"The region ſtretch'd beneath his mighty
"ſhade."

Here the tranſlator gives us a picture, not without its beauties; but beauties ſo much his own, that they retain little of Homer, either as to the ſubject, or the manner.

We ſhall ſay no more at preſent of the Catalogue, where Rhætor is green, Lilæa fair, and Cynos rich, without any authority from the original; Anemonia has her ſtately ſhining turrets, and Corinth her imperial towers, Parrhaſia her ſnowy cliffs, Tarphe her ſylvan

ſeats, and Ætylus her low walls, from Pope, not from Homer.

It is owing to theſe liberties, that we find the old poet often loaded with Engliſh ambiguity, and even contradiction, for which there is no foundation in the Greek; as where Ithaca is ſometimes fair, and ſometimes barren; and where, in ſpite of the ſandy coaſt of Pylos in one place, we have, in another,

"Alpheus' plenteous ſtream that yields
"Increaſe of harveſt to the Pylian fields."

Beſides thoſe inſuperable difficulties which every poetical tranſlator of Homer has to encounter, when we conſider (what it is our great object at preſent to point out) that he copied from nature, and truſted to his own obſervation, we ſee how this original method of collecting his materials produces a conſiſtent whole out of correſponding parts, every object of deſcription recurring, though in a new light, yet always agreeable to the firſt idea, which he conveys of it. And when we alſo conſider, that none of his commentators, ſince the time of Strabo, have been at the pains of forming to themſelves any diſtinct idea of his geography; it is not ſurpriſing, that, when they loſe ſight of the original, they ſhould be inconſiſtent, not only with truth, but with themſelves.

However, the tranſlator's repreſentation of the ſame ſcene of action under different appearances, in different parts of the poem, falls leſs under obſervation, than when the ſame deſcription contradicts itſelf within the compaſs of a few lines; as where we ſee

"The great Achilles ſtretch'd along the
"ſhore,
"Where, daſh'd on rocks, the broken bil-
"lows roar;

though, in three lines after,

"Along the graſs his languid members
"fall:"

and yet, after all, the ſame deſcription, which puts him to ſleep, both on the rocks, and on the graſs, awakes him;

"Starting from the ſands."

Should we give this ſleepy Achilles to a painter, he muſt be ſtrangely puzzled with the hero's rocky, graſſy, ſandy couch; a ſort of prevarication (if I may uſe that expreſſion) impracticable upon canvaſs.

Thus, while the poet, by judiciouſly ſelecting the mere characterizing circumſtances of the object which he deſcribes, leaves us fully impreſſed with truth and reality; his tranſlator, over-ſtudious of embelliſhment, wanders into inconſiſtence in ſearch of it: nay, ſometimes into ſudden contradiction; as when the ſame picture of the ſea is, in one line,

"The foaming flood;

and in that immediately following

"The level ſurface of the deep."

Much of this is, no doubt, owing to that unhappy reſtraint of Engliſh rhyme, which ſo unworthily engroſſes his thoughts, that he not only frequently loſes ſight of his author, but is ſometimes even diverted from a juſt ſenſe of his beauties, and betrayed into an unfaithful tranſlation of what he perfectly well underſtood. Of this diſtracted attention we find a ridiculous effect in that paſſage of the Iliad, which expreſſes Hector's eagerneſs to retrieve the honour of his brother Paris, who had propoſed to decide the war by ſingle combat with Manelaus. The ſpirit of the original

ginal is as juſtly conceived in Mr. Pope's note, as it is unhappily miſrepreſented in his tranſlation; and both together produce the following contradictory medley: "Hector ſtays not to reply to his brother, but runs away with the challenge immediately, with ſteps majeſtically ſlow."

When theſe diſcordant pictures of the ſame object are thus cloſely confronted, the falling off is ſo ſtriking, that we muſt, in candour, ſuppoſe it the work of different hands haſtily reviſed.

It is impoſſible to account, in any other way, for ſome of the inaccuracies in the map of Troy prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation. So capital an error as that of diſcharging the Scamander into the Ægean ſea, inſtead of the Helleſpont, is a ſtriking ſpecimen of the careleſs and ſuperficial manner in which this matter has been treated. Yet this miſtake, material as it is, does not ſeem to miſlead the tranſlator in other reſpects: for he is as inconſiſtent with his own incorrect map, as both he and his map are with the real ſituation of the ground; and, by not having aſcertained any invariable and fixed idea of the ſcene of action, either true or falſe, he has led his author into a labyrinth of contradiction, out of which no imaginable diſpoſition of the ſcene can extricate him.

Thus, when he ſuppoſes that the Greeks had not paſſed the river before the beginning of the ſixth book, it is a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſuppoſition, that they were, till then, at ſome miles diſtance from Troy. But this is inconſiſtent with that beautiful digreſſion of the third book, where Priam and Helen ſee the Grecian leaders ſo diſtinctly from the walls of that city, as to diſtinguiſh the perſons and figures of the leaders from the walls of Troy.

In ſhort, this map would not deſerve the few lines, which we beſtow upon it, were it not for the reſpectable name of Pope, who, no doubt, truſted this inferior part of his work to unſkilful or negligent hands. I was at a loſs to account for ſo much obvious inaccuracy, collected into ſo ſmall a compaſs, till I diſcovered, beſides the miſtakes of the draughtſman, a certain method and regularity of error, which could belong to the engraver alone, who, by a piece of negligence, not leſs unpardonable in the artiſt than fatal to geography and Homer, has given a map, which reverſes the drawing from which it was engraved, and of courſe changes the reſpective ſituation of all the parts from right to left, and from left to right; ſo that the Sigeum ſtands where the Rhœteum ſhould be, and the Scamander runs on that ſide of Troy which belongs to the Simois.

How ſo material an overſight ſhould have remained hitherto unnoticed, or how Mr. Pope could contrive to explain his own reverſed map*, is not to our preſent purpoſe. To ſay more on this head, is needleſs; to have ſaid thus much, on the only chart which has hitherto attempted to illuſtrate the principal ſcene of the action of the Iliad, was unavoidable.

It has been already obſerved, that while places diſtant from Ionia are marked more diſtinctly, as objects of curioſity, the ſame attention has not been paid to theſe in

* See Pope's Letters with regard to this map.

the poet's neighbourhood. Though we find him thoroughly acquainted with the ſcenery round Troy, theſe objects are introduced leſs upon their own account, than as circumſtances connected with the action. This I take to be a principal reaſon, why the correctneſs of his map of the Troade, opening thus gradually with the ſtory, has hitherto eſcaped particular obſervation; and has been taken for granted, upon ſlight examination. It is ſcarce to be expected, that a tranſlator of Mr. Pope's taſte could, in the midſt of the poetical beauties of the Iliad, ſubmit to a dull patient attention to its mere topographical accuracy*.

But I ſhall not trouble the reader farther on this head, it being my object, not to condemn the tranſlation, but to juſtify the original; where we do not diſcover, even in the boldeſt flights of fancy, that careleſs contradiction of circumſtances, which hiſtory, poetry, and romance equally diſclaim.

Mr. Wood next proceeds to vindicate Homer's character, as a geographer, with regard to that great poet's placing the iſle of Pharos at the diſtance of about twelve hours ſail, by a galley before a ſmart wind, from the land of Egypt, though that iſland be not quite an Engliſh mile from Alexandria. This he does, in the moſt maſterly manner, by ſhewing, that there is great reaſon to doubt, whether any part of Lower Egypt exiſted in Homer's days; and that, for ſeveral ages after, the ſpot, on which Alexandria ſtands, was not conſidered as making any part of that country. But, for this truly original performance, the narrowneſs of our bounds obliges us, with no ſmall regret, to refer to the work itſelf.

* Mr. Pope was aſſiſted in this part of his work by Mr. Broom, who ſupplied moſt of the notes collected from former expoſitors of Homer, to which he added ſome obſervations of his own. Mr. Pope adopted the whole, and under his daily reviſal every ſheet was corrected. If Mr. Broom really went through the voluminous Commentaries of Euſtathius, as is hinted in the introduction to the notes, he muſt have done it very ſuperficially; and has added very little to what had been ſo judiciouſly done by Madam Dacier, at the ſame time not acknowledging how much he was indebted to that very learned lady. As to Euſtathius, not to repeat what has been ſo often ſaid in favour of that treaſure of Greek learning, from which almoſt every later illuſtration of Homer has been gleaned, I ſhall only obſerve my diſappointment in finding ſo little in him for my particular purpoſe. Though a biſhop, and one who is ſaid to have written in defence of the church, he makes no uſe of the ſcriptures in his commentaries. I take it for granted, that he did not underſtand Latin, or at leaſt that he had not read Virgil; as he makes no uſe of him. Though an inhabitant of Greece, he truſts for Homer's geography to Strabo, without any additional obſervations of his own in reſpect to places in his very neighbourhood. Nor do I find that he viſited Troy, though he lived ſo near it: nor does he remark the changes, or agreement between either the language or manners of Homer, and thoſe of his own age, which we ſhould naturally expect from one ſo well qualified and ſituated for forming a judgment of both. When I add to all this, that his Commentaries, in my opinion, contain the dulleſt and moſt inſipid, as well as the moſt ingenious and judicious remarks on Homer, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that he was rather the compiler than the author of thoſe criticiſms; and that his principal merit is that of having preſerved from oblivion ſome curious obſervations of writers, whoſe works have periſhed ſince his time.

Of Sentimental Comedy. From Elements of Dramatic Criticiſm, by William Cooke, *Eſq.*

THOUGH the laws of the drama know no ſpecies of comedy under this title, yet as the prevalence of cuſtom has not only of late admitted it, but given it a firſt-rate place on our theatres, it very properly becomes an object of enquiry in this work.

Were we to reaſon by analogy, we ſhould never be able to find out the cauſe of ſo unclaſſical a ſuperſeſſion; for whoever will make the compariſon between that comedy left us by antiquity, and ſo ably continued to us by ſeveral of our Engliſh poets, with this, will find the features too diſſimilar to claim the moſt diſtant reference; in the former, we have a fable founded on the laws of probability and nature; characters ſpeaking the language of their conformation, and the whole ſtage reflecting the manners of the world; in the latter, names inſtead of characters, poetical egotiſms for manners, bombaſt for ſentiment, and inſtead of wit and humour, (the very eſſence of comedy) a driveling ſpecies of morality, which, as a term generally applied to ethics, may properly enough be called *good*, but from being falſely applied to comedy (however it may excite the *piety* of the crowd) muſt nauſeate men of ſenſe and education.

There is a circumſtance which we think has been a leading aſſiſtant in the eſtabliſhment of this falſe taſte. Without meaning to turn reformers, and inconſiderately fall in with the vulgar opinion of generally condemning the preſent age, merely becauſe it is the preſent age; thus much we think we are warranted to aſſert; that the preſent age, however it may be free from great and leading vices, is peculiarly marked by a *ſlaviſh effeminacy of manners*, and *univerſality of indolent diſſipation*, unknown to former ages; hence the people of faſhion, unwilling to ſee ſuch juſt emblems of themſelves on the ſtage as comedy *ſhould* repreſent, thought it better to aſſume a virtue which they had not, by crying up the theory of morality as a kind of cover for the breach of it. The lower kinds of people, having no other models in their eye, than thoſe whom they often miſtakenly call their betters, without weighing this opinion, followed their example; ſo that between the two parties nature began to be called vulgar, and every thing partaking of the low, humourous, or vicious, (principal ingredients in comedy) began to be under-rated, becauſe the former had an intereſt in decrying them, and the latter permitted themſelves to be duped by the artifice.

It is the voice of the public forms the public taſte. Comedy, which is, above all walks of writing, perhaps the moſt difficult, and unattainable, and which, according to one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of the laſt age,

——"is the firſt pretence
To *judgment*, *breeding*, *wit*, and *eloquence*,"

being thus vitiated, there were not wanting poets, who departing from the honourable line of their profeſſion (or, to ſpeak more correctly, unacquainted with the principles of their profeſſion) preſcribed to this innovation. Sir Richard Steel's Conſcious Lovers, we believe, was the firſt in this line of writing;

writing; not that we would claſs this, in other reſpects, elegant and judicious writer, with the general run of poets who have ſince ſucceeded him in this line; we only mean to ſay, that the pathetic ſcenes of this comedy, made the firſt departure of any conſequence, from that ſterling kind of writing left us by antiquity; and conſequently, the general reputation of Sir Richard Steel, who was at that time much above par as a moral writer, firſt gave it the ſtamp of faſhion.

Comedy being thus debauched, like an unhappy female, began to be viewed in the light of *common game*, by thoſe poets who dare not look up to her in the days of her chaſtity; ſuch finding the intercourſe eaſy, and the profits great, immediately hired themſelves in her ſervice. The ſucceſs of one fool drew many; they had nothing to do but to exchange the *vis comica* for the pathetic, and ſubſtitute tame individual recital for natural dialogue; in ſhort, a novel furniſhed them with the plot; a ſervile alluſion to all the little chit-chat, for wit and humour; and the Whole Duty of Man, Pamela, or the Œconomy of Human Life, for ſentiments. Thus an art originally invented to laſh the follies and imperfections of mankind, through the vehicle of ridicule; an art which ſhould ever be conſidered as the greateſt teſt of wit, breeding, and obſervation; an art, "whoſe end both at the firſt, and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to ſhew virtue her own features, ſcorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and preſſure," is changed into what is vulgarly called a moral kind of entertainment, where a citizen, it is true, may bring his wife and daughter too, with as much ſafety as to a Methodiſt chapel, but with equal proſpect of improvement.

But as we mean to treat this ſubject otherwiſe than either inveſtigating its origin, or ſimply declaiming on its imperfections, it will be but candid to weigh the force of the arguments which are urged by the favourers of this innovated art.

The firſt and moſt flattering to the paſſions of the public is, that vicious, or ridiculous characters, though ſentimental writers are *piouſly* afraid ſuch do ſometimes exiſt in nature, yet it would ill become the dignity of their pens to exhibit them on the ſtage, leſt they might become objects of imitation; hence they are for the moſt part excluded their pieces, or if at times admitted, but feebly ſketched in the back-ground, whilſt the principal figures are tricked out in all the brilliancy of virtue, without the leaſt ſhade of mortality. To paſs by the great defect of this practice, as it reſpects the laws of comedy; let us take it up on their own ground, and ſee how it is fitted to ſucceed in the reformation of manners.

The ſoundeſt philoſophers have agreed, that ridicule has a much better effect in curing the vices and imperfections of men, than the examples of rigid virtue, whoſe duties are ſo ſublimed, that they for the moſt part intimidate them from the trial. Were mankind made of that moral pliability of mind, ſo as to be capable of receiving the ſharpeſt impreſſions of virtue, then indeed ſome excuſe might ſtand for

for the latter practice; but as their hearts are compoſed of as many degrees of imperfection, as there are degrees of ſociety—what will beſt, and moſt effectually reform them, ſhould be adopted; hence no characters ſhould be introduced on the ſtage by any means whatever, above the tone of mortality, whilſt the liar, rake, fop, ſharper, hypocrite, glutton, &c. &c. ſhould be always brought forwards in the higheſt colourings of ridicule. Similar characters in life, finding themſelves thus conſtantly expoſed on the ſtage, would indirectly feel the ſhame of their ſituations, and either abandon them entirely, or be taught to qualify them ſo as to be leſs inimical to ſociety; whereas at preſent, by being for the moſt part precluded as objects of ridicule and contempt, the world loſes the benefit of their reformation.

Another argument urged for our ſentimental dramatiſts is, that as it is the world gives reputation and credit to works of art and ſcience, it at preſent reliſhing no other ſpecies of comedy but the ſentimental, they are not to be blamed for writing up to that ſtandard. But this is ever the excuſe of *little minds*, who, under a ſhew of complying with the world, cover their own ignorance and unfitneſs to ſtand candidates for fame and immortality; as there is nothing more certain, than that a real genius, in whatever kind, can never, without the greateſt unwillingneſs and ſhame, be induced to act below his character, and for mere intereſt be prevailed on to proſtitute his knowledge, by performing contrary to certain rules.

Whoever has heard any thing of the lives of famous ſtatuaries, architects, or painters, will call to mind many inſtances of this nature. Or whoever has made any acquaintance with the better ſort of mechanics, ſuch as are real lovers of their art, and maſters in it, muſt have obſerved their natural fidelity in this reſpect, be they never ſo idle, diſſolute, or debauched; how regardleſs ſoever of other rules, they abhor any tranſgreſſion in their art, and would chuſe to loſe cuſtomers and ſtarve, rather than, by a baſe compliance with the world, act contrary to what they call the juſtneſs and truth of work *.

This is virtue! real virtue, and love of truth, independent of opinion, and above the world; this diſpoſition transferred to the whole of life, perfects a character, and gives it that finiſh which extorts even the admiration of thoſe who cannot practiſe it.

Had the early poets of Greece thus complimented the world by complying with its falſe reliſh and unſettled appetites, they had not done their countrymen ſuch ſervice, nor themſelves ſuch honour; thoſe generous ſpirits, ſcorning to ſuit themſelves to the world, manifeſtly drew it after them; they forced their way into it, and by weight of merit turned its judgment on their ſide; they formed their audience, refined the public ear, and poliſhed the age, that in return they may be rightly and laſtingly applauded: they were not diſappointed, applauſe ſoon came, and was laſting, for it was ſound; they have juſtice done them at this day, they have ſurvived their nation, and

* Lord Shafteſbury Characteriſtics.

live

live in all languages; the more each age is enlightened, the more they ſhine, and their fame muſt neceſſarily laſt as long as letters and judgment exiſt.

Many of our ſentimental dramatic authors, it is true, may pique themſelves on the ſuperior ſituations in life to ſeveral of thoſe of antiquity, and jocularly conſign immortality to ſuch who are now no longer able to enjoy it; not conſidering, becauſe not feeling, that this hope of immortality was then as much their reward, as their labours have ſince been the benefit of poſterity. They may run the compariſon ſtill further, by proving (as well by the receipts of the theatres, as by thoſe of their booksellers) how much more exact they are in proportioning the quality and quantity of the public demand, and with what greater dexterity, and cunning, they pander in the taſte of an audience; but ſuch are to know, that ſucceſs is by no means the criterion of deſert; that however they may, for a while, triumph in the abſence of truth and nature, the period is haſtening (if the proverb is true, that things at the *worſt* muſt neceſſarily mend) when this ſpell of ſentimental enchantment muſt be diſſolved, and when real comedy ſhall once more unfurl her ſtandard of reaſon on the theatre.

The public at large have ſometimes their falſe appetites and unnatural cravings, like individuals, which (ſuch is the ſituation of human affairs) time, or accident alone, muſt eradicate. The fanatics under Cromwell, with all the parade of hypocriſy on one ſide, and the vindictive ſpirit of revenge on the other, chriſtened their conduct religion; and not only the dregs of the people hailed it by this name, but the guardians of the ſtate echo'd it back on the public; yet but a few years, a very few years elapſed, when this ridiculous ſcene had its final cloſe, reaſon once more reaſſumed her throne; and he that had no other pretenſions to Chriſtianity than the *ſtarchneſs of his band*, or the talent of *ſpeaking thro' his noſe*, was juſtly reprobated as a cheat or a driveller.

On the Preſent Rage for Lotteries.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and believe that I have as unencumbered an eſtate as moſt of my neighbours, on which I intended to have lived peaceably to the laſt moment of my life, without ſeeing London again: but this confounded quarrel with our colonies, which would have made a politician of me, if I had not married into the family of Sir Gregory Gazette, brought me to town, that I might ſee with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears, what we are really about, as there is no dependance on our curſed news-writers: they are always unſaying to-day what they had ſaid yeſterday, though aſſerted in the moſt poſitive manner: their *intelligence extraordinary*, in particular, is generally of the moſt trifling kind; and their *true intelligence* is generally falſe.——And ſo, Sir, in conſequence of frequent diſappointments of this kind, I was determined to come up to the metropolis; and accordingly wrote to a friend to hire me a ready-furniſhed houſe for the ſeaſon, in Parliament-ſtreet, in order to be at the fountain-

fountain-head, and to be ſure of hearing every thing going forward; to hear how the d——d additional ſhillings to be raiſed by the land-tax, are to be laid out.——I have been in town only a few days; but I have met with occurrences enough already to make me think half the inhabitants are out of their ſenſes, eſpecially thoſe who are ſeized with the lottery-madneſs.—On my taking a walk into the city, this morning, to ſee what alteration had been made during my ſtate of ruſtication, the day being tolerably dry, I could not help looking with no ſmall diſpleaſure at the number of *paper-lanthorns* dangling before the doors of Lottery-offices, conſidering them as ſo many falſe lights hung out to draw fools to their deſtruction.——I do not think theſe expreſſions are too ſtrong, as many thoughtleſs perſons of both ſexes, in the lower ſpheres of life, are certainly deluded by theſe traps, laid for their money, to ſuch a degree, as to prove themſelves the moſt egregious dupes imaginable.—— How many individuals have been reduced to beggary; how many families have been totally ruined by ſtaking their all upon the turn of fortune's wheel; by the reſtleſs deſire of becoming rich ſuddenly, to gain that wealth to which they might have more rationally aſpired by a courſe of honeſt and induſtrious proceedings;—and the experience of every day is ſufficient to convince us, that riches ſo gained are more ſerviceable to, and enjoyed with a higher reliſh by the poſſeſſors of them, than thoſe which come to them by ſurprize; eſpecially thoſe which they obtain by a ſucceſsful ticket.——By numberleſs perſons ſuddenly enriched in this way, their wealth has been very fooliſhly ſpent; and to ſome it has proved very fatal, by overſetting their underſtandings.—— The firſt prizes in every lottery are the grand baits which tempt adventurers of all kinds, from the miſer to the ſpendthrift: but there are, no doubt, hundreds in the world, to whom the unexpected acquiſition of twenty thouſand pounds would prove rather a curſe than a bleſſing.

While I was giving way to a train of ſimilar reflections, I received at the ſame time not a little conſolation, in the midſt of my concern for the wrong-headedneſs of my fellow-creatures, from the exemption of myſelf and family from the general contagion:—With this conſolation I returned home; but it was not of a long continuance.

As ſoon as I entered the parlour, my wife accoſted me with, "Oh, my dear! ſince you have been out, my couſin Moleſworth has been here, and talked ſo much to me of the lottery, that I have purchaſed five tickets, and intend to have ſhares in five more."

Before I had time to expreſs my approbation of Mrs. Quidnunc's conduct, my two daughters came jumping down with, "Dear Papa! we have each got a ticket, and will ſpend all the money we have in eighths and ſixteenths; ſo that we muſt certainly have luck ſomewhere."

"You are certainly a couple of fools," replied I.

"La, Papa!" ſaid my youngeſt girl, "who knows but I may get one of the ten thouſands; and that, you know, will ſave your giving me a fortune—as I ſhall have enough of my

my own, and be my own miſtreſs into the bargain."

"That you will not, my pert madam," replied I.——"In the firſt place, you have a very poor chance for the ſums you mention; and in the ſecond, if you had it, you would be ten times more unfit to be your own miſtreſs than you are at preſent."

My ſon now came in, and told us, in the way of converſation, that finding London rather an expenſive place, as there were ſo many things to be ſeen; he had taken care to lay a foundation for the increaſe of his pocket-money, by purchaſing a conſiderable number of tickets and ſhares; adding, that when they came up prizes, they would more than ſupply his neceſſary demands.

"And what are you to do, if they are all blanks?" replied I.

"O, that's impoſſible," ſaid he; "I have inſured moſt of them."

"And pray, where did you get the money to do all this?" ſaid I.

"O, I borrowed it of my couſin: I know you will pay him for me."

"No, indeed," anſwered I.—"He may wait till they are drawn prizes; that is, till doom's-day; or put you into the King's-Bench to teach you more wit; to puniſh your fooliſh readineſs to anſwer for other people."

To make ſhort of my ſtory, Sir, I found that my whole houſe had, during my walk into the city, been infected with the *lotterymania*,—(if I may be allowed the expreſſion)—from the head of it—(as I allow my wife to be during my abſence) down to my kitchen-maid and poſt-boy, who have both pawned ſome of their rags; the former to buy a thirty-ſecond, and the latter a ſixty-fourth ſhare, that they might put themſelves—according to their language—in fortune's way.

On taking notice of theſe ſcandalous enormities in a nation, to an old friend of mine who dined with me, and teſtifying my ſurprize at the infatuation of thoſe who, with very little caſh in their power, ſhould venture their all—nay, more than their own—in ſpite of the *chances* againſt them;—he informed me, that the infatuation I wondered at, originated, in a great meaſure, from the lures thrown out by the keepers of Lottery Offices to draw in the ignorant and unwary.——"I know a poor hard-working man," continued he, "who borrowed money to buy a lottery-ticket, and it came up a prize of 500 *l.*——The happy owner, almoſt mad with joy, hurried to the office for the money, of which immediate payment had been promiſed.——To his extreme mortification, he not only found that the fellow who ſold him his ticket was gone off, but that it was the property of another perſon, who had purchaſed it before. This piece of VERY TRUE *intelligence* deprived him of the little reaſon he had left, he died raving, and his wife and children were ſent to the work-houſe.

Pretty doings theſe, Mr. Editor!—However, ſuch doings operate upon me in ſuch a manner, that I ſhall trundle my whole family down into Cheſhire before the week is out: they will, there, have time to *calculate chances*, and may build their *caſtles in the air*, without cracking their brains, and injuring their pockets.——I ſhall only regret my departure from London on my country's account: I ſhall be ſorry to remove, when there is ſo

ſo much buſineſs of the greateſt conſequence going forward; but if I ever bring my houſhold to town again during the drawing of a lottery, I will give you leave to ſay, that there is not a more egregious aſs in England than

Your humble Servant,

CHRIST. QUIDNUNC.

A Diſſertation on Almanacks; *with the Plan of a New One for the Uſe of People of Faſhion.*

SIR,

AMONG the numerous literary Advertiſements in this month, many of the *Almanacks* for the approaching New-year make no *ſmall* figure, though they are not of a *large* ſize; and if the general utility of them is ſeriouſly conſidered, they may rank with the moſt celebrated publications. They have all their ſeveral attractions for their ſeveral purchaſers. To thoſe of a *poetical* turn the *Cambridge Sheet* muſt be particularly acceptable, as the *Nine Muſes* have joined to dreſs up the *twelve Months* in the *neweſt Parnaſſian faſhion*; and to *this* Sheet *Vincent Wing*'s will be no contemptible ſupplement, as the *weather* may now be known in it by *poetical rules*.—By thoſe who wiſh to keep their *bodies* in repair from January to December, the ſalutary rules laid down by *Rider* ſhould be read with great care; and the *Riddles* in the *Lady's and Gentleman's Diary* will happily ſerve to improve the *minds* of the two ſexes, by taking them off from trifling ſubjects, and fixing their attention upon matters of the *laſt* importance.——With regard to *Poor Robin*'s Almanack, no *high-wayman* ſhould be without it, as there is included in it an approved method for reſtoring *hanged perſons* to life; and Mr. *Moore's Loyal Almanack* is a very proper pocket-companion for every country-gentleman in the kingdom, eſpecially as he has now added "obſervations on ploughs."

However, though all theſe annual productions, publiſhed by the ſagacious body of Philomaths, and Aſtrologers, have their intrinſic merits—there is not *one*, in my opinion, among the great variety of Almanacks, contrived for the uſe of *people of faſhion*. I have reſolved, therefore, to remedy this defect, by publiſhing one every year under the title of the *St. James's Calendar*.

The plan which has hitherto been followed by our Almanack-makers, can be of no uſe whatever to the *polite world*, who are as widely ſeparated in their manner of living from the common herd of people, as the inhabitants of *Otaheite*. To know the exact riſing and ſetting of the ſun may ſerve to direct the vulgar tradeſman and mechanic when to open ſhop, or go to work; but perſons of faſhion, whoſe hours are not marked by the courſe of that luminary, are indifferent about its motions—and, like thoſe who live under the Equinoctial Line, have their days and nights of an equal degree of length all the year round. The Red-letter days, pointed out in our common Almanacks, may, perhaps, be obſerved by ſome formal ladies, who regulate their going to church by them; but *people of quality* perceive no difference between the moveable or immoveable Feaſts or Faſts, and know no uſe

uſe of Sunday, but as it ſerves to call them to the card-table. What advantage can a ſmart fellow reap from *Rider*'s liſt of *Fairs*, which can only be of ſervice to his groom? Or what uſe can any gentleman or lady make of thoſe Diaries now inſcribed to them, which are filled with algebra and mathematics? In a word, the preſent uncouth way of dividing the months into ſaints-days, Sundays, and the like, is no more adapted to the preſent modes of polite life, than the *Roman Ides*, *Nones*, and *Calends*.

Inſtead of ſuppoſing, with the vulgar tribe of Aſtronomers, that the day begins at ſun-riſe; *my* day, commencing at the time that it uſually breaks into faſhionable apartments, will be determined by the riſing of people of quality. Thus, the morning dawns with early riſers between eleven and twelve, and noon commences at four—— when, at this time of the year, the dinner and wax-lights come in together. For want of a thorough knowledge of the diſtribution of the day, all who have any connection with the polite world may be guilty of many miſtakes: when an honeſt man from the *Minories* intends a nobleman a viſit after dinner, he may perhaps find him ſipping his morning chocolate. The inconveniences of the Old Style in our manner of reckoning the days were ſo manifeſt, that it was thought proper to amend them by an act of Parliament. I am reſolved, in like manner, to introduce the new ſtyle of dividing the hours into my Almanack; for can any thing be more abſurd than to fix the name of morning, noon, and evening, at preſent, on the ſame hours which bore thoſe appellations in the reign of Queen Elizabeth? A ducheſs is ſo far from dining at *eleven*, that it often happens that her grace has not then opened her eyes on the tea-table; and a *maid of honour* would no more riſe at ſix in the morning, as it was called by the dames of Queen Beſs's court, than ſhe would, in imitation of thoſe dames, breakfaſt upon ſtrong beer and beef-ſteaks. In thoſe houſes, indeed, where the hours of quality are obſerved by one part of the family, the impolite irregularity of the other, in adhering to the Old Style, often occaſions great diſturbance; for, as Lady Townly ſays, "ſuch a houſe is worſe than an inn with ten ſtage-coaches. What between the impertinent people of buſineſs in a *morning*, and the intolerable thick ſhoes of footmen at *noon*, one has not a wink of ſleep all night."

The reformation which I have alſo made in reſpect to the red-letter days, is no leſs conſiderable. I have not only expunged that immenſe catalogue of ſaints which croud the Popiſh calendar, but have blotted out all the other ſaints that ſtill retain their places in our common almanacks; well knowing, that perſons of faſhion pay as little attention to the apoſtles and evangeliſts, as to *St. Mildred*, *St. Bridget*, or *St. Winifrid*. I retain, indeed, the name of *St. John*, becauſe I am ſure that people of quality will not think of any body's being deſigned under that title, except the late Lord Bolingbroke.

Having thus diſcarded the ſaints —*people whom nobody knows*, I have taken care to introduce my readers into the beſt company; for the red letters in *my* calendar will ſerve to diſtinguiſh thoſe days on which

which the ladies of the first fashion keep their routes and visiting-days; a work of infinite use, as well to persons of distinction themselves, as to all those who have any intercourse with the polite world. The season of the year, commonly distinguished by the appellation of *Lent*, which implies a time of *fasting*, I shall consider, according to its real signification in the *beau-monde*, as a yearly festival; and shall, therefore, mention it under the denomination of the *Carnival*. The propriety of this will be evident at first sight; since nothing is so plain, as that at this season all kinds of diversion and jollity are at their height in this metropolis. Instead of the *man in the almanack*, I at first intended to delineate the figure of a *fine gentleman* drest *au dernier gout*; but I was at length determined to suffer the old picture to remain there: as it appears to be run through the body in several places, it may not improperly represent that fashionable character—a DUELLIST.

In the place which is allotted in other almanacks for the change of weather, (as hail, frost, snow, cloudy, and the like) I shall set down the change of dress appropriated to different seasons, and ranged under the titles of hats, bonnets, sacks, jesuits, brunswicks, poloneses, muffs, &c. and in a parallel column I shall point out the several parts of the body affected by these changes; such as, head, neck, breast, shoulders, face, hands, feet, legs, &c.; and as Mr. *Rider* accompanies every month with seasonable cautions about sowing turneps, raising cabbages, *bloodletting*, and the like important articles, I shall give such directions as are most suitable to the fashionable world. Presuming upon the superiority of my new plan,

Thy works, *O Wing*, *O Partridge*, I despise;
And *Robin*'s for the poor, and *Rider*'s for the wise.

I am, Sir,

Decemb. 1775. Your humble servant,
COPERNICUS COURTLY.

POETRY.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, *the* 4th June, 1775.

By Mr. WHITEHEAD, *Poet Laureat.*

YE Powers, who rule o'er ſtates and kings,
Who ſhield, with ſublunary wings,
Man's erring race from woe,
To Britain's ſons in every clime
Your bleſſings waft, whate'er their crime,
On all the winds that blow!

Beyond the vaſt Atlantic tide
Extend your healing influence wide,
Where millions claim your care:
Inſpire each juſt, each filial thought,
And let the nations round be taught
The Britiſh oak is there.

Tho' vaguely wild its branches ſpread,
And rear almoſt an alien head
Wide-waving o'er the plain,
Let ſtill, unſpoil'd by foreign earth,
And conſcious of its nobler birth,
The untainted trunk remain.

Where mutual intereſt binds the band,
Where due ſubjection, mild command,
Enſure perpetual eaſe,
Shall jarring tumults madly rave,
And hoſtile banners proudly wave
O'er once united ſeas?

No; midſt the blaze of wrath divine
Heaven's loveliеſt attribute ſhall ſhine,

And mercy gild the ray:
Shall ſtill avert impending fate;
And concord its beſt æra date
From *this* auſpicious day.

SONG *to* ÆLLE,

LORD *of the* CASTELL *of* BRYSTOWE, *in Dales of* YORK.

About the Year 920, Ælle *was Governor of the* Caſtle *of* Briſtol, *and gained many ſignal Victories over the* Danes, *particularly at* Watchet. *The following Song was made to the Memory of this Chief by* Thomas Rowlle, *a* Carmelite-Friar, *and Father Confeſſor to* William Cannynge, *Founder of* St. Mary Redcliffe *Church. It was written in the Year* 1468, *and the Original is now in the Hands of Mr.* Barret, *Surgeon in* Briſtol.

O THOU (or whate remaynes of thee)
Ælle, the darlynge of futuritye!
Lette thys mie ſonge bolde as thie courage bee,
As everlaſtynge to poſteritye!
Whanne Dacyas' ſonnes, with hair of blood-red hue,
Lyke kynge-coppes braſtynge with the mornynge dewe,
Arraung'd in drear arraye
Upon the lethale daye,
Spredde, farre and wyde, on Watchet's ſhore;
Thenne dydſt thou brondeous ſtonde,
And, with thie burlye honde,
Beſpryngedde all the mees wythe gore;
Drawn by thyne anlace fell,
Down to the depthes of hell
Thouſands of Dacyans went;
Bryſtowans, menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the blodie fyghte,
And acted deedes full quent.
O thou! where'ere (thie bones att reſt)
Thie ſpryte to haunte delyghteth beſt,
Whether on the blod-embrued playne,
Or where thou kenn'ſt from far
The blatant cryes of warre,
Or ſeeſt ſome mountayne made of hepes of ſlayne;
Or ſeeſt the hatchedde ſtede
Ypraunçynge o'er the mede
And neigh to be amongeſt the poyntedde ſperes;
Or, in black armour, ſtalk'ſt arounde
Embattelede Briſtowe, once thie grounde,
And glow'ſt ardorous onne the caſtle ſteers;

Or fierie rounde the mynſterne glare;
Let Briſtowe ſtille bee made thie care:
Guarde it fromme fomenne and conſumynge fyre;
Lyke Avon's ſtreame encyrque it rounde,
Ne lette a flamme enharme the grounde
Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyre.

INSCRIPTION *in a* TOWER *at* W——, *in the* COUNTY *of* CAMBRIDGE.

WHEN HENRY * ſtemm'd IERNE's ſtormy flood;
And bow'd to BRITAIN's yoke her ſavage brood;
When, by true courage and falſe zeal impell'd,
RICHARD † encamp'd on SALEM's balmy field;
On towers like theſe EARL, BARON, VAVASOR,
Hung high their banners waving in the air;
Free, hardy, proud, they braved their feudal lord,
And tried their rights by ordeal of the ſword;
Now the full board with Chriſtmas plenty crown'd,
Now ravag'd and oppreſs'd the country round:
Yet Freedom's cauſe once raiſed the civil broil,
And MAGNA CHARTA clos'd the glorious toil.——
Spruce modern villas different ſcenes afford;
The Patriot Baronet, the Courtier Lord,
Gently amus'd, now waſte the ſummer's day
In *Book room*, *Print-room*, or in *Ferme Ornée*;
While wit, champaign, and pines and poetry,
Virtú and ice, the genial feaſt ſupply:
But hence the Poor are cheriſh'd, Artiſts fed,
And vanity relieves——in Bounty's ſtead.
Oh! might our age in happy concert join
The manly virtues of the Norman line
With the true ſcience and juſt taſte which raiſe
High in each uſeful art theſe modern days!

AMUSEMENT *in Modern* HIGH LIFE.

THE Bucks had din'd, and deep in council ſat,
Their wine was brilliant, but their wit grew flat.
Up ſtarts his Lordſhip, to the window flies,
And lo, "A race, a race!" in rapture cries.
"Where? quoth Sir John—"Why, ſee two drops of rain
"Start from the ſummit of the cryſtal pane:
"A thouſand pounds, which drop with nimbleſt force
"Performs its current down the ſlipp'ry courſe."

* Henry II. † Richard I.

The

The betts were fix'd, in dire ſuſpenſe they wait
For victory, pendent on the nod of Fate.
Now down the ſaſh, unconſcious of the prize,
The bubbles roll like pearls from Chloe's eyes.
But ah! the glittering joys of life are ſhort!
How oft two joſtling ſteeds have ſpoil'd the ſport!
So thus attraction, by coercive laws,
Th'approaching drops into one bubble draws;
Each curs'd his fate, that thus their project croſs'd:
How hard their lot who neither won or loſt!

X. S. G.

The FATAL SISTERS: *an* ODE, *from the* Norſe *Tongue* *; *By the late Mr.* GRAY. *From Mr.* MASON's *Edition of Mr.* GRAY's *Works.*

NOW the ſtorm begins to lower,
(Haſte, the loom of hell prepare),
Iron-ſleet of arrowy ſhower
Hurtles in the darken'd air.

Glitt'ring lances are the loom,
Where the duſky warp we ſtrain,

* To be found in the *Orcades* of *Thormudus Torfæus*; *Hafniæ*, 1697, folio: and alſo in *Bartholinus.*

Vitt er orpit fyrir valfalli, &c.

For the better underſtanding of this piece, the reader is to be informed that in the eleventh century *Sigurd*, Earl of the Orkney-iſlands, went with a fleet of ſhips and a conſiderable body of troops into Ireland, to the aſſiſtance of *Sictryg with the ſilken beard*, who was then making war on his father-in-law *Brian*, King of Dublin: the Earl and all his forces were cut to pieces, and *Sictryg* was in danger of a total defeat; but the enemy had a greater loſs by the death of *Brian*, their king, who fell in the action. On Chriſtmas-day, (the day of the battle), a native of *Caithneſs* in Scotland, ſaw at a diſtance a number of perſons on horſeback riding full ſpeed towards a hill, and ſeeming to enter into it. Curioſity led him to follow them, till looking through an opening in the rocks, he ſaw twelve gigantic figures reſembling women; they were all employed about a loom; and as they wove, they ſung the following dreadful ſong; which, when they had finiſhed, they tore the web into twelve pieces, and (each taking her portion) galloped ſix to the north and as many to the ſouth. Theſe were the *Valkyriur*, female divinities, ſervants of *Odin* (or *Woden*) in the Gothic mythology. Their name ſignifies *Chuſers of the ſlain.* They were mounted on ſwift horſes, with drawn ſwords in their hands; and in the throng of battle ſelected ſuch as were deſtined to ſlaughter, and conducted them to *Valkalla*, the Hall of *Odin*, or Paradiſe of the Brave; where they attended the banquet, and ſerved the departed heroes with horns of mead and ale.

Weaving many a ſoldier's doom,
Orkney's woe, and Randver's bane.

See the grieſly texture grow,
('Tis of human entrails made),
And the weights, that play below,
Each a gaſping warrior's head.

Shafts for ſhuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cords along.
Sword, that once a monarch bore,
Keep the tiſſue cloſe and ſtrong.

Miſta black, terrific Maid,
Sangrida, and Hilda ſee,
Join the wayward work to aid:
'Tis the woof of victory.

Ere the ruddy ſun be ſet,
Pikes muſt ſhiver, javelins ſing,
Blade with clattering buckler meet,
Hauberk craſh, and helmet ring.

(Weave the crimſon web of war)
Let us go, and let us fly,
Where our Friends the conflict ſhare,
Where they triumph, where they die.

As the paths of fate we tread
Wading thro' th' enſanguin'd field:
Gondula, and Geira, ſpread
O'er the youthful king your ſhield.

We the reins to ſlaughter give,
Ours to kill, and ours to ſpare:
Spite of danger he ſhall live.
(Weave the crimſon web of war.)

They, whom once the deſert-beach
Pent within its bleak domain,
Soon their ample ſway ſhall ſtretch
O'er the plenty of the plain.

Low the dauntleſs Earl is laid,
Gor'd with many a gaping wound:
Fate demands a nobler head;
Soon a king ſhall bite the ground.

Long his loſs ſhall Eirin weep,
Ne'er again his likeneſs ſee;

Long

Long her ſtrains in ſorrow ſteep,
Strains of immortality!

Horror covers all the heath,
Clouds of carnage blot the ſun.
Siſters, weave the web of death;
Siſters, ceaſe; the work is done.

Hail the taſk, and hail the hands!
Songs of joy and triumph ſing!
Joy to the victorious bands;
Triumph to the younger king.

Mortal, thou that hear'ſt the tale,
Learn the tenour of our ſong.
Scotland, thro' each winding vale
Far and wide the notes prolong.

Siſters, hence with ſpurs of ſpeed:
Each her thundering faulchion wield;
Each beſtride her ſable ſteed.
Hurry, hurry to the field.

ODE *to* ADVERSITY; *by the late Mr.* GRAY.

From Mr. MASON's *Edition of Mr.* GRAY's *Works.*

——Ζῆνα
Τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-
σαντα, τῷ πάθει μαθὸν
Θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

ÆSCHYLUS, in Agamemnone.

DAUGHTER of *Jove*, relentleſs power,
Thou tamer of the human breaſt,
Whoſe iron ſcourge and tort'ring hour,
The bad affright, afflict the beſt!
Bound in thy adamantine chain
The proud are taught to taſte of pain,
And purple tyrants vainly groan,
With pangs unfelt before, unpitied and alone.

When firſt thy ſire to ſend on earth
Virtue, his darling child, deſign'd,
To thee he gave the heav'nly birth,
And bad to form her infant mind.
Stern rugged nurſe! thy rigid lore
With patience many a year ſhe bore:

What ſorrow was, thou bad'ſt her know,
And from her own ſhe learn'd to melt at others' woe.

Scar'd at thy frown terrific, fly
Self-pleaſing folly's idle brood,
Wild laughter, noiſe, and thoughtleſs joy,
And leave us leiſure to be good.
Light they diſperſe, and with them go
The ſummer friend, the flatt'ring foe;
By vain proſperity receiv'd,
To her they vow their truth, and are again believ'd.

Wiſdom in ſable garb array'd,
Immers'd in rapt'rous thought profound,
And melancholy, ſilent maid
With leaden eye, that loves the ground;
Still on thy ſolemn ſteps attend:
Warm charity, the general friend,
With juſtice to herſelf ſevere,
And pity, dropping ſoft the ſadly-pleaſing tear.

Oh, gently on thy ſuppliant's head,
Dread goddeſs, lay thy chaſt'ning hand!
Not in thy gorgon terrors clad,
Nor circled with the vengeful band
(As by the impious thou art ſeen)
With thund'ring voice, and threat'ning mien,
With ſcreaming horror's funeral cry,
Deſpair, and fell diſeaſe, and ghaſtly poverty.

Thy form benign, oh goddeſs, wear,
Thy milder influence impart,
Thy philoſophic train be there
To ſoften, not to wound my heart.
The generous ſpark extinct revive,
Teach me to love and to forgive,
Exact my own defects to ſcan,
What others are to feel, and know myſelf a man.

VERSES *to* SOLITUDE. *From* MISCELLANIES *in Proſe and Verſe, by Mrs.* CHAPONE, *Author of* Letters on the Improvement of the Mind.

THOU gentle nurſe of pleaſing woe!
To thee, from crowds and noiſe and ſhow,

With

With eager haſte I fly.
Thrice welcome, friendly Solitude!
O let no buſy foot intrude,
Nor liſt'ning ear be nigh.

Soft, ſilent, melancholy maid!
With thee to yon ſequeſter'd ſhade
My penſive ſteps I bend;
Still, at the mild approach of night,
When Cynthia lends her ſober light,
Do thou my walk attend!

To thee alone my conſcious heart
Its tender ſorrow dares impart,
And eaſe my lab'ring breaſt;
To thee I truſt the riſing ſigh,
And bid the tear that ſwells mine eye
No longer be ſuppreſt.

With thee among the haunted groves
The lovely ſorc'reſs fancy roves,
O let me find her here!
For ſhe can time and ſpace controul,
And ſwift tranſport my fleeting ſoul
To all it holds moſt dear!

Ah no!—ye vain deluſions hence!
No more the hallow'd influence
Of ſolitude pervert!
Shall fancy cheat the precious hour,
Sacred to wiſdom's awful pow'r
And calm reflection's part?

O wiſdom! from the ſea-beat ſhore
Where, liſt'ning to the ſolemn roar,
Thy lov'd * Eliza ſtrays,
Vouchſafe to viſit my retreat,
And teach my erring, trembling feet
Thy heav'n-protected ways!

Oh guide me to the humble cell
Where reſignation loves to dwell,
Contentment's bow'r in view.
Nor pining grief with abſence drear,
Nor ſick ſuſpenſe, nor anxious fear,
Shall there my ſteps purſue.

* Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, a lady well known to the literary world, author of a beautiful Ode to Wiſdom.

There

There let my ſoul to *Him* aſpire
Whom none e'er ſought with vain deſire,
Nor lov'd in ſad deſpair!
There, to his gracious will divine
My deareſt, fondeſt hope reſign,
And on my tendereſt care!

Then peace ſhall heal this wounded breaſt,
That pants to ſee another bleſt,
From ſelfiſh paſſion pure;
Peace, which when human wiſhes riſe
Intenſe, for aught beneath the ſkies,
Can never be ſecure.

ODE *on the* PLEASURE *ariſing from* VICISSITUDE, *left unfiniſhed by the late Mr.* GRAY; *with Additions to complete it, by Mr.* MASON. *From Mr.* MASON's *Edition of Mr.* GRAY's *Works. The* Additions *are in* Italicks.

NOW the golden morn aloft
Waves her dew-beſpangled wing,
With vermil cheek, and whiſper ſoft
She wooes the tardy ſpring:
Till April ſtarts, and calls around
The ſleeping fragrance from the ground;
And lightly o'er the living ſcene
Scatters his freſheſt, tendereſt green.

New-born flocks, in ruſtic dance,
Friſking ply their feeble feet;
Forgetful of their wintry trance
The birds his preſence greet:
But chief, the ſky-lark warbles high
His trembling thrilling extacy;
And, leſſening from the dazzled ſight,
Melts into air and liquid light.

Riſe, my ſoul! on wings of fire,
Riſe the rapt'rous choir among;
Hark! 'tis nature ſtrikes the lyre,
And leads the general ſong:
Warm let the lyric tranſport flow,
Warm, as the ray that bids it glow;
And animates the vernal grove
With health, with harmony, and love.

Yeſterday

On the cryſtā

Yeſterday the ſullen year
Saw the ſnowy whirlwind fly;
Mute was the muſic of the air,
The herd ſtood drooping by:
Their raptures now that wildly flow,
No yeſterday, nor morrow know;
'Tis man alone that joy deſcries
With forward, and reverted eyes.

Smiles on paſt misfortune's brow
Soft reflection's hand can trace;
And o'er the cheek of ſorrow throw
A melancholy grace;
While hope prolongs our happier hour,
Or deepeſt ſhades, that dimly lower
And blacken round our weary way,
Gilds with a gleam of diſtant day.

Still, where roſy pleaſure leads,
See a kindred grief purſue;
Behind the ſteps that miſery treads
Approaching comfort view:
The hues of bliſs more brightly glow,
Chaſtis'd by ſabler tints of woe;
And blended form, with artful ſtrife,
The ſtrength and harmony of life.

See the wretch, that long has toſt
On the thorny bed of pain,
At length repair his vigour loſt,
And breathe, and walk again:
The meaneſt flowret of the vale,
The ſimpleſt note that ſwells the gale,
The common ſun, the air, the ſkies,
To him are opening paradiſe.

Humble quiet builds her cell,
Near the ſource whence pleaſure flows;
She eyes the clear * cryſtalline well,
And taſtes it as it goes.
While far below the *madding* croud
Ruſh headlong to the dangerous flood,
Where broad and turbulent it ſweeps,
And periſh in the boundleſs deeps.

Mark where indolence, and pride,
Sooth'd by flattery's tinkling ſound,

* So Milton accents the word:

On the cry̆ſtālline ſky, in ſapphire thron'd. P. L. Book vi. v. 772.

Go,

Go, ſoftly rolling, ſide by ſide,
Their dull, but daily round:
To theſe, if Hebe's ſelf ſhould bring
The pureſt cup from pleaſure's ſpring,
Say, can they taſte the flavour high
Of ſober, ſimple, genuine joy?

Mark ambition's march ſublime
Up to power's meridian height;
While pale-ey'd envy ſees him climb,
And ſickens at the ſight.
Phantoms of danger, death, and dread,
Float hourly round ambition's head;
While Spleen, within his rival's breaſt,
Sits brooding on her ſcorpion neſt.

Happier he, the peaſant, far,
From the pangs of paſſion free,
That breathes the keen yet wholeſome air
Of rugged penury.
He, when his morning taſk is done,
Can ſlumber in the noontide ſun;
And hie him home, at evening's cloſe,
To ſweet repaſt, and calm repoſe.

He, unconſcious whence the bliſs,
Feels, and owns in carols rude,
That all the circling joys are his,
Of dear viciſſitude.
From toil he wins his ſpirits light,
From buſy day, the peaceful night;
Rich, from the very want of wealth,
In heav'n's beſt treaſures, peace and health.

An ODE *for the* REGATTA, *or* WATER-JUBILEE. *Performed on* Friday, *the* 23*d of* July, 1775, at RANELAGH.

BRITANNIA! bleſt with ſoft repoſe,
(Whoſe fields in richeſt robes are dreſt,
Whoſe vallies ſpread their verdant veſt)
Thus from her peaceful palace roſe,
And to the *Deities* her pray'r addreſt!
" O'er my fair iſle (the glory of the main)
This day may love triumphant reign!"

The goddeſs never prays in vain;
At Jove's ſupreme, propitious nod,
Forth from the chambers of the main,
Quick darts the coral-crowned god!

Glad Tritons at his preſence ſounding!
Notes from Albion's rocks rebounding!
His awful trident ſhakes the ground!
What ſolemn ſilence reigns around!
Nor ſurges laſh the trembling ſhore,
Nor dare the winds tumultuous roar;
But ſlowly ſlide the conſcious billows—
Softly wave the liſtening willows!
Whilſt Neptune with majeſtic ſmile
Accoſts the goddeſs of our iſle!

"To crown this choſen, happy day,
My offspring ſhall my will obey;
The daughter of the genial main,
The queen of youth and roſy ſmiles!
(Queen of dimple-dwelling wiles)"
Come, with all her Paphian train!
She comes! the conſcious ſea ſubſides!
Neptune curbs his hundred tides!
Smooth the ſilken ſurface lies,
Where Venus' flow'ry chariot flies!
Paphian maids around her move,
Keen ey'd hope, and joy, and love!
Cloſe by her ſide, her darling ſon ſhe brings,
With quiver full! he claps his wanton wings!
He takes his aim! behold each pointed dart!
With pleaſing anguiſh pierce the deſtin'd heart!

Love and muſic ſprung from heav'n!
Sov'reigns of the human ſoul!
And by nature wiſely giv'n
Ruder paſſions to controul.
Beauty's empire far extends,
O'er the ocean's wide domain!
From the world's extremeſt ends,
To Britannia's happy plain.
Behold! in every youthful breaſt
(Thames' banks have nurſt the flame)
Venus, ever-welcome gueſt,
Courts the generous ſons of fame!

(Full Chorus.)

Happy iſland! happy king!
Where the free-born ſubjects live!
Where the circling ſeaſons bring
All that love and glory give.

The

BALLAD *ſung at the ſame Time and Place, and on the ſame Occaſion, with the preceding* Ode.

YE lords and ye ladies who form this gay throng,
Be ſilent a moment, attend to our ſong!
And while you ſuſpend your fantaſtical round,
Come bleſs your ſweet ſtars, that you're none of you drown'd.
Derry down.

As you've long been detain'd, with daughters and ſpouſes,
From your parks and your lawns, and your fine country-houſes,
Ere for ſummer's dull ſeaſon you bid us adieu,
We preſent you a feaſt, and a novelty too.

—Enough of feſtinos, champettres enough,
Bal-parés, and freſcos, and ſuch worn-out ſtuff;
But how to amuſe ye?—Aye, there was the queſtion,
A Regatta was thought of—Oh lucky ſuggeſtion!

From the lagunes of Venice we've ſtolen the hint;
And hope you'll acknowledge there's ſome merit in't,
Nay we truſt you'll pronounce it cool, uſeful, and hearty,
As old father Thames is made one of the party.

For ſay, ſhould Britannia ungratefully treat,
The friend of her commerce, the nurſe of her fleet?
Shall he who with toil wafts your treaſure to ſhore,
In her hours of amuſement be thought of no more?

Array'd in his beſt, in his holiday clothes,
To-night the gay Thames his aſſiſtance beſtows,
And as uſual, to render the ſhew more complete,
We've ranſack'd the wardrobe of Taviſtock-ſtreet.

We've friends in the court, and we've friends in the city,
No doubt then our plan is both uſeful and pretty,
Since the ſix clubs have join'd to defray all the charges,
And the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen lent us their barges.

Did you mind how each candidate tugg'd at the oar,
How the managers ſtorm'd, how the conſtables ſwore?
Shall ye ever forget how the mob was delighted,
When the boats all ran foul, and the ladies were frighted?

But the races are o'er, the proceſſion is clos'd,
The landing effected, the clamour compos'd;
The fare that's before ye, we hope you'll agree,
Is better than coffee, rolls, butter, and tea.

But ere ye return, and your faces vermillion,
With twiſting all'mande, and with friſking cotillion,
Thus with crotchet and ballad we greet ev'ry gueſt,
And welcome ye all to our otter-like feaſt.

We've ſtrove to amuſe you by water and land;
Once Torre to pleaſe ye had fire at command:
To charm ye ſhould be the four elements' care,
So the next time we'll fix on a plan in the air.

EPILOGUE *to the Tragedy of the* INFLEXIBLE CAPTIVE, *written by Miſs* HANNAH MOORE; *as it was acted at the Theatre-Royal at* Bath. *By* DAVID GARRICK, *Eſq*;

WHAT ſon of phyſic but his art extends,
As well as hands, when call'd on by his friends?
What landlord is ſo weak to make you faſt,
When gueſts like you beſpeak a good repaſt?
But weaker ſtill were he whom fate has plac'd
To ſoothe your cares, and gratify your taſte,
Should he neglect to bring before your eyes
Thoſe dainty dramas which from genius riſe;
Whether your luxury be to ſmile or weep,
His and your profits juſt proportion keep.
To-night he brought, nor fears a due reward,
A Roman Patriot by a Female Bard.
Britons, who feel his flame, his worth will rate,
No common ſpirit his, no common fate,
INFLEXIBLE and CAPTIVE muſt be great.
'How,' cries a ſucking fop, thus lounging, ſtraddling,
(Whoſe head ſhews want of ballaſt by its noddling)
'A woman write? Learn, Madam, of your betters,
'And read a noble Lord's POSTHUMOUS LETTERS.
'There you will learn the ſex may merit praiſe
'By making puddings—not by making plays:
'They can make tea and miſchief, dance and ſing;
'Their heads, tho' full of feathers, can't take wing.'
I thought they cou'd, Sir; now and then, by chance,
Maids fly to Scotland, and ſome Wives to France.
He ſtill went noddling on — 'Do all ſhe can,
'Woman's a trifle—play-thing—like her fan.'
Right, Sir, and when a wife, the rattle of a man.
And ſhall ſuch things as theſe become the teſt
Of female worth? The faireſt and the beſt
Of all Heaven's creatures? For ſo Milton ſung us,
And with ſuch champions, who ſhall dare to wrong us?
Come forth, proud man, in all your powers array'd;
Shine out in all your ſplendor—Who's afraid?

Who

Who on French wit has made a glorious war,
Defended Shakeſpeare, and ſubdu'd Voltaire?
Woman*:—Who, rich in knowledge, knows no pride,
Can boaſt ten tongues, and yet not ſatisfy'd?
Woman†:—Who lately ſung the ſweeteſt lay?
A woman, woman, woman‖ ſtill I ſay.
Well then, who dares deny our power and might?
Will any married man diſpute our right?
Speak boldly, Sirs, your wives are not in ſight.
What, are you ſilent? Then you are content;
Silence, the proverb tells us, gives conſent.
Critics, will you allow an honeſt claim?
Are you dumb too? This night has fix'd our fame.

EPILOGUE *to the* RIVALS.

Spoken by Mrs. BULKLEY.

LADIES for *you*—I heard our poet ſay——
He'd try to coax ſome *moral* from his play:
'One moral's plain, cry'd I, without more fuſs:
'Man's ſocial happineſs all reſts in us—
'Thro' all the drama—whether d—n'd or not—
'*Love* gilds the *ſcene*, and *women* guide the *plot*.'
From ev'ry rank obedience is our due—
D'ye doubt?—The world's great ſtage will prove it true.
The cit—well ſkill'd to ſhun domeſtic ſtrife—
Will ſup abroad;—but firſt—he'll aſk his *wife*:
John Trot, his friend—for once will do the ſame,
But then—he'll juſt *ſtep home to tell my dame*.——
The *ſurly 'ſquire*—at noon reſolves to rule,
And half the day—zounds! madam is a fool!
Convinc'd at night—the vanquiſh'd victor ſays,
Ah Kate! *you women have ſuch coaxing ways!*—
The *jolly toper* chides each tardy blade—
'Till reeling Bacchus calls on love for aid:
Then with each toaſt, he ſees fair bumpers ſwim,
And kiſſes Chloe on the ſparkling brim.
Nay, I have heard, that ſtateſmen—great and wiſe——
Will *ſometimes* counſel with a lady's eyes;
The ſervile ſuitors—watch her various face;
She ſmiles preferment—or ſhe frowns diſgrace,
Curtſies a penſion here—there nods a place.

* Mrs. Montague, author of an Eſſay on the Writings of Shakeſpeare.
† Mrs. Carter, well known for ſkill in antient and modern languages.
‖ Miſs Aikin, who lately publiſhed ſome excellent poems.

Nor

Nor with leſs awe, in ſcenes of humbler life,
Is *view'd* the *miſtreſs*, or is *heard* the *wife*.
The pooreſt peaſant of the pooreſt ſoil,
The child of poverty, and heir to toil—
Early from radiant love's impartial light,
Steals one ſmall ſpark, to chear his world of night:
Dear ſpark—that oft thro' winter's chilling woes,
Is all the warmth his little cottage knows.
The wand'ring tar—who not for *years* has preſs'd
The widow'd partner of his *day* of reſt—
On the cold deck—far from her arms remov'd—
Still hums the ditty which his Suſan lov'd:
And while around the cadence loud is blown,
The boatſwain whiſtles in a ſofter tone.
The *ſoldier*, fairly proud of wounds and toil,
Pants for the *triumph* of his Nancy's ſmile:
But ere the battle ſhould he liſt' her cries,
The lover trembles—and the hero dies!
That heart, by war and honour ſteel'd to fear,
Droops on a ſigh, and ſickens at a tear.
But, ye more cautious, ye nice judging few,
Who give to beauty only beauty's due,
Tho' friends to love—ye view with deep regret
Our conqueſts marr'd—our triumphs incomplete,
'Till poliſh'd wit more laſting charms diſcloſe,
And judgment fix the darts which beauty throws.
In female breaſts did ſenſe and merit rule,
The lover's mind would aſk no other ſchool;
Sham'd into ſenſe—the ſcholars of our eyes,
Our beaux from *gallantry* would ſoon be wiſe;
Would gladly light, their homage to improve,
The lamp of knowledge at the torch of love.

EPILOGUE *to the new Comedy of* The CHOLERICK MAN;

Written by Mr. GARRICK, *and ſpoken by Mrs.* ABINGTON.

AS I'm an artiſt, can my ſkill do better
Than paint your pictures? For I'm much your debtor:
I'll draw the out-lines—finiſh at my leiſure———
A groupe like you wou'd be a charming treaſure!
Here is my pencil, here my ſketching-book,
Where for this work I memorandums took;
I will in full, three quarters, and profile,
Take your ſweet faces, nay, your thoughts I'll ſteal.
From my good friends above, their wives and doxies,
Down to Madame and Monſieur in the boxes:

Now for it, Sirs; I beg, from top to bottom,
You'll keep your features fix'd till I have got 'em.
Firſt for fine gentlemen my fancy ſtretches,
They'll be more like, the ſlighter are the ſketches.
Such unembodied form invention racks;
Pale cheeks, dead eyes, thin bodies, and long backs—
They would be beſt in ſhades, or virgin's wax.
To make fine ladies like, the toil is vain,
Unleſs I paint 'em o'er and o'er again:
In froſt, tho' not a flower its charms diſcloſes,
They can, like hot-houſes, produce their roſes.
At you, Coquettes, my pencil now takes aim!
In love's change-alley playing all the game,
I'll paint you ducklings waddling out quite lame.
The prude's moſt virtuous ſpite I'll next pourtray;
Railing at gaming—loving private play.
Quitting the gay bon-ton, and would-be-witty,
I come to you, my patrons, in the city:
I like your honeſt, open Engliſh looks;
They ſhew too—that you well employ your cooks!
Have at you, now—nay, Miſter—pray don't ſtir,
Hold up your head, your fat becomes you, Sir;
Leer with your eyes—as thus—now ſmirk—Well done!
You're ogling, Sir—a haunch of veniſon.
Some of your fickle patriots I ſhall paſs:—
Such brittle beings will be beſt on glaſs.
Now, courtiers, you—looks meant your thoughts to ſmother,—
Hands fix'd on one thing—eyes upon another.
For politicians I have no dark tints—
Such clouded brows are fine for wooden prints.
To diſtant climes if modern Jaſons roam,
And bring the golden fleece with curſes home,
I'll blacken them with Indian ink—but then
My hands, like theirs, will ne'er be clean again.
Tho' laſt, not leaſt in love, I come to you*!
And 'tis with rapture nature's ſons I view;
With warmeſt tints ſhall glow your jolly faces,
Joy, love, and laughter, there have fix'd their places.
Free from weak nerves, bon ton, ennui, and foreign graces.
I'll tire you now no more with pencil ſtrictures;
I'll copy theſe—next week ſend home your pictures.

* To the Galleries.

PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE *to the Comedy of* BON TON;

Written by Mr. COLMAN;

Spoken by Mr. KING.

FASHION in ev'ry thing bears ſov'reign ſway,
And words and periwigs have both their day:
Each have their purlieus too, are modiſh each
In ſtated diſtricts, wigs as well as ſpeech.
The Tyburn ſcratch, thick clubs, and Temple tye,
The parſon's feather-top, frizz'd broad and high!
The coachman's cauliflower, built tiers on tiers!
Differ not more from bags and brigadiers,
Than Great St. George's, or St. James's ſmiles,
From the broad dialect of Broad St. Giles.
What is BON TON?——Oh, damme, cries a Buck,
—Half drunk—aſk me, my dear, and you're in luck;
Bon Ton's to ſwear, break windows, beat the watch,
Pick up a wench, drink healths, and roar a catch.
Keep it up! keep it up! damme, take your ſwing!
Bon Ton is life, my boy; Bon Ton's the thing!
Ah! I loves life, and all the joys yields—
Says Madam Fuſſock, warm from Spital-fields.
Bone Tone's the ſpace 'twixt Saturday and Monday,
And riding in a one-horſe chair o' Sunday!
'Tis drinking tea on ſummer afternoons
At Bagnigge Wells, with china and gilt ſpoons!
'Tis laying by our ſtuffs, red cloaks, and pattens,
To dance cow-tillions, all in ſilks and ſattins!
Vulgar! cries miſs. Obſerve in higher life
The feather'd ſpinſter, and thrice feather'd wife!
The CLUB's Bon Ton. Bon Ton's a conſtant trade
Of rout, feſtino, ball and maſquerade!
'Tis plays and puppet-ſhews, 'tis ſomething new;
'Tis loſing thouſands ev'ry night at Lu!
Nature it thwarts, and contradicts all reaſon;
'Tis ſtiff French ſtays, and fruit when out of ſeaſon!
A roſe, when half a guinea is the price;
A ſet of bays, ſcarce bigger than ſix mice;
To viſit friends you never wiſh to ſee;
Marriage 'twixt thoſe who never can agree;
Old dowagers dreſt, painted, patch'd, and curl'd;
This is Bon Ton, and this we call the world;

* [True, ſays my Lord; and thou my only ſon,
Whate'er your faults, ne'er ſin againſt Bon Ton!
Who toils for learning at a public ſchool,
And digs for Greek and Latin, is a fool.
French, French, my boy's the thing! jaſez! prate, chatter!
Trim be the mode, whipt ſyllabub the matter!
Walk like a Frenchman! for on Engliſh pegs
Moves native aukwardneſs with two left legs.
Of courtly friendſhip form a treacherous league;
Seduce men's daughters, with their wives intrigue;
In ſightly ſemicircles round your nails;
Keep your teeth clean--and grin, if ſmall talk fails—
But never laugh, whatever jeſt prevails!
Nothing but nonſenſe e'er gave laughter birth,
That vulgar way the vulgar ſhew their mirth.
Laughter's a rude convulſion, ſenſe that juſtles,
Diſturbs the cockles, and diſtorts the muſcles.
Hearts may be black, but all ſhou'd wear clean faces;
The Graces, boy! The Graces, Graces, Graces!]
Such is Bon Ton! and walks this city thro';
In building, ſcribbling, fighting, and virtû.
And various other ſhapes, 'twill riſe to view.
To-night our Bayes, with bold, but careleſs tints,
Hits off a ſketch or two, like Darly's prints.
Should connoiſſeurs allow his rough draughts ſtrike 'em,
'Twill be Bon Ton to ſee 'em and to like 'em.

Vers a Mademoiſelle CLAIRON, *a l'occaſion d'une Féte connue ſous le nom de l'Inauguration de la Statue de M. De* VOLTAIRE, *& célébrée chez Mademoiſelle* CLAIRON *en* Octobre, 1772, *dans laquelle cette actrice, habillée en prêtreſſe d'* Apollon, *poſa une Couronne de Lauriers ſur le Buſte de l'Auteur de Zaire, & Recita un Ode de M.* MARMONTEL, *en ſon honneur. Par* M. De Voltaire.

LES talents, l'eſprit, le génie
Chez Clairon ſont trés-aſſidus:
Car chacun aime ſa patrie:
Chez elle, ils ſont tous rendus,
Pour célébrer certaine orgie,
Dont je ſuis encore tout confus:
Les plus beaux momens de ma vie
Sont donc ceux que je n'ai point vus;
Vous avez orné mon image
Des lauriers qui croiſſent chez vous:
Ma gloire, en dépit des jaloux,
Fut en tous les tems votre ouvrage.

*The lines between crotchets are omitted at the theatre.

To Mr. GARRICK, *on the Report of his leaving the Stage.*

WHEN—rarely now to public eyes confeſs'd—
The ſun of Shakeſpeare beams on Garrick's breaſt,
To circling crowds he deals the electric fire,
As joy or grief, as love or rage, inſpire.
Such ſtorms of mirth once eaſy Pritchard rais'd;
Such wat'ry eyes on melting Cibber gaz'd;—
But ah! their chaplets fade beneath the tomb,—
On Garrick's head may wreaths more laſting bloom!
But ſay, ſhall Fame declare, while Shakeſpeare dies,
His old confed'rate, England's Roſcius flies?
Sees Smith inter his lovers' cold remains,
And ſavage Macklin hang his kings in chains?
Nature's plain dreſs far off lets Reddiſh fling,
And lead her forth a prim, patch'd, powder'd thing?
Shall equal wrong attend his publiſh'd lays,
Where critic ivy choaks poetic bays?
His obvious ſenſe ſhall Warburton refine,
And Hanmer ſmooth each nobly rugged line?
His language Tibbald vamp with faithleſs art,
And Upton's learning freeze his plaſtic heart?
Shall final ruin Johnſon, Stevens, bring,
Who clog, with notes of lead, his active wing;
While preſs'd he ſinks, and but ſurvives to tell
That Sexton Capel tolls his paſſing-bell?
Garrick! 'tis thine his ſuff'ring worth to ſhield,
Beſtride the vanquiſh'd, and regain the field;
One meaning glance of eyes, like thine, can ſhow
What lab'ring critics boaſt in vain to know.—
Once more let Cawdor graſp his midnight ſteel,
And John his wiſh half utter, half conceal;
In death's ſad hour bid gay Mercutio ſmile,
Or ſportive Philip Auſtria's calf revile;
Elſe, idly ſculptur'd, Hampton's God appears
A boaſt of wealth, a ſight for gaping peers;
For, while thy tongue deſerts his friendleſs ſtrain,
Thy generous hand has rear'd his ſhrine in vain.

GRACE. *By Mr.* GARRICK.

YE beaux eſprits, ſay, what is GRACE?
Dwells it in motion, ſhape, or face?
Or is it all the three combin'd,
Guided and ſoften'd by the mind?

Where it is *not*, all eyes may ſee;
But where it *is*, all hearts agree:
'Tis there, when eaſy in its ſtate,
The mind is elegantly great;
Where looks give ſpeech to every feature,
The ſweeteſt eloquence of nature;
A harmony of thought and motion,
To which at once we pay devotion.
—But where to find this *nonpareil!*
Where does this female wonder dwell,
Who can at will our hearts command?
—Behold in public—CUMBERLAND!

VERSES *upon Mrs.* CREWE. *By the Hon. Mr.* CHARLES FOX.

WHERE the loveliеſt expreſſion to features is join'd,
By nature's moſt delicate pencil deſign'd;
Where bluſhes unbidden, and ſmiles without art,
Speak the ſoftneſs and feeling that dwell in the heart.
Where in manners inchanting, no blemiſh we trace,
But the ſoul keeps the promiſe we had from the face:
Sure philoſophy, reaſon, and coldneſs muſt prove
Defences unequal to ſhield us from love:
Then tell me, myſterious enchanter, Oh tell!
By what wonderful art, by what magic ſpell,
My heart is ſo fenc'd that for once I am wiſe,
And gaze without raptures on Amoret's eyes:
That my wiſhes, which never were bounded before,
Are here bounded by friendſhip, and aſk for no more?
Is't reaſon? No; that my whole life will belye,
For who ſo at variance as reaſon and I?
Is't ambition that fills up each chink of my heart,
Nor allows any ſofter ſenſation a part?
Oh no! For in this all the world muſt agree
One folly was never ſufficient for me.
Is my mind on diſtreſs too intenſely employ'd,
Or by pleaſure relax'd, by variety cloy'd?
For alike in this only, employment and pain,
Both ſlacken the ſprings of thoſe nerves which they ſtrain.
That I've felt each reverſe, that from fortune can flow,
That I've taſted each bliſs that the happieſt know,
Has ſtill been the whimſical fate of my life,
Where anguiſh and joy have been ever at ſtrife.
But, tho' vers'd in th' extremes both of pleaſure and pain,
I am ſtill but too ready to feel them again:
If then for th's once in my life I a n free,
And eſcape from a ſnare might catch wiſer than me;

'Tis that beauty alone but imperfectly charms,
For, tho' brightneſs may dazzle, 'tis kindneſs that warms:
As on ſuns in the winter with pleaſure we gaze,
But feel not their warmth, tho' their ſplendor we praiſe;
So beauty our juſt admiration may claim,
But love, and love only, the heart can inflame.

VERSES *to the* LADIES. *By Lady* CHUDLEIGH, *Grandmother to the preſent Dutcheſs of* KINGSTON.

WIFE and ſervant are the ſame,
They only differ in the name:
For when that fatal knot is ty'd,
Which nought but death can e'er divide:
When ſhe the word *obey* has ſaid,
And man by law ſupreme is made,
Then all that's kind is laid aſide,
And nothing's left but ſtate and pride.
Fierce as an eaſtern prince he grows,
And all his innate rigour ſhows.
Then but to look, to laugh, or ſpeak,
Will the nuptial contract break.
Like mutes ſhe ſigns alone muſt make,
And never any freedom take:
But ſtill be govern'd by a nod,
And fear her huſband as her god.
Him ſtill muſt ſerve, him ſtill obey,
And nothing act, and nothing ſay,
But what her haughty lord thinks fit,
Who with the pow'r has all the wit.
Then ſhun, oh! ſhun that wretched ſtate,
And all the fawning flatt'rers hate.
Value yourſelves, and men deſpiſe,
You muſt be proud, if you'll be wiſe.

An OLD BACHELOR's *Reflections on* MATRIMONY.

DOWN to the vale of life I tend,
Where hoary age creeps ſlowly on:
And with the burd'ning thought I bend,
That youth and all its joys are gone!

Succeſſive years have roll'd away
In fancied views of future bliſs:
But—'twere the phantoms of a day—
And all *that* future dies in *this*.

Now, with a retroſpective eye,
I look far back to early life,
When Hymen promis'd to ſupply
My higheſt wiſhes in—a wife.

I waited, hop'd, and truſted ſtill
That time would bring th' expected day;
But never, happ'ly, to my will,
Did fortune throw it in my way.

Too nice, too wiſe, too proud was I,
To wed as taught by nature's rule;
The world was ſtill to chuſe for me—
And I—the condeſcending fool.

Hence are my days a barren round
Of trifling hopes, and idle fears:
For life, true life, is only found
In ſocial joys, and ſocial tears.

Let moping monks, and rambling rakes,
The joys of wedded love deride:
Their manners riſe from groſs miſtakes,
Unbridled luſt, or gloomy pride.

Thy ſacred ſweets, connubial love,
Flow from affections more refin'd;
Affections ſacred to the dove,
Heroic, conſtant, warm, and kind.

Hail, holy flame! hail, ſacred tye!
That binds two gentle ſouls in one!—
On equal wings their troubles fly,
In equal ſtreams their pleaſures run.

Their duties ſtill their pleaſures bring;
Hence joys in ſwift ſucceſſion come:
A queen is ſhe, and he's a king,
And their dominion is—their home,

Happy the youth who finds a bride
In ſprightly days of health and eaſe:
Whoſe temper, to his own allied,
No knowledge ſeeks but how to pleaſe.

A thouſand ſweets their days attend!
A thouſand comforts riſe around!
Here huſband, parent, wife, and friend,
In ev'ry deareſt ſenſe is found.

Yet think not, man, 'midſt ſcenes ſo gay,
That clouds and ſtorms will never riſe;
A cloud may dim the brighteſt day,
And ſtorms diſturb the calmeſt ſkies.

But ſtill their bliſs ſhall ſtand its ground;
Nor ſhall their comforts hence remove:
Bitters are oft ſalubrious found,
And lovers quarrels heighten love.

The lights, and ſhades, and goods, and ills,
Thus finely blended in their fate,
To ſweet ſubmiſſion bow their wills,
And make them happy in their ſtate.

Marſhfield. W. O.

The TOMBS. *From the French of Monſ.* LE FRANC.

THE other day unheedful wand'ring,
To a ſolitude I ſtray'd,
Where the lucid ſtream meand'ring,
Curling, with ſweet zephyr play'd:

Cool'd by the wave, the gentle breezes
With refreſhing ſoftneſs blow;
And all around the proſpect pleaſes,
Hills, and woods, and meadows glow.

Onward I ſtray'd the ſcene enjoying,
When to a ruin'd pile I came,
Which, the rude tooth of time deſtroying,
Scarce deſerv'd an Abbey's name.

Where once had ſhone the ſpiry towers
In the golden eye of day,
Now the lone ſcreech-owl nightly ſcowers—
Undiſtinguiſh'd mortals lay—

Save thoſe whoſe monumental glory
Roſe the ruin'd arch above;
Who with an epitaph or ſtory
'Gainſt annihilation ſtrove.

The Conqueror's firſt, rever'd in battle,
Monarch of a vaſt domain;
His high delight the cannon's rattle,
Or the blood-imbrued plain.

Round the tomb were ſpears and lances,
Tales of thirty battles won,
Whilſt by the ſculptor's living fancies
Kings and princes are undone.

Beneath a cypreſs branch luxurious
Was of marble white a tomb;
Its ornaments attract the curious,
Who from diſtant cities come.

There

There were the roſe and lily twining,
Flowrets bloom, and lambkins breathe;
The lute, the lyre, the trumpet ſhining,
Hung around with laurel wreath:

Who then can ſuch a tomb inherit?
Who but the Poet, king of lays,
He was; and round the world his merit
Swept with inexpreſſive praiſe.

Near this, with nought of decoration,
Save an humble net entwin'd,
Appear'd a tomb of lowly ſtation—
Here the Fiſherman reclin'd.

"Ah me!" ſaid I, "this wretched neighbour,
"Knew of nought but care and ſtrife;
"Endleſs his hardſhips, toils and labour,
"His, I ween, was not a life."

"And why," replied a paſſing ſtranger,
"Call it not a life, I pray?
"Say, does the field of death and danger
"Give a nobler form of clay?

"Each of theſe men in life's ſhort minute
"Sought his final end of bliſs;
"The world's expanſe and all within it
"Teach the moraliſt but this:

"The end attain'd by Fiſher, Poet,
"Hero, all the ſons of men,
"Differs but in the means which ſhew it,
"Whether the Net, the Sword, or Pen."

Soho, Sept. 12. R. J. TEEDE.

Dialogue between a Nobleman, in a Dream in which he fancied himſelf dead, and a dead Beggar buried by the Side of him. From the FRENCH.

I Dreamt that, bury'd in my fellow clay,
Cloſe by a common beggar's ſide I lay;
And, as ſo mean a neighbour ſhock'd my pride,
Thus (like a corpſe of quality) I cry'd,
'Away! thou ſcoundrel; henceforth touch me not;
More manners learn, and at a diſtance rot.'
'Thou ſcoundrel! in a louder tone, cry'd he,
Proud lump of dirt, I ſcorn thy words and thee;
We're equal now, I'll not an inch reſign,
This is my dunghill, as the next is thine.'

A

An ELEGY *on Mrs.* BOWES.* *By Lady* M. W. MONTAGUE.

HAIL happy Bride! for thou art truly bleſt,
Three months of pleaſure crown'd with endleſs reſt!
Merit like yours was Heaven's peculiar care;
You lov'd—yet taſted happineſs ſincere:
The ſweets of love to you were only ſhewn,
The ſure, ſucceeding, bitter dregs unknown.
You had not yet the fatal change deplor'd,
The tender lover for the imperious Lord;
Nor felt the pangs that jealous fondneſs brings,
Nor wept the coldneſs from poſſeſſion ſprings:
Above your ſex, diſtinguiſh'd in your fate,
You truſted, yet experienc'd no deceit.
Swift were your hours, and wing'd with pleaſure flew;
No vain repentance gave a ſigh to you:
And, if ſuperior bliſs Heav'n can beſtow,
With fellow Angels you enjoy it now.

EPITAPH *in Hallifax Church.*

HERE lies interr'd a zealous grave divine,
Meek, loving, lov'd, only with ſin at ſtrife;
Who heard him, ſaw life in his doctrine ſhine,
Who ſaw him, heard ſound doctrine in his life;
And in the ſame cold bed here reſts his wife:
Nor are they dead, but ſleep; for he ne'er dies
That waits for his ſweet Saviour's word, *Ariſe.*

EPIGRAM.

By Dr. DODDRIDGE, *on his Motto,* Dum vivimus, vivamus.

LIVE while you live, the Epicure will ſay,
And take the pleaſure of the preſent day:
Live while you live, the ſacred preacher cries,
And give to God each moment as it flies.—
Lord, in my view let both united be!
I live in pleaſure when I live to Thee.

* Firſt wife to Mr. Bowes, father to the preſent Lady Strathmore.

IN SOMNUM.

SOMNE levis! quanquam certiſſima mortis imago,
Conſortem cupio te tamen eſſe tori.
Alma quies, optata veni! nam ſic ſine vita
Vivere quam ſuave eſt, ſic ſine morte mori!

The above Lines to Sleep, imitated in ENGLISH.

AH! gentle ſleep, though on thy form impreſs'd
Death's trueſt, ſtrongeſt, lineaments appear,
To ſhare my couch, thy preſence I requeſt,
And ſoothe my ſenſes with repoſe ſincere.
Come, wiſh'd-for reſt! then all my cares relieve,
For at thy kind approach all cares retire:
Thus, without life, how ſweet it is to live!
Thus, without death, how pleaſing to expire!

E. G.

On a GENTLEMAN's *ſaying he would dance with none but fair* LADIES.

Spoken extempore by two Young LADIES.

SYMON does vow, nay he does ſwear,
He'll dance with none but what are fair;
Suppoſe we women ſhou'd diſpenſe
Our hands to none but men of ſenſe;
Suppoſe, well madam,—and what then?
Why Sir, you'd never dance again.

ATTRACTION *and* REPULSION. *A* FABLE.

REPULSION to Attraction cry'd,
"Why do you draw me thus aſide?"
Attraction anſwer'd in a crack,
"If I pull this way, you pull back;
Both are endued with equal might,
To keep the equilibrio right.
Shou'd you, Repulſion, puſh too hard,
The univerſe would ſoon be marr'd;
And I, to quit my deſtin'd law,
Shou'd ſoon the world to ruin draw;
Then ne'er to join in friendſhip chaſe,
'Tis oppoſition keeps us ſafe."

Thus

Thus in a nation parties view,
Some *this*, and others *that* purſue;
The quarrel has a good effect,
For if *theſe* cheat us, *thoſe* detect;
But ſhould they leagues of friendſhip ſtrike,
Why then they'd all be rogues alike.

The following Lines were ſung by DURASTANTI, *when ſhe took her Leave of the Engliſh Stage. The Words were in haſte put together by Mr.* POPE, *at the earneſt Requeſt of the Earl of* PETERBOROW.

GENEROUS, gay, and gallant nation,
Bold in arms, and bright in arts;
Land ſecure from all invaſion,
All but Cupid's gentle darts!
From your charms, oh who would run?
Who would leave you for the ſun?

Happy ſoil, adieu, adieu!
Let old charmers yield to new.
In arms, in arts, be ſtill more ſhining;
All your joys be ſtill increaſing;
All your taſtes be ſtill refining;
All your jars for ever ceaſing:
But let old charmers yield to new:
Happy ſoil, adieu, adieu!

A Burleſque of the above Lines, by Dr. ARBUTHNOT.

PUPPIES, whom I now am leaving,
Merry ſometimes, always mad,
Who laviſh moſt when debts are craving,
On fool, and farce, and maſquerade!
Who would not from ſuch bubbles run,
And leave ſuch bleſſings for the ſun?

Happy ſoil, and ſimple crew!
Let old ſharpers yield to new;
All your taſtes be ſtill refining;
All your nonſenſe ſtill more ſhining:
Bleſt in ſome *Berenſtad* or *Boſchi*,
He more aukward, he more huſky;
And never want, when theſe are loſt t'us,
Another Heidegger and Fauſtus.
Happy ſoil, and ſimple crew!
Let old ſharpers yield to new!
Bubbles all, adieu, adieu!

A FARE-

A FAREWELL *to* LONDON *in the Year* 1714. *By Mr.* POPE.

(Never publiſhed in his Works.)

DEAR, damn'd, diſtracting town, farewell!
Thy fools no more I'll teize:
This year in peace, ye critics, dwell,
Ye harlots, ſleep at eaſe!

Soft B—— and rough C——'s, adieu!
Earl Warwick make your moan,
The lively H——k and you
May knock up w——s alone.

To drink and droll be Rowe allow'd
Till the third watchman toll;
Let Jervaſe gratis paint, and Frowd
Save three-pence and his ſoul.

Farewell Arburthnot's raillery
On every learned ſot;
And Garth, the beſt good Chriſtian he,
Altho' he knows it not.

Lintot, farewell! thy bard muſt go;
Farewell, unhappy Tonſon!
Heaven gives thee, for thy loſs of Rowe,
Lean Philips and fat Johnſon.

Why ſhould I ſtay? Both parties rage;
My vixen miſtreſs ſqualls;
The wits in envious feuds engage,
And Homer (damn him!) calls.

The love of arts lies cold and dead
In Hallifax's urn;
And not one Muſe, of all he fed,
Has yet the grace to mourn.

My friends, by turns, my friends confound,
Betray, and are betray'd:
Poor Y——r's ſold for fifty pound,
And B——ll is a jade.

Why make I friendſhips with the great,
When I no favour ſeek?
Or follow girls ſeven hours in eight,—
I need but once a week?

Still

Still idle, with a buſy air,
  Deep whimſies to contrive;
The gayeſt valetudinaire,
  Moſt thinking rake alive.

Solicitous for others ends,
  Tho' fond of dear repoſe;
Careleſs or drowſy with my friends,
  And frolic with my foes.

Laborious lobſter-nights, farewell!
  For ſober, ſtudious days;
And Burlington's delicious meal,
  For ſallads, tarts, and peaſe.

Adieu to all but Gay alone,
  Whoſe ſoul, ſincere and free,
Loves all mankind, but flatters none,
  And ſo may ſtarve with me.

A SPANISH MADRIGAL, *by* D. LEWIS MARTIN.

IBA cogiendo flores,
  Y guardando en la falda
Mi ninfa, para hacer una guirnalda;
Mas primero las toca
A los roſados labios de ſu boca,
Y les dá de ſu aliento los olores;
Y eſtaba (por ſu bien) entre una roſa
Una abeja eſcondida,
Su dulce humor hurtando;
Y como en la hermoſa
Flor de los labios ſe hallò? atrevida,
La picò, ſacò miel, fueſe volando.

TRANSLATION, *by Mr.* GARRICK.

FOR me my fair a wreath has wove,
  Where rival flow'rs in union meet;
As oft ſhe kiſs'd this gift of love,
Her breath gave ſweetneſs to the ſweet.
  A bee within a damaſk roſe
Had crept, the nectar'd dew to ſip;
But leſſer ſweets the thief foregoes,
And fixes on Louiſa's lip.

There

There, taſting all the bloom of ſpring,
Wak'd by the rip'ning breath of May,
Th' ungrateful ſpoiler left his ſting,
And with the honey fled away.

A TRANSLATION *of* LATIN VERSES. *From the* ARABIC.

MY boy, the glaſſes hither bring,
Preſent the balmy treaſure;
More briſkly pour it round the ring,
And pour it without meaſure.
Wine can lovers pangs aſſuage;
Wine allays the cares of age.

The wine is like to ruddy Sol;
The cup of hue ſo mellow,
To portly Cynthia, fair and full,
Courting her lordly fellow.
Briſker rouſe the ruddy light;
Pour on wine to make it bright.

What though, in beauty's tranſient hour,
The roſes loſe their bluſhing?
Above, the purple nectar pour,
And ſtrow them freſh and fluſhing.
Let Philomel forſake the grove;
Wine inſpires the ſong of love.

Heed not fortune's ſcornful frown;
In bumpers drown all ſorrow;
Sleep, ſoon, ſhall all our wiſhes crown,
And crown them till to-morrow.
Bring round to me the nectar'd ſtream,
Wine inſpires the golden dream.

How ſweet the genial fluſh of drink!
Larger draughts give larger pleaſure:
Sit we till we ceaſe to think
On aught beſides our mellow treaſure.
My friend be jovial; right or wrong,
We'll drink our glaſs, and ſing our ſong.

Caithneſs. MUSÆUS.

CHORUS

CHORUS SONG *in the Comedy of* EASTWARD HO, *revived by the New Name of* OLD CITY MANNERS. *By Mr.* BANNISTER.

PUSH the jovial bowl about,
Ere we part, we'll ſee it out,
And wit and mirth ſhall reign, boys;
Many cares, we all may know,
And many hardſhips undergo,
Before we meet again, boys.

CHORUS.

Yet hand in hand,
By ſea or land,
When met we'll ſing and roar;
And, leſt our joy
Dull thoughts deſtroy,
We'll laugh and think no more.

North or South, or Eaſt or Weſt,
We'll have liquor of the beſt;
For whereſo'er we're bound, boys,
In the bowl our joys ſhall ſwim,
And, while we fill it to the brim,
They ne'er can run a-ground, boys.
Yet hand in hand, &c.

Life is like the preſent hour,
Mark'd with blended ſweet and ſour,
Our time flies ſwift along, boys;
Like a bowl of punch is man:
And now diſcover, if you can,
The moral of my ſong, boys.
Yet hand in hand, &c.

Account of Books for 1775.

The Poems of Mr. Gray: *To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings, by* W. Maſon, *M. A.* 1 *Vol.* 4to.

MR. Maſon very juſtly diſclaims all apology for the work with which he has obliged the world. His well-choſen motto, *Eſt adhuc hominibus et cura et officium; ſunt qui defunctorum quoque amicos agant*; is his praiſe, as well as his juſtification. The work does credit both to his friend and to himſelf.

The lives of learned men are in their writings, and their character is beſt ſeen in their private letters. We entirely agree with our author in his cenſure on Dr. Sprat's objection to the publication of private letters, as ſhewing the ſouls of men *undreſt*. It is the juſteſt curioſity in the world, to ſee men as they are, without the parade and incumbrance of the ceremonious formalities that are put on, either to impoſe on the world, or conform to it: they either make men appear what they are not, or hinder us at leaſt from ſeeing what they are. This curioſity carries us as ſtrongly to the poet, as to the ſtateſman, the general, or the legiſlator. The objection to the publication of private letters, in truth, goes no further than to ſay, that what is not fit to be ſeen, *is* not fit to be ſeen. Any thing indecent or indelicate, ought not to be exhibited. Any ſecrets which tend to deſtroy the repoſe and the ſatisfaction of private life, ought not to be diſcovered: whatever would revive forgotten animoſity, ought not to be diſcloſed: but we are not to ſuppoſe, that the retirement of conſiderable men, either in an active or ſpeculative ſphere, can be wholly conſumed and waſted in an unworthy manner: and much is to be known of the ſecrets of ſocial, and even domeſtic intercourſe, which neither diſturbs the living, nor defames the dead. The private thoughts of thoſe, whoſe public thoughts have attracted our attention, muſt be worthy, as ſurely they are natural, objects of an enlightened curioſity, and tend, like every other work of ingenuity, to enlarge and open the mind of the reader.

Mr. Maſon profeſſes to make his author his own hiſtorian; which Mr. Gray's correſpondence with his friends enables him, in a great meaſure, to perform.

He divides his work into parts, the firſt concluding with Mr. Gray's going on his travels.

The ſecond comprehends his correſpondence on his travels; and of courſe the account of them. His letters are wrote with great elegance and taſte: but though the ſcene of his tour has too often been the ſubject

ſubject of ingenious pens, to allow him the advantage of novelty; yet the intelligent reader cannot miſs entertainment and information. A melancholy circumſtance attends this ſtage of Mr. Gray's life. The travels of an ingenious young man, is commonly the pleaſanteſt period of his life; but Mr. Gray had the misfortune to have a difference with Mr. Walpole, with whom he travelled: this naturally embittered his ſatisfaction, and very probably obſtructed his road to fortune. Mr. Maſon acquaints us with a circumſtance that does infinite honour to Mr. Walpole, who has, it ſeems, authorized him to exculpate the friend that is gone, from the blame of this unhappy difference: an act that certainly exempts Mr. Walpole too from any ſhare of cenſure: and we muſt, in juſtice to them both, ſuppoſe that the cauſe, which may divide the beſt men, could alone have ſeparated them, meer difference of conſtitutional humour.

The third part begins with his return home, ſoon after which he had the misfortune (perhaps the greateſt our nature is liable to) of loſing the friend and companion of his younger days, and earlier ſtudies, Mr. Weſt; whoſe letters, if we had nothing elſe of his in this work, ſhew him to have had a very ingenious and elegant mind. Mr. Maſon does not allow him to have been equal to his friend Mr. Gray; but we ſee that he was a good critic: the little he ſays upon his friend's *Agrippina* (p. 136.) is indeed the critic of a friend, who cannot be an Ariſtarchus; but it ſhews Mr. Weſt to have been a ſound judge.

The third finiſhes Mr. Gray's ingenious labours. In the remaining part, the fourth, we find him a recluſe, ſpending his time wholly in reading. He who early profeſſes an abhorrence of a college life, either from a change of ſentiment, by narrowneſs of circumſtances, or from diſappointment, or merely for the ſake of the benefit of large libraries, which Mr. Maſon ſuppoſes to be the principal cauſe, takes a college for his refuge: and we muſt lament, that ſo informed and ſo very ingenious a man, ſo much and ſo juſtly admired, ſhould have been left ſo long in ſuch a ſtate. Mr. Maſon has, by his own works, eſtabliſhed a reputation (on the juſteſt ground), for taſte, genius, and learning. This work exhibits all the judgement and good ſenſe, that the nature of it admitted, and adds to Mr. Maſon's character of a great poet, the better praiſe of an affectionate friend. We ſhall juſt inſert one of Mr. Gray's letters to his friend Mr. Weſt.

Florence, July 16, 1740.

"YOU do yourſelf and me juſtice, in imagining that you merit, and that I am capable of ſincerity. I have not a thought, or even a weakneſs, I deſire to conceal from you; and conſequently on my ſide deſerve to be treated with the ſame openneſs of heart. My vanity perhaps might make me more reſerved towards you, if you were one of the heroic race, ſuperior to all human failings; but as mutual wants are the ties of general ſociety, ſo are mutual weakneſſes of private friendſhips, ſuppoſing them mixt with ſome proportion of good qualities; for where one may not ſometimes blame, one does not much care ever to praiſe. All this

has the air of an introduction deſigned to ſoften a very harſh reproof that is to follow; but it is no ſuch matter: I only meant to aſk, Why did you change your lodging? Was the air bad, or the ſituation melancholy? If ſo, you are quite in the right. Only, is it not putting yourſelf a little out of the way of a people, with whom it ſeems neceſſary to keep up ſome ſort of intercourſe and converſation, though but little for your pleaſure or entertainment, (yet there are, I believe, ſuch among them as might give you both) at leaſt for your information in that ſtudy, which, when I left you, you thought of applying to? for that there is a certain ſtudy neceſſary to be followed, if we mean to be of any uſe in the world, I take for granted; diſagreeable enough (as moſt neceſſities are) but, I am afraid, unavoidable. Into how many branches theſe ſtudies are divided in England, every body knows; and between that which you and I had pitched upon, and the other two, it was impoſſible to balance long. Examples ſhew one that it is not abſolutely neceſſary to be a blockhead to ſucceed in this profeſſion. The labour is long, and the elements dry and unentertaining; nor was ever any body (eſpecially thoſe that afterwards made a figure in it) amuſed, or even not diſguſted in the beginning; yet, upon a further acquaintance, there is ſurely matter for curioſity and reflection. It is ſtrange if, among all that huge maſs of words, there be not ſomewhat intermixed for thought. Laws have been the reſult of long deliberation, and that not of dull men, but the contrary; and have ſo cloſe a connection with hiſtory, nay, with philoſophy itſelf, that they muſt partake a little of what they are related to ſo nearly. Beſides, tell me, Have you ever made the attempt? Was not you frighted merely with the diſtant proſpect? Had the Gothic character and bulkineſs of thoſe volumes (a tenth part of which perhaps it will be no further neceſſary to conſult, than as one does a dictionary) no ill effect upon your eye? Are you ſure, if Coke had been printed by Elzivir, and bound in twenty neat pocket volumes, inſtead of one folio, you ſhould never have taken him up for an hour, as you would a Tully, or drank your tea over him? I know how great an obſtacle ill ſpirits are to reſolution. Do you really think, if you rid ten miles every morning, in a week's time you ſhould not entertain much ſtronger hopes of the Chancellorſhip, and think it a much more probable thing than you do at preſent? The advantages you mention are not nothing; our inclinations are more than we imagine in our own power; reaſon and reſolution determine them, and ſupport under many difficulties. To me there hardly appears to be any medium between a public life and a private one; he who prefers the firſt, muſt put himſelf in a way of being ſerviceable to the reſt of mankind, if he has a mind to be of any conſequence among them: nay, he muſt not refuſe being, in a certain degree, even dependent upon ſome men who already are ſo. If he has the good fortune to light on ſuch as will make no ill uſe of his humility, there is no ſhame in this: if not, his ambition ought to give place to a reaſonable pride, and he ſhould apply to the cultivation of his

his own mind thoſe abilities which he has not been permitted to uſe for others' ſervice. Such a private happineſs (ſuppoſing a ſmall competence of fortune) is almoſt always in one's power, and the proper enjoyment of age, as the other is the employment of youth. You are yet young, have ſome advantages and opportunities, and an undoubted capacity, which you have never yet put to the trial. Set apart a few hours, ſee how the firſt year will agree with you, at the end of it you are ſtill the maſter; if you change your mind, you will only have got the knowledge of a little ſomewhat that can do no hurt, or give you cauſe of repentance. If your inclination be not fixed upon any thing elſe, it is a ſymptom that you are not abſolutely determined againſt this, and warns you not to miſtake mere indolence for inability. I am ſenſible there is nothing ſtronger againſt what I would perſuade you to, than my own practice; which may make you imagine I think not as I ſpeak. Alas! it is not ſo; but I do not act what I think, and I had rather be the object of your pity, than that you ſhould be that of mine; and, be aſſured, the advantage I I may receive from it, does not diminiſh my concern in hearing you want ſomebody to converſe with freely, whoſe advice might be of more weight, and always at hand. We have ſome time ſince come to the ſouthern period of our voyages; we ſpent about nine days at Naples. It is the largeſt and moſt populous city, as its environs are the moſt deliciouſly fertile country, of all Italy. We ſailed in the bay of Baiæ, ſweated in the Solfatara, and died in the grotta del Cane, as all ſtrangers do; ſaw the Corpus Chriſti proceſſion, and the king and the queen, and the city under-ground, (which is a wonder I reſerve to tell you of another time) and ſo returned to Rome for another fortnight; left it (left Rome!) and came hither for the ſummer. You have ſeen * an epiſtle to Mr. Aſhton, that ſeems to me full of ſpirit and thought, and a good deal of poetic fire. I would know your opinion. Now, I talk of verſes, Mr. Walpole and I have frequently wondered you ſhould never mention a certain imitation of Spencer, publiſhed laſt year by a † nameſake of yours, with which we are all enraptured and enmarvailed."

An Eſſay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer: *with a comparative View of the ancient and preſent State of the* Troade. *Illuſtrated with engravings. By the late* Robert Wood, *Eſq*; 1 *Vol.* 4to.

THE late Mr. Wood had firmly eſtabliſhed his reputation for taſte and ingenuity, in his publication of the *Ruins of Palmyra*. The ſame claſſical enthuſiaſm is his conductor in the preſent work. He read the Iliad and Odyſſey in the countries where Achilles fought, where Ulyſſes travelled, and where

* The reader will find this in Dodſley's Miſcellany, and alſo amongſt Mr. Walpole's Fugitive Pieces.

† Gilbert Weſt, Eſq; This poem, "On the Abuſe of Travelling," is alſo in Dodſley's Miſcellany.

Homer ſung. The reſearches of a perſon of an ingenious and enlightened mind, making ſuch a journey upon ſuch a principle, cannot but engage the attention of the world of curioſity and erudition.

Our author undoubtedly ſtudied Homer with great care and attention, and with no leſs ſagacity. We muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that with all the fondneſs that it is natural for an author to bear to his ſubject, and which is ſo juſtly due to ſuch a ſubject as Homer, he does not ſeem to be blinded by his zeal, or hurried in that unlimited admiration, which has carried others to the exceſs of imagining that the origin of all knowledge, and all ſcience, was to be found in Homer. Mr. Wood may, perhaps, be thought by ſome to treſpaſs on the other ſide: he does not conceive, that the learning of Homer could, from the age he lived in, by any poſſibility have been very extenſive: neither does he allow that the Egyptians, from the ſtate of their own knowledge, could have furniſhed Homer with that extenſive fund of information that has been imagined. The ſection of this work on Homer's religion and mythology, where this diſcuſſion of Egyptian learning falls in, is very worthy of the ingenious reader's attention.

The author has ſo divided his work, as to fix a diſtinct conſideration to each of the ſeveral points that have, from the days of Ariſtotle down to our own, engaged the curioſity of the learned world.

We are ſorry that the limits of our work does not allow us to make a longer extract than the two following, in which we think there will be found very juſt and well-founded criticiſm, as well as a great deal of good taſte.

Our author has added a deſcription of the Troade, or country of Troy; in which he has taken great pains. The change of the face of the country, in ſuch a long ſucceſſion of ages, by earthquakes, as well as new inhabitants, required that the pains ſhould not be ſmall; and we muſt leave to the reader's own good ſenſe to judge how far his poſition is made out.

The following extracts will, we think, engage the reader to enter more deeply into the work.

"Having taken a ſhort view of the poet at home, if, according to our propoſed order, we follow him abroad; I think we ſhall find him a traveller of curioſity and obſervation.

If our conjectures with regard to his country are well-founded, he lived in an iſland, or upon the ſea-coaſt. The Aſiatic Greeks did not ſpread into the inland parts of that continent, but confined themſelves to the ſhore, looking towards their mother country with an attachment and reſpect unknown to later ages.

When the great objects of human purſuit, whether wealth, power, honours, or ſcience, were not to be acquired at home, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a turn of mind like Homer's, ſhould ſit down contented with the poverty, ignorance, and inglorious inſignificance of his native ſpot. For though ambition or avarice might not, yet curioſity, which we cannot doubt his poſſeſſing in a great degree, would naturally draw him forth into the active ſcene. An impatient thirſt after knowledge was in thoſe days only to be ſatisfied by travelling. The tranquility and ſecurity eſſen-

tially

tially neceſſary to ſtudious retirement, were unknown to that ſtate, either of letters or government, at leaſt in Greece. Homer therefore had only the great book of Nature to peruſe, and was original from neceſſity, as well as by genius.

Few countries of the ſame extent have ſo much ſea-coaſt as Greece. The intercourſe of its inhabitants with other countries, or with one another, was moſtly kept up by water. There is no land-journey regularly deſcribed, either in the Iliad or Odyſſey, except that ſhort one of Telemachus from Pylos to Sparta; and even there Neſtor ſubmits to the choice of his gueſt the alternative of going by ſea, though much the longeſt way.

In this ſtate of things, and conſidering how much the various occupations of high and low life were then confined to one rank and order of men, it is not extraordinary, that we ſhould find the poet ſo converſant in the language and manners of the ſea, and ſo knowing, as well in the buſineſs of the ſhipwright as of the ſailor. Indeed, it is only by following him through each of thoſe arts, that hiſtory is furniſhed with the earlieſt account of them. Let us therefore firſt examine his method of building, and next his manner of navigating a ſhip.

If we compare the naval force of the different ſtates of Greece at the time of the Trojan war with that of the ſame countries afterwards, when Ægina, Corinth, and Athens, had turned their thoughts to trade and navigation; we ſhall find, that their progreſs, as maritime powers, did not correſpond with the account of their ſhipping, as it is accurately ſtated in Homer. It is natural to ſuppoſe that Corinth, from its advantageous ſituation, ſhould be among the firſt cities on the continent of Greece, after that country began to have a ſettled government, which would enrich itſelf by commerce; and it was undoubtedly a great maritime power. But this was long after the heroic, or, which is the ſame thing, the myſtical age of Greece. When Corinth furniſhed her quota under Agamemnon, who from the extent of ſea-coaſt, and from the iſlands under his command, was by far the greateſt naval power of that time, ſhe is barely mentioned, without any diſtinction to point out the conſideration which ſhe afterwards acquired in maritime affairs. The fleet, which aſſembled at Aulis, conſiſted of open half-decked boats, a ſort of galleys with one maſt, fit for rowing or ſailing. They were launched, and drawn up on the beach occaſionally, or faſtened on ſhore, and ſerved as mere tranſports for ſoldiers, who were at the ſame time mariners. There is nothing in Homer that alludes to a regular ſea-engagement; or that conveys any idea of that manner of carrying on war. Thoſe poles of an extraordinary length, which he mentions, ſeem to have been uſed as an offenſive weapon againſt boarding; and may have been of ſervice in landing. When Achilles or Ulyſſes talk of commanding naval expeditions, and deſtroying cities with a fleet: or when Hercules is ſaid to have taken Troy with ſix ſhips only; the alluſion is to the numbers, which they carried to act on ſhore. Their boats had a rudder, and ballaſt, but no anchor. The name of it does not occur in Homer; nor was the uſe of that

inſtrument known. If we may form a judgment from the raft of Ulyſſes, there was no metal employed; the timbers being faſtened by pegs. In ſhort, we know, from good authority, that ſhip-building had not made any great progreſs in Greece before the expedition of Xerxes. The beſt accounts that we can collect of the naval engagements of thoſe times, is a proof of this.

It is, no doubt, difficult to deſcribe and underſtand accounts of battles. But whoever places himſelf on the ſpot where the Perſian monarch is ſaid to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the ſame time reads the account, which Herodotus, or that which Æſchylus, an eye-witneſs, gives in his Perſæ, of that action; and conſiders the ſhoalneſs of the water, and the ſmall ſpace into which ſo many ſhips were crowded, muſt think contemptibly of the marine engagements in thoſe days.

Agreeably to this account of antient ſhips and ſhip-building, we ſee, that though Homer's ſeamen are expert in their manœuvre, yet they are confined to the precautions of that timid coaſting navigation, which is at this day practiſed in the Mediterranean, in ſlight undecked veſſels, unfit to reſiſt the open ſea. Their firſt care is, to venture as little as poſſible out of ſight of land, to run along ſhore, and to be ready to put in, and draw up their ſhips on the beach, if there is no port, on the firſt appearance of foul weather.

We find Neſtor, Diomedes, and Menelaus, conſulting at Leſbos upon a doubt, which this imperfect ſtate of the art alone could ſuggeſt. The queſtion was, Whether, in their return to Greece, they ſhould keep the Aſiatic coaſt till they paſt Chios, which was the moſt ſecure, but the moſt tedious way home; or venture directly acroſs the open ſea, which was the ſhorteſt, but the moſt dangerous?

I was preſent at a conſultation on the ſame ſort of queſtion, near the ſame place, and under the ſame circumſtances, as far as they concern the illuſtration of our preſent inquiry. It was in the year 1742, that I happened to be on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Chatham, then eſcorting the Turky trade from Conſtantinople to Scanderoon. When we were between Mytelene and Scio, and due north of the latter, in a dark night, with a briſk gale at north-weſt, our Greek pilot propoſed puſhing through the channel of Scio; but our officers, not caring to engage ſo much with the land in that narrow paſſage, preferred the broad courſe, and, hawling cloſe up to the wind, left the iſland of Scio on the larboard ſide.

If we compare our ſituation with that of Neſtor, Diomede, and Menelaus, who had the ableſt pilot of that age on board, we ſee, that though our deſtinations were different, our point under deliberation was ſo far preciſely the ſame, that we both doubted between the ſhorteſt and the ſureſt way. They ventured to ſea, though it was moſt dangerous; we choſe it becauſe it was moſt ſafe; and this conſtitutes one of the great differences between ancient and modern navigation.

As the moſt reſpectable commentators on Homer have, by their different conſtructions of part of the paſſage here alluded to, deviated from that plain ſenſe of the poet,

poet, in which, I think, his accuracy conſiſts, I ſhall enter a little more largely into the conſideration of the lines, which deſcribe this navigation, in order to aſcertain their meaning. Though it may carry us a little beyond the object immediately before us, it will only anticipate a ſpecimen of his hiſtorical accuracy (one of the propoſed objects of this eſſay), and will ſhew how cautious we ſhould be not to diſturb that delicate connection and thread of circumſtances, which are ſeldom diſranged, even by the ſmalleſt alteration, without endangering his truth and conſiſtence.

Should we, in this view, ſtrip thoſe lines of their poetical dreſs, and extract a plain narrative or journal from the moſt literal and natural conſtruction of the whole paſſage, it will, with very little paraphraſe, and that entirely furniſhed by the poet himſelf, produce the following piece of antient hiſtory.

"The demolition of Troy being at length accompliſhed, Agamemnon and Menelaus, diſagreeing about the farther meaſures to be taken upon that occaſion, ſummoned a couneil, in order to ſtate their different opinions. But this was done precipitately, in the evening, an unſeaſonable time for deliberation, when the chiefs, riſing from table, and heated with wine, came improperly prepared for conſiderations of that moment. The event correſponded with the irregularity of ſuch a proceeding; for, the council being aſſembled, Menelaus propoſed, that they ſhould embark for Greece; but Agamemnon adviſed them firſt to appeaſe the wrath of Minerva by a hecatomb. This produced a debate, which ended in much altercation between the brothers; ſo that the aſſembly broke up tumultuouſly, without coming to any reſolution.

"The Grecian army was, by theſe means, divided into two parties, one eſpouſing the ſentiments of Agamemnon, and the other thoſe of Menelaus. Of the laſt were Neſtor, Diomede, and Ulyſſes; who, having embarked their women and baggage, ſailed next morning, with a fair wind, for Tenedos; where they ſacrificed to the gods, to grant them a propitious voyage.

"Here a ſecond diſpute aroſe; for Ulyſſes's party, paying court to the commander in chief, returned to Troy. But Neſtor, foreſeeing the miſchiefs likely to happen, prudently continued his voyage the ſecond day, with Diomede, leaving Menelaus behind at Tenedos. However, Menelaus followed and overtook them the ſame day at Leſbos, where he found them deliberating whether, in that advanced ſeaſon, it were moſt adviſeable to conſult their ſafety in the ſlower method of coaſting round by Mimas and the Cyclades, or to riſk the ſhorter paſſage, and make directly for Eubœa.

"They preferred the moſt expeditious courſe, and ſailed the third day from Leſbos; and the wind proving very favourable, they made Geræſtum that night.

"Having ſo proſperouſly accompliſhed the moſt dangerous part of their navigation, they offered a ſacrifice of thanks to Neptune; and the wind being ſtill fair, they purſued their voyage the fourth day along the coaſt of Greece. As they paſſed

"the

"the Sunian promontory, Mene-
"laus had the misfortune to loſe
"his pilot Phrontis, who died
"ſuddenly. Though impatient
"to ſee his native country, he
"ſtopped here to perform the fu-
"neral rites, and pay the laſt du-
"ties to his ſkilful friend; but
"Diomede continued his voyage,
"and arrived the ſame day at Ar-
"gos, being the fourth from his
"departure from Troy. Neſtor
"took the advantage of the ſame
"fair wind, which carried him to
"Pylos."

This journal of four days navigation is ſo entirely Homer, and Homer only, the circumſtances of time and diſtance correſpond ſo exactly with one another, and bore ſo ſcrupulous an examination, when we made the ſame voyage, that I ſhall not trouble the reader with any other confutation, either of Euſtathius or Madam Dacier's ſenſe of this paſſage. The firſt was led into an error by miſtaking the meaning of one word, and the laſt, by miſtaking the diſtance from Leſbos to Eubœa; but both by attending more to grammatical criticiſm than to the genius and character of the poet, and of the age when he wrote.

Though, from the general character, by which Homer conſtantly diſtinguiſhes the Phœnicians as a commercial, ſea-faring people, it has been naturally ſuppoſed, that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to diſtant voyages: yet I think we cannot be at a loſs to account for the poet's acquiring at home all the knowledge of this kind, which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were among the earlieſt navigators, particularly the Phocæans and Mileſians. The former are expreſly called the diſcoverers of Adria, Iberia, Tuſcany, and Tarteſſus. They are ſaid to be the firſt among the Greeks, who undertook long voyages; and we find they had eſtabliſhed an intercourſe, and even formed cloſe and friendly connections, on the ocean, as early as the time of Cyrus the Great. The Mileſians were ſo remarkable for colonization, that they had founded above ſeventy cities in different parts of the world, and were reſpectable at ſea long before the Perſian invaſion. Nor can we, except from the reſources of their navigation and commerce, account for their being a match for the Lydian monarchy, as early as the reign of Gyges; up to which period, from that of Crœſus, we can trace theſe two nations almoſt conſtantly at war.

When we conſider how far back this leads us, upon explicit hiſtorical authority, and without the equivocal and ſuſpicious aid of etymology, upon which Phœnician colonization is ſo much extended; it does not ſeem probable, that Homer's countrymen ſhould have arrived at ſo flouriſhing a ſtate of navigation, ſo ſoon after his age, without having made ſome progreſs towards it before his time.

To what extent navigation was known to him, either from his own experience or the information of others, is rendered difficult to aſcertain, by the conſtant method he follows of preſerving ſome reality in his wildeſt fictions. The hiſtory of the Cimmerians ſeems to have furniſhed ſome of his ideas with regard to the gloomy infernal ſhades, and the diſtinguiſhing features in the Phæacian character are

Phœnician,

Phœnician. Even where he is moſt fabulous, he takes the hint from tales propagated before his time, and embroiders his own variations on that extravagance, which had already the ſanction of popular credulity. Thus the poet's genius, though impatient of the limited knowledge of his age, is unwilling to abandon nature; and when he ſeems to deſert her, it is in favour of ſome pleaſing irregularity, which vulgar opinion had ſubſtituted in her place. This mixture of ſomething, that was either true, or commonly believed to be ſo, with regard to the ſcene of his fabulous narration, is obſervable in his deſcription of the iſlands of Circe, Æolus, and, above all, in that of Calypſo.

His knowledge of the ſun ſetting in the ocean might fall within the obſervation even of that confined ſtate of navigation, which we may reaſonably allow to his age; for it is probable, that not only the Phœnicians, but the Poet's countrymen, had paſſed the Pillars of Hercules, and of courſe could, as eye-witneſſes, report ſuch an appearance. But how he could learn that the ſun riſes out of the ocean, or that the globe is entirely ſurrounded by water, was ſo much beyond my idea of his experience, that I continued to attribute this knowledge to gueſs and conjecture; till upon further conſideration I was induced to think, that this account of the ocean, upon which ſo much of his geographical ſcience is founded, will, if rightly underſtood, rather convince us of his ignorance upon that head; and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys. Nor am I ſurpriſed that, ſo much later, Herodotus ſhould treat this idea of an ocean, where the ſun riſes, as a poetical fiction.

HOMER's WINDS.

Under the article of Homer's country, we have anticipated ſome obſervations on the winds of that climate; but his navigation naturally engages us in a further conſideration of this ſubject. We find only thoſe which blow from the four cardinal points expreſsly mentioned in the Iliad and Odyſſey. In the ſtorm which Neptune prepares againſt Ulyſſes, ſailing from Calypſo's iſland, they are all introduced in the following order, Eurus, Notus, Zephyrus, and Boreas.

So imperfect a liſt of winds correſponds with the coaſting navigation of thoſe times, and forbids us to expect more than a general idea of their nature and qualities. Some of the ancients imagined, that the Poet meant to expreſs a ſubdiviſion of thoſe principal winds by certain epithets; which they underſtood to convey the idea (for which it ſhould ſeem the Greek language had not yet found a name), it is rather to be diſcovered where he employs two of them together, as in the inſtances already taken notice of, where Boreas and Zephyrus blow from the Thracian mountains on the Ægean ſea; for if we tranſlate them literally, the North-weſt, we ſhall bring that deſcription ſtill nearer to nature and truth *.

Taking thoſe winds in the order in which the Poet has placed them, we

* See Martyn's Virgil, 8vo. p. 336. Pliny, H. N. l. 2. c. 47. See Strabo, p. 608, 609, notes. See Heſiod. Theog. v. 388.

It

we find their moſt remarkable difference of character is, that Eurus and Notus are more mild and gentle, Zephyrus and Boreas more ſtormy and boiſterous. The two firſt are introduced leſs frequently than the laſt; for, as alluſions of this kind generally ſerve to illuſtrate animated pictures, the characters of Zephyrus and Boreas beſt ſuit the Poet's purpoſe upon ſuch occaſions. Accordingly we find them employed oftener in the Iliad than in the Odyſſey. Eurus is never diſtinguiſhed by an epithet: and Notus only by that of ſwift. They are never repreſented as perſons, except in one inſtance; they are deſcribed by qualities, the reverſe of thoſe of their antagoniſt winds; for Eurus is employed in melting the ſnow, which Zephyrus brings down; and Notus covers the mountain-tops with clouds, which it is the buſineſs of Boreas to diſpel.

Zephyrus is called hard-blowing, rapid, the ſwifteſt of all the winds, noiſy, whiſtling or rattling, moiſt, and is repreſented as bringing rain or ſnow.

I find two paſſages in the Odyſſey, which ſeem to give an idea of Zephyrus, different from this general character, and more like the Zephyr of modern poetry. One is in the Poet's deſcription of the Elyſian plain, "where neither winter's "ſnow nor rain are ſeen, but a "continual refreſhing Zephyr "blows from the ocean;" the other is the deſcription of Alcinous's gardens, where the rich vegetation is aſcribed to a conſtant Zephyr.

When we recollect (what I have above attempted to prove) that the Zephyr of Homer's country, upon which he muſt have formed his familiar ideas of that wind, blew from the mountains of Thrace; and that the two inſtances which I have given, are the only ones in which he deſcribes the qualities of that wind in a diſtant weſtern climate, inſtead of contradiction and inconſiſtence, we diſcover an extenſive knowledge of nature. For, while he is accurate in his accounts of the known appearances of his own country, he accommodates his deſcription to what he had either heard or ſeen in diſtant parts. To have uſed the gentle Zephyr, in a ſimile addreſſed to Ionian readers, or to have given the character of ſeverity to that of weſtern climates, would have been equally incorrect.

Both Zephyrus and Boreas make their appearance as perſons; they are equally concerned in kindling the funeral pile of Patroclus, at the prayer of Achilles. Xanthus and Balius, the immortal horſes of that hero, are the offſpring of Podarge and Zephyrus; a pedigree worthy of Homer's imagination, but, perhaps, like many of his fictions, engrafted upon ſome tradition, which had popular prejudice on it's ſide. For a ſtrange notion prevailed, that upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean mares were impregnated by the weſt wind; and however ridiculous this opinion may appear, it has been ſeriouſly ſupported by grave and reſpectable writers of a more enlightened age. As to the amours of Zephyrus and Flora, they are the

It is extraordinary that Heſiod ſhould omit Eurus, Theog. v. 379, 869. See Strabo, l. 1. p. 28, where the ancient writers upon winds are mentioned, Traſyalcis, Ariſtotle, Timoſthenes, Bion.

natural

natural mythology of later poets and of a more weſtern climate, and unknown to Ionia and Homer.

Boreas is rapid and violent, but ſerene and drying; diſpels clouds, brings hoar-froſt and ſnow, is clear, pure, wholeſome, and reviving.

This account of Boreas coincides much more with that of modern poetry, and is in general more agreeable to the experience and obſervation of weſtern climates, than that of Eurus and Zephyrus.

It has probably been owing to Homer's example, that ſucceeding poets and artiſts, though in other reſpects departing from his deſcription of thoſe ſubjects, often repreſent Boreas and Zephyrus as perſons. Their air and figure are familiar to us in the machinery of modern poetry, as well as in the works of painters and ſculptors, who give the character of harſh and aged ſeverity to one, and that of youthful beauty and gentleneſs to the other; while Eurus and Notus, eſpecially the latter, appear ſo ſeldom in a human ſhape, and are ſo imperfectly deſcribed, that we have no determinate idea of their dreſs or perſons.

We find the figures of the four principal with the four intermediate winds, in alto relievo, bigger than life, on the octagon tower of Andronicus Cyrrheſtes at Athens. As this is the only monument of antiquity, that I have ſeen, where they are ſo well executed and ſo well preſerved, I examined them with a view to thoſe conformities between the poet and the ſculptor, by which we ſometimes trace the borrowed idea to its original ſource, but with little ſucceſs. Whether it was that the artiſt was confined to certain ideas by the intended uſe of this tower, which was particularly adapted to the meridian of Attica; or that his invention was inferior to his execution, I ſhall not venture to judge; but there is a ſameneſs of attitude, drapery, and character, in thoſe winds, that would make it very difficult to diſtinguiſh their names, were they not inſcribed over each figure.

I cannot finiſh this article without comparing Homer and Virgil as navigators, in order to ſhew the ſuperior accuracy of the former with regard to thoſe minute circumſtances of nature and truth. The winds which Homer employs in his poem are adapted to the ſhip's ſailing, to which Virgil does not pay the ſame attention. I ſhall confine myſelf to one inſtance. The deſcription of the departure of Æneas from Carthage is not only inconſiſtent with truth and poſſibility, in this reſpect, but contradictory to itſelf. He ſails in the morning with a weſt wind, which is very improperly called favourable; but before he is out of ſight of Carthage, we find him purſuing his courſe with a north wind, which is ſtill more contrary to his intended courſe; when, in the evening, he has gotten clear of the land, the wind changes to the weſt with every prognoſtic of a ſtormy night; Palinurus, in this ſituation, orders his men to reef their ſails and ply their oars; but, finding it vain to ſtruggle with this weſt wind, which was before called favourable, he conſults the ſtars in a very dark night, and concluding that he is not far from the coaſt of Sicily, ſteers for that iſland."

Travels

Travels in Aſia Minor: *or, an Account of a Tour made at the Expence of the Society of* Diletanti. *By* Richard Chandler, *D. D. Fellow of Magdalen College, and of the Society of Antiquaries.* 1 *Vol.* 4*to.*

THE author dedicates his work to his employers; and we altogether agree with him in the praiſe they deſerve. He will forgive us, that for a moment we defer the praiſe that is due to his ingenious labours, while we do juſtice to the liberal and enlightened principles of his patrons, who engaged him in this work.

The Society of Diletanti, in a manner, exculpate our times from the imputation of ſordid and ſelfiſh enjoyments: they do credit to their rank and fortune, when their patronage and liberality are employed in a noble attention to arts and letters.

Dr. Chandler has executed his work with care and diligence; and it was a work not to be executed by any man, who was not furniſhed with a fund of knowledge and learning. We will not preſume to paſs a judgment either of diſſent, or agreement, on the juſtneſs of many conjectures of Dr. Chandler; it was part of his duty to ſuggeſt his opinions; and ſo far from cenſuring his ſo doing, we rather regret that he has not even been more liberal in his conjectures, as the very offer of an opinion, tends to the inveſtigation of truth, tho' it may not immediately hit upon it, as it creates that diſcuſſion and examination, without which the juſtneſs of no propoſition can be aſcertained. Whether the opinion of the Barrows, ſuppoſed to be thoſe of Achilles, and other claſſical heroes, is well founded or not, we muſt ſuſpend our judgment, till Dr. Chandler favours the world with other eſſays; but we regret that they could not be made part of this preſent work.

The utility of travels, on the principle theſe were made, is too apparent to need diſcuſſion. The preſent manners which prevail in that country, ſo long the ſeat of ſcience, arts, commerce, and refinement, and the contraſt of its preſent ſtate with its antient hiſtory, is a ſubject which gives a peculiar and touching intereſt to all relations of travels into the dominions of the Grand Seignior. The author makes us feel this impreſſion, in a very lively and ſenſible manner, in many parts of his work. It were to be wiſhed that the cuts of the ſeveral ruins had accompanied the narrative of the travels. As they were the great object of the journey, it ſeems in a manner defective, as it is certainly leſs entertaining without them.

Our extract ſhall begin from his ſight of mount Ida, comprehending the deſcription of the Turks.

"The next morning we had paſſed Pſyra, corruptly called Ipſera; Scio was on our right hand; Leſbos or Mitylene on our left; and the mouth of the gulph of Smyrna not very remote before us. The plague, as we were informed at Leghorn, having appeared at this place, in the ſpring, our captain was unwilling to arrive there before it ſhould have ceaſed, and now reſolved to proceed directly to Conſtantinople. The gale was fair, and the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, it being common in ſummer to meet with a contrary

contrary wind, and to be detained on the ſea or forced to anchor off Tenedos. We were oppoſite cape Baba or Lectos, a promontory of mount Ida, in the evening; and had in view Tenedos and Lemnos and the main land both of Europe and Aſia. We could diſcern fires on Leſbos, as before on ſeveral iſlands and capes, made chiefly by fiſhermen and ſhepherds, who live much abroad in the air; or to burn the ſtrong ſtalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains. In the day-time a column of ſmoke often aſcends, viſible afar.

Saturday, Auguſt the 25th, the ſun riſing beautifully behind mount Ida diſcloſed its numerous tops, and brightened the ſurface of the ſea. We were now entering the Helleſpont, with the Troad on our right hand, and on the left the Cherroneſe or peninſula of Thrace. About ſix in the morning we were within Sigéum and the oppoſite promontory Maſtuſia. They are divided by a very narrow ſtrait. We then paſſed between the two caſtles erected by Mahomet the Fourth in 1659. That on the European ſide ſtands high, the other low; and by each is a town. Theſe ſtructures, with the houſes, the graceful minarets and cypreſſes, the mountains, and iſlands, and ſhining water, formed a view exceedingly delicious. The cocks crowed aſhore, and were anſwered by thoſe in our coops on board, the waves broke on the Aſiatic beach with an amuſing murmur, and the ſoft air wafted fragrance.

We now ſaw a level and extenſive plain, the ſcene, as we conceived, of the battles of the Iliad, with barrows of heroes, and the river Scamander, which had a bank or bar of ſand at the mouth. The ſtream was then inconſiderable, but, we were told, is in winter frequently ſwollen to a great ſize, and diſcolours the ſea far without the promontories. The ſhore of the Cherroneſe, as we advanced, was ſteep, of a dry barren aſpect, and contraſted by the Aſiatic coaſt, which riſes gently, mount Ida terminating the view. The width of the Helleſpont, the ſmoothneſs of the water, and the rippling of the current, reminded us of the Thames. Xerxes but ſlightly degraded it, when he ſtiled it a ſalt river.

We now approached the inner caſtles, which were erected by Mahomet the ſecond, and command a very narrow ſtrait, dividing the two continents. By each is a town; and at that in Aſia was hoiſted a white flag, near the ſea-ſide, and alſo a red one with the croſs. Theſe belonged to the Engliſh and French nations. As we had agreed to land here, the captain, when we were abreaſt with the Aſiatic caſtle, brought the ſhip too, and made a ſignal for a ſcheick or wherry to come along ſide. Our baggage was lowered into it with great expedition, and we quitted the ſhip, which fired three guns, and ſailed away.

After leaving the Anglicana, we had ſcarcely time to contemplate the ſavage figures of our boatmen, who had their necks and arms bare, and their faces yellow from the ſun, before we reached land. The current carried us below the caſtle, where we ſaw on the ſhore two Turkiſh women. But what figures! each wrapped in a white ſheet, ſhapeleſs, and ſtalking

ing in boots. A company of Turks aſſembled on the beach to view the ſhip, ſeemed as it were a new ſpecies of human beings. They were in general large and tall; ſome with long, comely or venerable beards, of a portly mein and noble preſence, to which their high turbans and looſe garments, of various lively colours, greatly contributed; adding, beſides their majeſty, to the apparent bulk of the wearers.

We were received on the ſhore by the Engliſh conſul, a fat, well-looking Jew, who, after bidding us welcome in broken Italian or Lingua Franca, conducted us through the town to his houſe, in the quarter aſſigned to that nation. We aſcended ſome ſtairs into a room, which had a raiſed floor covered with a carpet. Round three ſides was a low ſopha with cuſhions for leaning. The cooling breeze entered at the wooden lattices of the windows. Their law not permitting the Jews to touch fire on their ſabbath, our hoſt was in diſtreſs about our entertainment. However we were ſoon preſented with the cuſtomary refreſhments, a pipe of lighted tobacco; a ſpoonful of ſweet-meat put into our mouths; and coffee in a china cup, which was placed in one of filligree-work, to prevent it from burning our fingers. The conſul then introduced to us a young man his brother, and his wife and daughter; the latter a girl in a long white veſt, with a zone about her middle, her feet naked, her nails dyed red, her hair platted and hanging down her back. She came to us, and taking the right hand of each ſeparately, kiſſed and gently moved it to her forehead.

We found ſome difficulty in complying with the oriental mode of ſitting croſs-legged, but at dinner it was neceſſary, the table being only a large low ſalver, placed on the carpet. A variety of diſhes were ſerved up in quick ſucceſſion, and we were ſupplied as rapidly with cups of wine. We had no plates, or knives and forks, but uſed our fingers. The whole repaſt and the apparatus was antique. It concluded with fruits of wholeſome quality and exquiſite flavour, figs and melons ſuch as are peculiar to hot climates, and grapes in large and rich cluſters freſh from the vineyard. The conſul ate with us, while his brother waited, with another Jew. When we had finiſhed, we waſhed, one of our attendants bringing an ewer, a baſon and a towel, and pouring water on our hands. We then received each a cup of coffee, and our hoſt, who was much fatigued with his ſultry walk to the beach and afterwards to the governor to inform him of our arrival, retired with the whole family to ſleep, as is the univerſal practice toward noon, when the heat becomes exceedingly intenſe.

In the evening we went with the conſul to view the town. We found the houſes numerous, moſtly of wood and mean, and the ſtreets very narrow. We ſaw the manufactory of earthen ware, which is conſiderable; and we ſuppoſed the faſhion had never altered, the jars and veſſels in general retaining the old ſhapes, and ſeeming formed by antient models. The ſituation of the place is low and ſubject to epidemical diſorders. Beſides theſe, the plague, which commonly viſits the inhabitants every year, is remarkably

remarkably deſtructive, and ſeldom fails to make a long ſtay. The cœmeteries are ſwelled to a great extent round the town, and filled with broken columns, pieces of granate, and marble fragments, fixed as grave-ſtones; ſome carved with Turkiſh characters in relievo, gilded and painted. In the Armenian burying-ground we diſcovered a long Greek inſcription on a ſlab of white marble, but not legible. On a rocky eminence on the ſide next the Propontis is a range of windmills.

The town and caſtle has on the ſouth a river, which deſcends from mount Ida. Its ſource, as we were told, is ſeven hours up in the country; and its violence, after ſnow or rain upon the ſummits, prodigious. A thick wall has been erected, and plane-trees diſpoſed to keep off the torrent, and protect the buildings from its aſſaults. At the mouth, like the Scamander, it had then a bar of ſand. The bed was wide, ſtony, and interſected with green thickets, but had water in the cavities, at which many women, with their faces muffled, were buſy waſhing linen, and ſpreading it on the ground to dry.

This river enables us to aſcertain the ſite of the inner caſtles, a point of ſome conſequence in the topography of the Helleſpont. Its antient name, as appears from Strabo, was Rhodius; and it entered the ſea between Dardanus and Abydos. The remnants of marble, which we ſaw in the burying-grounds about the town, have been removed thither chiefly from the ruins of theſe cities, particularly of the latter, which was the moſt conſiderable. The conſul ſhowed us a head of an image of the Virgin Mary, which was found in the rubbiſh of a church there. On the European ſide, oppoſite to the Rhodius, was Cynoſſema *The Barrow of Hecuba*, which is ſtill very conſpicuous, and within or cloſe by the caſtle.

We returned, when we had finiſhed our ſurvey, to our lodging, where we ſupped croſs-legged, about ſunſet. Soon after, when it was dark, three coverlets richly embroidered were taken from a preſs in the room, which we occupied; and delivered, one to each of us; the carpet or ſopha and a cuſhion ſerving, with this addition, inſtead of a bed. A lamp was left burning on a ſhelf, and the conſul retired to his family, which lay in the ſame manner in an adjoining apartment. We pulled off our coats and ſhoes, and expected to be much refreſhed by ſleeping on ſhore. We had not been apprized of a nightly plague, which haunts the place, or perhaps rather the houſes of the Jews. Two of us could not obtain reſt for a moment, but waited the approach of dawn with a degree of impatience equalled only by our bodily ſufferings, which cannot be deſcribed.

We had agreed in the evening to viſit ſome neighbouring places on the continent, with the principal iſlands near the mouth of the Helleſpont. Early in the morning the conſul aſked for money to purchaſe proviſions, which, with other neceſſaries, were put into a ſcheick or wherry. He embarked with us, between the hours of eight and nine by our watches. We had ſix Turks, who rowed; a Janizary, and a Jew ſervant. The two latter, with the conſul, ſate croſs-legged

before us, on a ſmall carpet; as the rais or maſter of the boat did behind, ſteering with the handle of the helm over his ſhoulder.

We ſoon croſſed the Helleſpont, and coaſting by the European ſhore, ſaw ſeveral ſolitary king-fiſhers. with young partridge, among vaſt ſingle rocks. The winter torrents had worn deep gullies, but the courſes were dry, except a ſtream, which we were informed, turns a mill. A narrow valley, or two, was green with the cotton plant and with vines, or ſowed with grain.

After paſſing the mouth of a port or bay called antiently Coelos, we landed about eleven on the cherroneſe of Thrace, near the firſt European caſtle, within the entrance of the Helleſpont; and aſcended to the miſerable cottage of a poor Jew in the town. Here a mat was ſpread on the mud-floor of a room by the ſea-ſide, and the eatables we had provided, were placed on it. The noon-tide heat at this place was exceſſive. The conſul retired, as uſual, to ſleep; while we alſo reſted, or were amuſed with the proſpect from the window. Beneath us was the ſhining canal, with Cape Maſtuſia on the right hand; and oppoſite, the Aſiatic town and caſtle, with the noble plain divided by the Scamander; and the barrows mentioned before, two ſtanding by each other not far from the ſhore, within Sigéum, and one more remote.

The ancient name of this town, which is exceedingly mean and wretched, was Eleûs. The ſtreets or lanes are narrow and intricate. It is on the north-ſide of the caſtle, and ranges along the brink of a precipice.

When the heat was abated a little, we were informed that the governor gave us permiſſion to refreſh in his garden. We diſmiſſed his meſſenger with a bac-ſhiſh or *preſent* of three piaſters *, and an excuſe, that we were juſt going away; but this was not accepted; and we paid another piaſter for ſeeing a very ſmall ſpot of ground, walled in, and containing nothing, except two vines, a fig and a pomegranate tree, and a well of excellent water.

The Turks, after we were landed, had rowed the wherry round Maſtuſia, and waited for us without the point. In our way to them, by the caſtle-wall, we ſaw a large Corinthian capital; and an altar, made hollow and uſed as a mortar for bruiſing corn. Near the other end of the town is a bare barrow. By this, was formerly the ſacred portion of Proteſilaus, and his temple, to which perhaps the marble fragments have belonged. He was one of the leaders in the Trojan expedition; and was killed by Hector. Afterwards he was worſhipped as a hero, and reputed the patron or tutelar deity of Eleûs.

On our arrival at the wherry, which was behind the caſtle, we found our Turks ſitting on the ground, where they had dined, chiefly on ripe fruits, with ordinary bread. We had there a wide and deep gulf, a portion of the Ægean ſea antiently called Melas, on our right hand; with Imbros, toward the entrance, twenty-five miles

* A piaſter is about half a crown Engliſh, and is equal in value to thirty peraus. Theſe are a ſmall ſilver coin, about the ſize of an Engliſh penny.

from

from Maſtuſia, and twenty-two from Lemnos, which lay before us, and beyond theſe, other iſlands, and the continent of Europe, in view. We had intended to viſit Lemnos, and the principal places in that quarter, but, the wind proving contrary, we now ſteered for Tenedos, and, after rowing ſome time with a rough ſea, hoiſted ſail: we paſſed by ſome iſlets, and about three in the afternoon, reached the town. On opening the harbour, we diſcovered in it, beſides ſmall-craft, three Turkiſh gallies waiting to convey the Venetian bailow or reſident, who was expected daily, to Conſtantinople; the ſhips of that republic being by treaty excluded from navigating the Helleſpont.

The iſland Tenedos is chiefly rock, but fertile. It was antiently reckoned about eighty ſtadia or ten miles in circumference, and from Sigéum twelve miles and a half. Its poſition, thus near the mouth of the Helleſpont, has given it importance in all ages; veſſels bound toward Conſtantinople finding ſhelter in its port, or ſafe anchorage in the road, during the eteſian or contrary winds, and in foul weather. The Emperor Juſtinian erected a magazine to receive the cargoes of the corn-ſhips from Alexandria, when detained there. This building was two hundred and eighty feet long, ninety broad, and very lofty. The voyage from Egypt was rendered leſs precarious, and the grain preſerved, until it could be tranſported to the capital. Afterwards during the troubles of the Greek empire, Tenedos experienced a variety of fortune. The pirates, which infeſted theſe ſeas, made it for many years their place of rendezvous; and Othman ſeized it in 1302, procured veſſels, and from thence ſubdued the other iſlands of the Archipelago.

The port of Tenedos has been incloſed in a mole, of which no part now appears above water, but looſe ſtones are piled on the foundations to break the waves. The baſin is encompaſſed by a ridge of the mountain. On the ſouth ſide is a row of wind-mills and a ſmall fort; and on the oppoſite, a caſtle by the ſhore. This was taken in the year 1656 by the Venetians in four days, but ſoon after abandoned, as not tenable. The houſes, which are numerous, ſtand at the foot, or on the ſlope, of an acclivity; with a flat between them and the ſea, formed partly by ſoil waſhed down from above. They reckon ſix hundred Turkiſh families, and three hundred Greek. The church belonging to the latter is decent.

We found here but few remains of antiquity worthy notice. We perceived on our landing a large and entire ſarcophagus or ſtone coffin ſerving as a fountain, the top ſtone or lid being perforated to admit a current of water, which ſupplies the vent below; and on one ſide is an inſcription. Near this we ſaw part of a fluted column converted into a mortar for bruiſing corn; and in a ſhop was a remnant of teſſellated pavement then recently diſcovered. In the ſtreets, the walls, and burying-grounds, were pieces of marble, and fragments of pillars, with a few inſcriptions.

In the evening, this being Sunday and a feſtival, we were much amuſed with ſeeing the Greeks, who were ſinging and dancing, in ſeveral companies, to muſic, near

the town; while their women were ſitting in groups on the roofs of the houſes, which are flat, as ſpectators, at the ſame time enjoying the ſoft air and ſerene ſky.

We were lodged much to our ſatisfaction in a large room, with a raiſed floor matted, on which we ſlept in our clothes, in company with two Jews and ſeveral Greeks; a cool breeze entering all night at the latticed windows, and ſweetening our repoſe.

In theſe countries, on account of the heat, it is uſual to riſe with the dawn. About day break we received from the French conſul, a Greek with a reſpectable beard, a preſent of grapes, the cluſters large and rich, with other fruits all freſh gathered. We had, beſides, bread and coffee for breakfaſt, and good wines, particularly one ſort, of an exquiſite flavour, called muſcadell. The iſland is deſervedly famous for the ſpecies of vine which produces this delicious liquor.

We had been told, that an antient building remained on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, not much out of our way to the ruins of a city called Eſki-Stamboul, on the continent of Aſia. Our Turks were waiting at the boat, and we juſt ready to join them, when we were informed that a ſcheik was arrived from the Aſiatic Dardanell, which we had lately left, and that the preſence of the conſul was required on ſome very urgent buſineſs at Conſtantinople. His brother, who had ſet ſail in the morning early to overtake him, remained with us in his ſtead, and ſoon won our regard by his attention and civility.

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